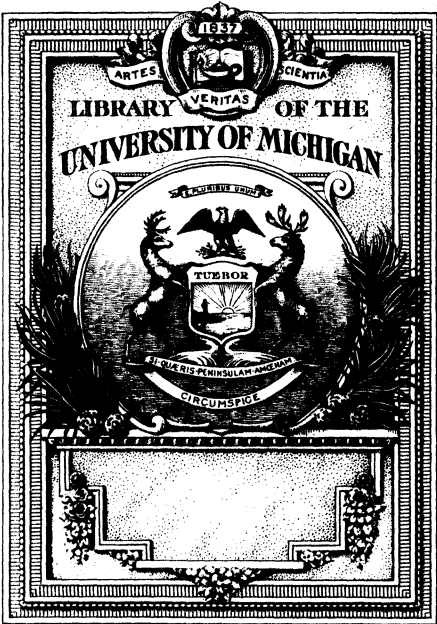


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Protection

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"THE WISDOM OF PROTECTION IN THE UNITED STATES."

Extracts from reply of Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE of Maine, to Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone, published in North American Review of January, 1890, and printed in daily Congressional Record, June 8, 1896.

Measuring from 1812, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the Government in the approaching war with Great Britain, to 1861, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the Government in the impending revolt of the Southern States, we have fifty years of suggestive experience in the history of the Republic. *During this long period free-trade tariffs were thrice followed by industrial stagnation, by financial embarrassment, by distress among all classes dependent for subsistence upon their own labor. Thrice were these burdens removed by the enactment of a protective tariff. Thrice the protective tariff promptly led to industrial activity, to financial ease, to prosperity among the people.* And this happy condition lasted in each case, with no diminution of its beneficent influence, until illegitimate political combinations, having their origin in personal and sectional aims, precipitated another era of free trade. A perfectly impartial man, unswerved by the excitement which this question engenders in popular discussion, might safely be asked if the half century's experience, with its three trials of both systems, did not establish the wisdom of protection in the United States. * * * As an offset to the charge that free-trade tariffs have always ended in panics and long periods of financial distress, the advocates of free trade point to the fact that a financial panic of great severity fell upon the country in 1873, when the protective tariff of 1861 was in full force, and that, therefore, panic and distress follow periods of protection as well as periods of free trade. * * * The panic of 1873 was widely different in its true origin from those which I have been exposing. The civil war, which closed in 1865, had sacrificed on both sides a vast amount of property. * * * A half million men had been killed. A million more had been disabled. * * * The public debt, that must be funded, reached nearly three thousand millions. * * * The country was on a basis of paper money, and all gold payments added a heavy premium to the weight of the obligation. The situation was without parallel. * * * Notwithstanding the evil prophecies on both sides, the panic did not come until eight and a half years after the firing of the last gun in the civil war. Nor did it come until after two great calamities in the years immediately preceding had caused the expenditure of more than two hundred millions of dollars, suddenly withdrawn from the ordinary channels of business. The rapid and extensive rebuilding in Chicago and Boston after the destructive fires of 1871 and 1872 had a closer connection with the panic of 1873 than is commonly thought. Still further, the six years' depression, from 1873 to 1879, involved individual suffering rather than general distress. The country as a whole never advanced in wealth more rapidly than during that period. The entire experience strengthened the belief that the war for the Union could not have been maintained upon a free-trade basis, and that the panic of 1873 only proved the strength of the safeguard which protection supplies to a people surrounded by such multiform embarrassments as were the people of the United States during the few years immediately following the war. And, strongest of all points, the financial distress was relieved and prosperity restored under protection, whereas the ruinous effects of panics under free trade have never been removed except by a resort to protection.

"STAND PAT ON THE TARIFF PROPOSITION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

It will be freely admitted, I believe, by all on both sides of this chamber, that the past seven years have been the most prosperous in the history of our country; that during these years our industrial advance has been unparalleled; that our markets both at home and abroad have been largely and most substantially increased; that our laboring classes have been wondrously benefited, and that our wealth, both in the aggregate and per capita, has been largely augmented. all classes sharing in the advantages and enjoyments of this prosperity.

And yet, in spite of these splendid results, which none can deny; in spite of the fact that our Western farmers have paid off the mortgages which it was necessary for them to assume in order to get a start in keeping with the opportunities which lay before them; in spite of the fact that these farmers have become prosperous, and have been able not only to acquire and possess their lands, but to increase their stock and implements and to lay aside in the great Western banks a surplus which is not only adequate for the necessary transaction of business in those States and Territories, but which is offered to Eastern capitalists at a percentage about one-half of that paid by these same farmers for the Eastern money which they borrowed a decade or so ago; in spite of the fact that our great Southern States are becoming more and more prosperous every year, because they have learned to use their own raw material and to do their own work; in spite of the fact that from one end to the other of this great land of ours the people have been enjoying a period of prosperity, such as has never before come to any nation on the face of the globe; in spite of all these things, the leaders of a great political party in Congress have been engaged almost daily for many weeks advancing arguments to be used during the coming campaign, *contending that we should repeal the law under which we are now operating and put in its place a Wilson bill, or a Mills bill, or a Morrison bill, or a tariff like that of 1846 and 1857, both of which tariffs proved disastrous to the best interests of the country.*

STAND PAT.

It seems to me inconceivable that at a time when many other nations are contemplating the increase of tariff duties a great political party in this country should seriously advocate an abandonment of our well-established fiscal policy by lowering our tariff to the revenue standpoint. Very recently the government of the Netherlands has taken steps to largely increase import duties, and everyone knows that the agitation in Great Britain for an abandonment of free trade is well-nigh irresistible, the success of which is apparently but a question of time. Under such circumstances it would be supreme folly for this country to do otherwise than "stand pat" on the tariff proposition, which I feel sure the American people are determined to do.

So wedded have our people, and particularly the working classes, become to the idea that protection is better for us than free trade, that our Democratic friends lack the courage to come out boldly for a free-trade measure and in favor of free-trade doctrines. "No," they say, "we are not free traders, for there is no free-trade party in the United States; our aim is simply to break down the iniquitous protection barriers to a revenue standpoint in order that we may compete on a level with the manufacturers of Great Britain and the continent of Europe," and so they put it: "We go forth with tariff reduction and genuine reciprocity inscribed on our banners."

"BLAINE'S PROPHETIC WORDS."— "IN THE MIDST OF THEIR SUFFERINGS THEY WILL LEARN THE ONLY WAY THEY CAN BE PROSPEROUS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, May 19, 1894.

One of the ablest and most far-seeing statesmen that America has ever produced was the late James G. Blaine. He thus wrote of a change that he saw must come:

"I love my country and my countrymen; I am an American, and I rejoice every day that I am. I enjoy the general prosperity of my country, and I know that the workingmen of this country are the best paid, the best fed, and the best clothed of any laborers on the face of the earth. Many of them have homes of their own. They are surrounded by all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life. I shudder, however, at the thought that the time must come when all this will be changed, when the general prosperity of the country will be destroyed; when the great body of workingmen in this land who are now so prosperous will hear their wives and children cry for bread; that the day must come when the great factories and manufactories of this land will shut down, and where is now life and activity there will be the silence of the tomb. And the reason why this must be so is this: *The great Southern wing of the Democratic party are determined to establish the doctrine of Free Trade in this land.* They will be assisted by the Northern allies. There is a great body of visionary, but educated men, who are employed day by day in writing Free Trade essays and arguments in favor of the doctrine, which find their way to every newspaper in the land. The great body of our people have never experienced themselves the sufferings which always result when protective principles are laid aside. Poisoned and excited by the wild statements of these writers, and the demagogic appeals of the Democratic speakers, the result will be that in the very near future those forces which are now working, will be strong enough to defeat at the polls the party advocating the doctrine of protection. It must inevitably follow that uncertainty and doubt will ensue. The business men of the country, fearing the destruction of the principles of protection, will decline to engage in business; consequently, mills will shut down, and the workingman will be thrown out of employment. *The people will then see as they have never seen before, that they cannot be prosperous and have work while the principle is threatened.* In the midst of their sufferings they will learn that the only way they can be prosperous and happy is to vote for the party that has built up the industries by which they have gained a livelihood; because they will then see clearly that when the manufactory is shut down there is no demand for the only thing which they have to sell, and that is their labor."

In the light of the events that have occurred since November, 1892, we can see that every word of that remarkable statement has been literally fulfilled; and many will think that Mr. Blaine must have been inspired to foresee so correctly what would so speedily come to pass; but it was not inspiration at all. He simply applied to conditions which he knew would arise a principle which the history of our country for over a hundred years had proved to be as invariable as the law of gravitation, and as inexorable. That principle has already been stated, but can properly be repeated: *Whenever Free Trade, or a Tariff for Revenue Only, has prevailed, or there has been a threat of either, with a probability that that threat would be executed—we have had widespread business depression, lack of confidence, lack of credit, stoppage of business, lack of employment, bankruptcy, disorder and ruin, with all their attendant evil consequences.* This rule is not a matter of opinion, nor of argument, but of stern, impartial and unimpeachable history. On another occasion Mr. Blaine said: "The benefit of protection goes first and last to the men who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces. The auspicious and momentous result is that never before in the history of the world has comfort been enjoyed, educations acquired and independence secured by so large a proportion of the total population as in the United States of America."

Mr. Gladstone, the eminent leader of the free traders in England, admits the marvelous increase of wealth acquired by the United States under a protective tariff, but insists that the results would have been even larger under free trade. He produces no facts to sustain his views, and therefore it is simply an expression of opinion.

But undisputed facts are infinitely stronger and more decisive than opinions or arguments, no matter how great or how able are their authors, and therefore the facts shall decide this question.

Mr. Blaine marshaled these facts clearly and forcibly from the very best authorities as follows:

"In 1860 the population of the United States was in round numbers 31,000,000. At the same time the population of the United Kingdom was in round numbers 29,000,000. The wealth of the United States at that time was \$14,000,000,000; the wealth of the United Kingdom was \$29,000,000,000. The United Kingdom had therefore nearly the same population, but more than double the wealth of the United States, with machinery for manufacturing four-fold greater than that of the United States. At the end of twenty years (1880) it appeared that the United States had added nearly \$30,000,000,000 to her wealth, while the United Kingdom had added nearly \$15,000,000,000, or about one-half.

"OUR LAWS SHALL IN NO EVENT AFFORD ADVANTAGE IN OUR MARKET TO FOREIGN INDUSTRIES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN F. LACEY of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, January 25, 1904.

I wish leave in this connection, as some controversy seems to exist as to the views of the President upon the tariff revision, to insert an extract from a speech delivered by him on April 4 last at Minneapolis.

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

We are now in a condition of prosperity unparalleled, not merely in our own history, but in the history of any other nation.

This prosperity is deep rooted and stands on a firm basis because it is due to the fact that the average American has in him the stuff out of which victors are made in the great industrial contests of the present *is now able to use and develop his qualities to best advantage under our well-established economic system.*

We are winning headship among the nations of the world because our people are able to keep their high average of individual citizenship and to show their mastery in the hard, complex, pushing life of the age.

There will be fluctuations from time to time in our prosperity, but *it will continue to grow just so long as we keep up this high average of individual citizenship and permit it to work out its own salvation under proper economic legislation.*

The present phenomenal prosperity has been won under a tariff which was made in accordance with certain fixed and definite principles, the most important of which is *an avowed determination to protect the interests of the American producer, business man, wage-worker, and farmer alike.*

The general tariff policy, to which, with regard to changes in detail, I believe this country is irrevocably committed, is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference between the cost of production—that is, the cost of labor—here and abroad, and of the need to see to it that *our laws shall in no event afford advantage in our market to foreign industries over American industries, to foreign capital over American capital, to foreign labor over our own labor.*

NEED HIGH TYPE OF LABOR.

This country has and this country needs better paid, better educated, better fed, and better clothed workmen, of a higher type than are to be found in any foreign country.

It has and it needs a higher, more vigorous, and more prosperous type of tillers of the soil than is possessed by any other country.

The business men, the merchants and manufacturers, and the managers of the transportation interests show the same superiority when compared with men of their type abroad.

The events of the last few years have shown how skilfully the leaders of American industry use in international business competition the mighty industrial weapons forged for them by the resources of our country, the wisdom of our laws, and the skill, the inventive genius, and the administrative capacity of our people.

It is of course, a mere truism to say that we want to use everything in our power to foster the welfare of our entire body politic. In other words, we need to treat the tariff as a business proposition from the standpoint of the interests of the country as a whole, and not with reference to the temporary needs of any political party. It is almost as necessary that our policy should be stable as that it should be wise.

TARIFF CHANGES.

A nation like ours could not long stand the ruinous policy of re-adjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals, especially when, as now, owing to the immense extent and variety of our products, the tariff schedules carry rates of duty on thousands of different articles.

Sweeping and violent changes in such a tariff, touching so vitally the interests of all of us, embracing agriculture, labor, manufactures, and commerce, would be disastrous in any event, and they would be fatal to our present well-being if approached on the theory that the principle of the protective tariff was to be abandoned.

The business world—that is, the entire American world—can not afford, if it has any regard for its own welfare, even to consider the advisability of abandoning the present system.

Yet, on the other hand, where the industrial conditions so frequently change, as with us must of necessity be the case, it is a matter of prime importance that we should be able from time to time to adapt our economic policy to the changed conditions.

Our aim should be to preserve the policy of a protective tariff, in which the nation as a whole has acquiesced, and yet wherever and whenever necessary to change the duties in particular paragraphs or schedules as matters of legislative detail, if such a change is demanded by the interests of the nation as a whole.

In making any readjustment there are certain important considerations which can not be disregarded. If a tariff law has on the whole worked well, and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it may be better to endure some inconveniences and inequalities for a time than by making changes to risk causing disturbance and, perhaps, paralysis in the industries and business of the country. * * *

THE TRUSTS.

One point we must steadily keep in mind. The question of tariff revision, speaking broadly, stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the trusts. *No change in tariff duties can have any substantial effect in solving the so-called trust problem.*

Certain great trusts or great corporations are wholly unaffected by the tariff. Practically all the others that are of any importance have, as a matter of fact, numbers of smaller American competitors, and of course a change in the tariff which would work injury to the large corporation would work not merely injury, but destruction, to its smaller competitors; and equally, of course, such a change would mean disaster to all the wage-workers connected with either the large or the small corporations. * * *

"PROTECTION."—"WHAT IT IS AND THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH IT IS FOUNDED."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. THOMAS B. REED of Maine, in
House of Representatives, May 19, 1888. (Con-
gressional Record, Vol. 19. page 4442.)*

Perhaps the best argument I can make for protection is to state what it is and the principles on which it is founded. Man derives his greatest power from his association with other men, his union with his fellows. Whoever considers the human being as a creature alone, by himself, isolated and separated, and tries to comprehend mankind by mathematically adding these atoms together, has utterly failed to comprehend the human race and its tremendous mission. Sixty millions even of such creatures, without association, are only so many beasts that perish. But sixty millions of men, welded together by national brotherhood, each supporting, sustaining, and buttressing the other, are the sure conquerors of all those mighty powers of nature which alone constitute the wealth of this world. The great blunder of the Herr professor of political economy is that he treats human beings as if every man were so many foot-pounds, such and such a fraction of a horse-power. All the soul of man he leaves out.

Think for a moment of the foundation principles involved in this question, which I now ask. Where does wealth come from? It comes from the power of man to let loose and yet guide those elemental forces, the energy of which is infinite. It comes from the power of man to force the earth to give her increase, to hold in the bellying sail the passing breeze, to harness the tumbling waterfall, to dam up the great rivers, to put bits in the teeth of the lightning. Foot-pounds and fractions of a horse-power will never do this. It takes brains and the union of foot-pounds and fractions of a horse-power working harmoniously together.

To grasp the full powers of nature, to reap the richest wealth of the world, we must utilize the full power of man, not merely muscles and brains, but those intangible qualities which we call energy, vigor, ambition, confidence, and courage. Have you never remarked the wonderful difference between a sleepy country village, lying lazily alongside an unused waterfall, where more than half the energy of the people was lost for lack of the kind of work they wanted to do; where, whenever three men met together in the road, the rest looked out of the windows, idly wondering what the riot was about, and that same village, after the banks were lined with workshops and the air was noisy with the whirr of the spindles, and every man was so eager to work, that there never seemed hours enough in the day to tear from the powers of nature their imprisoned richness? If you have, you have also seen the contrast between men left to themselves, so many foot-pounds and fractions of a horse-power, and men incited by hope, spurred on by ambition, and lighted on their way by the confidence of success.

For a nation to get out of itself or out of the earth all of the wealth there is in both, it is not necessary for the nation to buy cheap or sell dear. That concerns individuals alone. *What concerns the nation, is how to utilize all the work there is in men, both of muscle and brain, of body and of soul, in the great enterprise of setting in motion the ever-gratuitous forces of nature. How shall you get out of the people of a nation their full powers? Right here is precisely the dividing line. The let-alone school say leave individual man to his own devices. The protectionist school say let us stimulate combined and aggregated man to united endeavor.*

"A PROGRESSIVE ERA UNDER A SYSTEM THOROUGHLY AMERICAN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WILLIAM McKINLEY, of Ohio, in House of Representatives, and printed in daily Congressional Record, May 7, 1890.

We have now enjoyed twenty-nine years continuously of protective tariff laws—the longest uninterrupted period in which that policy has prevailed since the formation of the Federal Government—and we find ourselves at the end of that period *in a condition of independence and prosperity the like of which has never been witnessed at any other period in the history of our country, and the like of which has no parallel in the recorded history of the world.*

In all that goes to make a nation great and strong and independent, we have made extraordinary strides. In arts, in science, in literature, in manufactures, in invention, in scientific principles applied to manufactures and to agriculture, in wealth and credit, and national honor, we are at the very front, abreast with the best, and behind none.

In 1860, after fourteen years of a revenue tariff, just the kind of a tariff that our political adversaries are advocating to-day, the business of the country was prostrated, agriculture was deplorably depressed, manufacturing was on the decline, and the poverty of the Government itself made this nation a byword in the financial centers of the world.

We had neither money nor credit. Both are essential. A nation can get on if it has abundant revenues, but if it has none it must have credit. We had neither, as a legacy of the Democratic revenue tariff. We have both now. We have a surplus revenue and a spotless credit. I need not state what is so fresh in our minds, so recent in our history, as to be known to every gentleman who hears me, that *from the inauguration of the protective laws of 1861, the old Morrill tariff—which has brought to that veteran statesman the highest honor, and will give to him the proudest monument—this condition changed. Confidence was restored, courage was inspired, the Government started upon a progressive era under a system thoroughly American.*

With a great war on our hands, with an army to enlist and prepare for service, with untold millions of money to supply, the protective tariff never failed us in a single emergency, and while money was flowing into our Treasury to save the Government, industries were springing up all over the land—the foundation and corner-stone of our prosperity and glory.

"OPINIONS OF PRESIDENTS."—"WHAT THESE GREAT MEN THOUGHT OF PROTECTION."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, May 16, 1894.

OPINIONS OF PRESIDENTS.

It may not be uninteresting nor unprofitable to learn what these great men thought of Protection.

George Washington, in his first annual message, speaking of our people, said: "Their safety and interest require that they promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essentials, particularly military supplies." In his eighth and last annual message Washington said: "Congress has repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible."

John Adams, our second President, in his last annual message congratulated the country upon the great prosperity then existing, and added: "I observe, with much satisfaction, that the product of the revenue during the present year has been more considerable than during any former period. This result affords conclusive evidence of the great resources of the country, and of the wisdom and efficiency of the measures which have been adopted by Congress for the protection of commerce and preservation of the public credit."

Thomas Jefferson, our third President, often referred to as the Founder of the Democratic Party, in his second annual message, in enumerating the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves, mentions as one of the most prominent: "To protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances." Again he wrote: "The general inquiry now is, shall we make our own comforts or go without them at the will of a foreign nation? He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures, must be for reducing us either to a dependence upon that nation, or to be clothed in skins and live like beasts in caves and dens. I am proud to say I am not one of these. Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comforts."

James Madison, our fourth President, recognized as "the Father of the Constitution," in a special message to Congress, May 23, 1809, said: "It will be worthy of the just and provident care of Congress to make such further alterations in the laws as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens."

James Monroe, our fifth President, in his inaugural said: "Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend, in the degree we have done, on supplies from other countries. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition it will enhance the price and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign market."

President John Quincy Adams, who succeeded Mr. Monroe, was also a strong friend of protection, and in his fourth annual message discusses at some length our agricultural, commercial and manufacturing interests, and shows that "all these interests are alike under the protecting powers of the legislative authority," and proceeds to make himself clear and explicit in his defense of the principles of protection.

President Andrew Jackson said in his annual message, in December, 1832, concerning the results and benefits of eight years of protection under the Tariffs of 1824 and 1828: "Our country presents, on every side, marks of prosperity and happiness, unequaled, perhaps, in any other portion of the world."

President William H. Harrison, a Whig and a strong protectionist, succeeded Mr. Van Buren, but he lived only a month after his inauguration and had no opportunity to make his opinions felt.

President Zachary Taylor succeeded Mr. Polk, and in his first annual message said: "I do not doubt the right or duty of Congress to encourage domestic industry. I look to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress for the adoption of a system which may place home labor, at last, on a sure and permanent footing, and, by due encouragement of manufactures, give new and increased stimulus to agriculture and promote the development of our vast resources and the extension of our commerce."

President Fillmore in his annual message in December, 1851, said: "The policy which dictated a low rate of duties on foreign merchandise, it was thought by those who established it, would tend to benefit the farming population by increasing the demand and raising the price of our agricultural products in foreign markets. The facts, however, seem to show, incontestably, that no such result has followed the adoption of this policy."

James Buchanan, the last Democratic President before 1861, in his annual message said of that distressful free trade period: "With unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and all the elements of natural wealth our manufacturers have suspended; our public works are retarded; our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned; and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country is in a deplorable condition."

Every President from Washington to Buchanan, except Polk, and possibly Van Buren and Pierce, were in favor of protection to home industries, and their statements have been quoted in proof thereof. As protection has always been a cardinal doctrine in Republican platforms and policy, so all Republican Presidents have been firm defenders of protection.

HON. THOS. B. REED.
**"YOU MUST ASSURE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
AMERICAN MARKETS."**

From remarks of Hon. THOMAS B. REED of Maine, in daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session, page 4668.

The revenue reform argument is either a false pretense or covers the whole ground. Protection is either in its essence a benefit or a curse. You cannot dilute a curse and make it a blessing. Ratsbane and water are no more food than ratsbane pure. Incidental protection is a sham. Tariff for revenue only goes down before the same arguments which are used against protection. If protection be a tax for manufacturers' benefit, then it is the same tax if it be the result of even a revenue tariff. *Incidental protection is, of the most, inexcusable. It is an accident which ought to be avoided like a railroad disaster. If you take one dollar from the citizen for the Treasury, and four for the manufacturer, is it any the less robbery that you call it a revenue tariff?*—Page 4667-8.

On the face of the earth to-day there are but two sets of people who believe in free trade, whether pure and simple or disguised as revenue reform, and those two are the masked majority of the Committee on Ways and Means and their followers and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with Ireland suppressed.

Russia, the granary of Europe, has abandoned free trade, with the striking result that whereas, in 1876, before the duties were raised, she bought eight million hundred-weight of British metals and paid therefor thirty million of dollars (eight for thirty), she got the same quantity in 1884 and paid only seventeen million for it (eight for seventeen). Three dollars and seventy-five cents per hundred-weight before tariff and \$2.12½ after. *Austria, Germany, Italy, Mexico, and the Dominion of Canada, that child of Britain herself, have all joined the army of protection. It is the instinct of humanity against the assumptions of the book men. It is the wisdom of the race against the wisdom of the few.*—Page 4669.

There is only one way to get the best work out of men, and that is to give each the work he can do best. You can only accomplish this by diversifying industry. To diversify industry completely in a country such as ours, there is but one way given under Heaven among men. To enable the American people themselves to supply all their wants you must give and assure to the American people the American markets. What does this phrase mean in practical life? It means that we, the nation, say to capital, "Embark yourself in the manufacture of such and such articles, and you shall have a market to the extent of the American people."

Capital then says to labor, "Go with me into this new field, all of you who like this work best, and we will share the results." Then begins a new industry. Multiply this by hundreds, and you have a community where every man honestly minded will get what on the whole suits him best, and the nation will get the greatest amount of the ever-gratuitous forces of nature.

"NOT OPEN MINTS, BUT OPEN MILLS."

Extract from McKINLEY'S Letter of Acceptance, 1896; printed on page 415, Appendix to bound Congressional Record, 1st Session, 55th Congress; part of remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR, in House of Representatives, July 19, 1897.

Our shops are closed or running on half time at reduced wages and small profit, if not actual loss. Our men at home are idle, and while they are idle men abroad are occupied in supplying us with goods. Our unrivaled home market for the farmer has also greatly suffered because those who constitute it—the great army of American wage earners—are without the work and wages they formerly had. If they can not earn wages they can not buy products. They can not earn if they have no employment, and when they do not earn the farmer's home market is lessened and impaired, and the loss is felt by both producer and consumer. The loss of earning power alone in this country in the past three years is sufficient to have produced our unfortunate business situation. If our labor was well employed, and employed at as remunerative wages as in 1892, in a few months every farmer in the land would feel the glad change in the increased demand for his products and in the better prices which he would receive.

NOT OPEN MINTS, BUT OPEN MILLS.

It is not an increase in the volume of money which is the need of the time, but an increase in the volume of business. Not an increase of coin, but an increase of confidence. Not more coinage, but a more active use of the money coined. Not open mints for the unlimited coinage of the silver of the world, but open mills for the full and unrestricted labor of American workingmen. The employment of our mints for the coinage of the silver of the world would not bring the necessities and comforts of life back to our people. This will only come with the employment of the masses, and such employment is certain to follow the reestablishment of a wise protective policy which shall encourage manufacturing at home. Protection has lost none of its virtue and importance. The first duty of the Republican party, if restored to power in the country, will be the enactment of a tariff law which will raise all the money necessary to conduct the Government, economically and honestly administered, and so adjusted as to give preference to home manufactures and adequate protection to home labor and the home market. We are not committed to any special schedules or rates of duty. They are and should be always subject to change to meet new conditions, but the principle upon which rates of duty are imposed remains the same. Our duties should always be high enough to measure the difference between the wages paid labor at home and in competing countries, and to adequately protect American investments and American enterprises.

OUR FARMERS AND THE TARIFF.

Our farmers have been hurt by the changes in our tariff legislation as severely as our laborers and manufacturers, badly as they have suffered. The Republican platform wisely declares in favor of such encouragement to our sugar interests "as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use." It promises to our wool and woolen interests "the most ample protection," a guaranty that ought to commend itself to every patriotic citizen. Never was a more grievous wrong done the farmers of our country than that so unjustly inflicted during the past three years upon the wool growers of America. Although among our most industrious and useful citizens, their interests have been practically destroyed and our woolen manufacturers involved in similar disaster. At no time within the past thirty-six years, and perhaps never during any previous period, have so many of our woolen factories been suspended as now. The Republican party can be relied upon to correct these great wrongs, if again intrusted with the control of Congress.

RECIPROCITY AND ITS EFFECTS.

Another declaration of the Republican platform that has my most cordial support is that which favors reciprocity. The splendid results of the reciprocity arrangements that were made under authority of the tariff law of 1890 are striking and suggestive. The brief period they were in force, in most cases only three years, was not long enough to thoroughly test their great value, but sufficient was shown by the trial to conclusively demonstrate the importance and the wisdom of their adoption. In 1892 the export trade of the United States attained the highest point in our history. The aggregate of our exports that year reached the immense sum of \$1,030,278,148, a sum greater by \$100,000,000 than the exports of any previous year. In 1893, owing to the threat of unfriendly tariff legislation, the total dropped to \$847,665,194. Our exports of domestic merchandise decreased \$189,000,000, but reciprocity still secured us a large trade in Central and South America and a larger trade with the West Indies than we had ever before enjoyed. The increase of trade with the countries with which we had reciprocity agreements was \$3,560,515 over our trade in 1892 and \$16,440,721 over our trade in 1891. The only countries with which the United States traded that showed increased exports in 1893 were practically those with which we had reciprocity arrangements.

The reciprocity treaty between this country and Spain, touching the markets of Cuba and Puerto Rico, was announced September 1, 1891. The growth of our trade with Cuba was phenomenal. In 1891 we sold that country but 114,441 barrels of flour; in 1892, 366,175; in 1893, 616,406, and in 1894, 662,248. Here was a growth of nearly 500 per cent., while our exportations of flour to Cuba for the year ending June 30, 1895—the year following the repeal of the reciprocity treaty—fell to 379,856 barrels, a loss of nearly half our trade with that country. The value of our total exports of merchandise from the United States to Cuba in 1891 the year prior to the negotiation of the reciprocity treaty—was \$12,224,888; in 1892, \$17,953,579; in 1893, \$24,157,698; in 1894, \$20,125,321, but in 1895, after the annulment of the reciprocity agreement, it fell to only \$12,887,661. Many similar examples might be given of our increased trade under reciprocity with other countries.

"WHAT PROTECTION HAS DONE FOR GERMANY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. D. KELLEY of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, January 31, 1866. (Congressional Globe, page 556, 39th Congress, 1st Session.)

Before the establishment of the Zoll-Verein, which occurred in 1835, Germany exported raw materials. Having sold her skins for a sixpence, she bought back what few tails she could at any price. Her laboring people were poor, and, as is now the case in Ireland, in such excess of her ability to feed and clothe them, that she was ever ready to sell a contingent to any party that might be engaged in war, and, if need be, to swell the ranks of both contending armies. In the absence of protective duties, there was nothing of so little value to her as an able-bodied German peasant. But the establishment of that Customs Union has changed all this. It protects her industry, and as a consequence, she imports raw materials from America and all other countries that adhere to her ancient semi-barbarous policy, and exports her grain and wool condensed into broadcloth and the multi-form products of well-protected industry. The annual crop derived from her soil increases per acre steadily as that of England, and in about the ratio of the diminution of ours. Wise laws have here again demonstrated the truth that there is a harmony between the varied interests of the people of a country, and that by a wide and universal diversification of employments, the welfare of each and all is advanced.

Forty years ago England had not perfected her protective system so far as to admit all raw materials free of duty, and Germany sold her thirty million pounds of raw wool, upon which she collected a duty of twelve cents a pound, part of which, when manufactured into low grades of cloth, she sold at immense profits in Germany. But thirty years of protection have changed all this. Germany now raises over one hundred million pounds of wool and imports very considerable quantities; and having compacted her grain and wool into fine cloths, she exports them to all parts of the world.

"When the Zoll-Verein was formed," says Henry C. Carey, "the total import of raw cotton and cotton yarn was about three hundred thousand cwts.; but so rapid was the extension of the manufacture that in less than six years it has doubled; and so cheaply were cotton goods supplied that a large export trade had already arisen. In 1845, when the Union was but ten years old, the import of cotton and yarn had reached a million of hundred-weights, and since that time there has been a large increase. The iron manufacture also grew so rapidly that, whereas, in 1834, the consumption had been only eleven pounds per head, in 1847 it had risen to twenty-five pounds, having thus more than doubled; and with each step in this direction, the people were obtaining better machinery for cultivating the land and for converting its raw products into manufactured ones."

**"SOUTHERN POLITICIANS REFUSED TO ACCEPT ANY
POLICY EXCEPT FREE TRADE."**

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. D. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania,
in House of Representatives, printed in daily Congressional
Record (50th Congress, 1st Session, page 3190.)*

It was in vain that the friends of protection appealed to the fact that the duties levied on foreign goods did not necessarily enhance their cost to the consumer; that the competition among home manufacturers and between them and foreigners had greatly reduced the price of nearly every article properly protected; that foreign manufacturers always had and always would advance their prices according to our dependence upon them; that domestic competition was the only safety the country had against foreign imposition; that it was necessary we should become our own manufacturers, in a fair degree, to render ourselves independent of other nations in times of war, as well as to guard against the vacillations in foreign legislation; that the South would be vastly the gainer by having the market for its products at its own doors, to avoid the cost of their transit across the Atlantic; that, in the event of the repression or want of proper extension of our manufactures by the adoption of the free-trade system, the imports of foreign goods to meet the public wants would soon exceed the ability of the people to pay and inevitably involve the country in bankruptcy. But Southern politicians remained inflexible and refused to accept any policy except free trade, to the utter abandonment of the principles of protection. Whether they were jealous of the greater prosperity of the North and desirous to cripple its energies, or whether they were truly fearful of bankrupting the South, we shall not wait to inquire.

PAGE 5717:

Why, sir, the Southern States, with native tin ore, and fuel, and the labor of a million of people now practically idle, can dig the steel, mine the coal, gather the limestone, smelt the ore, convert it into steel, and roll and hammer it if need be into first-class steel plates and sheet-iron. *They can do all that within the limits of the old Confederacy, and in doing it not only give employment to more than a million of idle men, but invite millions of capital and tens and hundreds of thousands of skilled men into that region to deal with all the metals in which the South so abounds.*

PAGE 5501:

In 1856 the rate of duty on the aggregate of our imports was 20.3, and the number of immigrants were 200,436; in 1859 the rate of duties had been reduced to 14.6, and the number of immigrants fell to 121,282. In 1861, by the acts of March 2, August 5, and December 24, the rate of duties was further reduced to 11.2. This broke the camel's back. So many men were thrown out of employment and wages sunk so low that none but agriculturists could come to us with any prospect of improving their condition and immigration sank to a point lower than it had been since the ever-to-be-remembered free-trade crisis of 1837-40. In that year but 91,920 immigrants arrived, and the depression continued through the next year, and the number of immigrants was but 91,987. By the act of July 14, 1862, the duties were raised, so that in 1863 they were up to 23.7, and the immigration nearly equaled that of the two preceding years, having gone up to 176,282. By the several acts of 1864, 1865, and 1866 the duties were increased, so that the duties on importations of 1866 averaged 40.2 per cent., and the immigration went up to 318,554. Last year, when the West was further oppressed by the increase of duties on wool and copper, they averaged 41.2, and the number of immigrants went up to 352,569; and the Commissioners of Immigration assure us that this year the number will exceed 400,000.

"PROGRESS IN MANUFACTURE IN THE UNITED STATES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

The report of the Moseley Industrial Commission closes with a general statement, entitled "Progress in manufacture in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century." It begins by calling attention to the fact that manufactures, which formed in 1875 but 16½ per cent. of the exports of domestic merchandise, formed in the period 1899-1901 29½ per cent. of the exports of domestic merchandise. It also calls attention to the fact that the growth of exports of manufactures from the United States from 1889 to 1901 has been much more rapid than the growth of manufactures exported from the United Kingdom, and says:

Comparison between detailed headings in the trade accounts of the two countries is probably somewhat unsafe, but some idea of the prospect of the United States becoming a greater exporter than this country—the United Kingdom—may be gathered by noticing that the values of machinery exported as well as that of the total exports of iron and steel manufactures, which were both, five years ago, less than a quarter of the corresponding values in this country, amounted at the end of the century to more than half those values.

It also calls attention to the fact that the production of pig iron grew from 4,000,000 tons, average, in 1884 and 1885 in the United States to 13,705,000 tons in 1889-1900, while that of the United Kingdom only grew from 7,614,000 tons to 9,191,000, and that the growth in production of steel in the United States was even more rapid.

It also calls attention to the growth of the tin-plate industry in the United States, saying:

Previous to 1890 the United States produced practically no tin plates and sheets, and the industry owes its existence almost wholly to the protective tariff placed upon these goods in 1890, which became operative on July 1, 1891. The growth of the industry since that date has been very remarkable and has resulted in this country (the United Kingdom) to a large extent losing its best customer. * * * Much of our loss, due to the closing of the American markets against us, has been made good by markets having been found elsewhere; but, in spite of this, the blow to the trade has been very severe.

In closing the general discussion of prosperity in American manufactures, the report says:

Before concluding, it may be as well to suggest, briefly, the causes that have contributed to the enormous expansion of manufacturing industries in the United States. This is not the place to discuss in detail the causes which may be credited as political. That a certain proportion of the growth of the manufacturing industries of the United States is attributable to the direct action of government, and especially to the operation of the tariff, is obvious, and, indeed, has been referred to incidentally in discussing the growth of tin-plate manufacture in the United States.

A word, however, may be said as to the causes of growth which depend on the natural advantages possessed by the United States and the personal characteristics of her citizens. Under the first head come the enormous coal resources of the United States, coupled with the rich deposits of iron ore. Under the second comes a whole group of characteristics, which to a large extent evade statistical analysis. There is, first, the readiness of the manufacturer to adopt, and of the workman to accede to, the use of labor-saving devices. Allied to this is the largeness of scale, with its resultant economies, with which manufactures are conceived and carried on.

The Moseley Industrial Commission, composed of officers of the leading Labor Unions of England, visited the United States in 1902. Each member was required to carefully investigate and report upon conditions of American labor in the industry which his union represented, and also to make specific answers to certain questions supplied to each member of the Commission. The words here quoted are from the reports submitted by these men after their return to England.

"BENEFITS RECEIVED THROUGH HIGH TARIFF ON STEEL."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER, of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, May 17, 1894.

Prior to 1870 the tariff duty on steel rails was so low, and the wages of American laborers in that business were so high in comparison with those of English laborers, that it was impossible to compete with the British iron masters in that business. But in 1870 Congress laid a duty of \$28 a ton on steel rails and ingots, and the results have been even more wonderful than in the wool industry! In 1870 only 30,000 tons of steel rails were made in this country, but in 1888 we manufactured 1,386,277 tons of steel rails; and from 1877 to 1890, inclusive, we made 16,763,116 tons of steel rails, enough to build or relay over 150,000 miles of railway; and over 5,500,000 tons of Bessemer steel ingots for other industrial purposes.

The average cost of this 22,300,000 tons of steel was about \$50 per ton, amounting to the enormous sum of \$1,115,000,000. Suppose we allow \$220,000,000, or about twenty per cent., as profits to the manufacturers, a profit probably much larger than the actual profit, we shall have left a balance of \$895,000,000 to the credit of the laboring men, who converted that great mountain of iron ore into first-class steel. Who can say that protection has not been a benefit to the laborers of this country? Nearly nine hundred millions of dollars divided among the laborers engaged in a single industry in twelve years! Were these workingmen growing poorer under protection. Again, suppose the American Congress had followed the advice of our free-trade friends and not put on that duty of \$28 per ton, nor any other protective duty. Of course we should have been obliged to import from England all that enormous quantity of steel. The free trader asks: "What difference would this have made with our workingmen, our capitalists, and our country?"

This: The British workingmen would have received nearly \$900,000,000, or its English equivalent, for that labor, instead of the American; the British capitalists would have pocketed that \$220,000,000 of profits, or its English equivalent, instead of the American; and Great Britain would be hugely enjoying that \$1,115,000,000, or its English equivalent, instead of the United States. True, we would have had our rails and our ingots; but the resulting benefits to our nation would have been as follows: On the one hand, free trade, plus the steel, but minus \$220,000,000 of profits, and minus \$895,000,000 of wages; and, on the other, protection, plus the steel, and plus \$220,000,000 of profits, and plus \$895,000,000 of wages.

But this is not all the benefits we have received through this high tariff on steel. The *New York Press* of May 4, 1891, stated a truth well known to protectionists in these words: "In 1870 the price of steel rails was \$106.75 per ton, but from that date, by means of competition and improved machinery, the price has gradually decreased till it has reached \$28 per ton, and even less, and the duty has been reduced, while the average wages of the men employed have increased. As stated above, we made in 1888, 1,386,277 tons of steel rails, and used them at home, while of foreign steel rails we imported and used but 63,000 tons; but in 1890 we made, and our home market consumed, 1,867,837 tons, a gain of 481,560 tons in two years, while our importation of foreign rails fell off to 204 tons."

Who can estimate the value of the home market which this mighty industry has created for our agricultural and manufactured products to supply those laborers and their families with food and clothing and the other necessities and comforts of life?

"PROTECTIVE TARIFFS HAVE NOT INTERRUPTED OUR EXPORT TRADE—IT HAS INCREASED UNDER THEM."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. WILLIAM McKINLEY of Ohio, in
House of Representatives, and printed in daily Con-
gressional Record, May 7, 1890.*

Protective tariffs have not interrupted our export trade, but it has increased under them. In the year 1843, being the first year after the protective tariff of 1842 went into operation, our exports exceeded our imports \$40,392,229, and in the following year they exceeded our imports \$3,141,226. In the two years following the excess of imports over exports was \$15,475,000. The last year under that tariff the excess of exports over imports was \$34,317,249. So during the five years of the tariff of 1842 the excess of exports over imports was \$62,375,000. Under the low tariff of 1846 this was reversed, and, with the single exception of 1858, the imports exceeded the exports (covering a period of fourteen years) \$465,553,625.

During the war and down to 1875 the imports, with two exceptions, exceeded the exports. From 1876 down to 1889, inclusive (covering a period of fourteen years), there were only two years when our imports exceeded our exports, and the total excess of exports over imports was \$1,581,906,371 of the products of our people more than we brought into the United States. *The balance of trade has been almost uninterruptedly in our favor during the protective tariff periods of our history, and against us with few exceptions during revenue-tariff periods.* This would seem to indicate a healthful business condition with the outside world, resulting from the Republican economic system, and an unhealthful condition, where we had to send money out of the country to pay our balances under the Democratic system. The chief complaint against this bill comes from importers and consignees here on the one hand, and the foreign merchants and consignors abroad. Why do they complain? Manifestly because in some way this bill will check their business here and increase the business of our own manufacturers and producers; it will diminish the importation of competing foreign goods and increase the consumption of home-made goods. This may be a good reason to influence the foreigner to oppose its passage, but it is hardly a sound reason why Americans should oppose it.

If the bill checks foreign importation of goods competing with ours, it will increase our production and necessarily increase the demand for labor at home. This may be a good reason why the cheap labor of other countries should be unfriendly to this bill, but furnishes the best of reasons why the workmen of the United States should favor it as they do. We do not conceal the purpose of this bill—we want our own countrymen and all mankind to know it. It is to increase our production here, diversify our productive industries, enlarge the field, and increase the demand for American workmen.

What American can oppose these worthy and patriotic objects? Others not Americans may find justification for doing so. This bill is an American bill. It is made for the American people and American interests.

"ROYAL TRUMPETERS OF FREE TRADE WHO TAKE SIDES AGAINST THE UNITED STATES IN ALL COMMERCIAL CONTESTS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. S. MORRILL, of Vermont, in House of Representatives, December 8, 1881. (Congressional Record, Vol. 13, page 58.)

If royal "cowboys" who attempted to whistle down American independence one hundred years ago ingloriously failed, so it may be hoped will fail royal trumpeters of free trade, who seem to take sides against the United States in all commercial contests for industrial independence.

Among the branches of manufactures absolutely waked into life by the tariff of 1861, and which then had no place above zero, may be named crockery and chinaware. The number of white-ware factories is now fifty-three, with forty decorating establishments; and the products, amounting to several millions, are sold at prices 25 to 50 per cent. below the prevailing prices of twenty years ago. Clay and kaolin, equal to the best in China, have been found east, west, and south in such abundance, as to promise a large extension of American enterprise, not only in the ordinary, but in the highest branches of ceramic art. Steel may also here claim its birth. No more of all sorts than 11,838 tons were made in 1860, but 1,397,015 tons were made in 1880. Those who objected to a duty on steel have found they were biting something more than a file. Silks, in 1860, hardly unwound from the cocoon, were creeping along, with only a small showing of sewing silk and a few trimmings, but now this industry rises to national importance, furnishing apt employment to many thousand women as well as to men; and the annual products, sharply competing with even the Bonnet silks of Lyons, amount to the round sum of \$34,500,000. Notwithstanding the exceptionally heavy duties, I am assured that silk goods in general are sold for 25 per cent. less than they were twenty years ago.

Plate glass is another notable manufacture, requiring great scientific and mechanical skill and large capital, whose origin bears date since the tariff of 1861. It is made in Missouri and in Indiana, and to a small extent in Kentucky and Massachusetts; but in Indiana it is made of the purest and best quality by an establishment which, after surmounting many perils, has now few equals in the magnitude or perfection of its productions, whether on this or the other side of the Atlantic, and richly merits not only the favor but the patronage of the Government itself. Copper is another industry upon which a specific duty was imposed in 1861, which has had a rapid growth, and now makes a large contribution to our mineral wealth. The amount produced in 1860 was less than one-fifth of the present production, and valued at \$2,288,182; while in 1880 the production rose to the value of \$8,849,961. The capital invested increased from \$8,525,300 to \$31,675,096. In 1860 the United States Mint paid from twenty-three and one-half to twenty-five cents per pound for copper, but has obtained it the present year under a protective tariff as low as seventeen cents. Like our mines of inexhaustible coal and iron, copper is found in many States, some of it superior to any in the world, and for special uses is constantly sought after by foreign governments.

Many American productions sustain the character they have won by being the best in the world. Our carpenters and joiners could not be hired to handle any other than American tools; and there are no foreign agricultural implements, from a spade to a reaper, that an American farmer would accept as a gift. There is no saddlery hardware nor house-furnishing equal in quality and style to American. Watches and jewelry and the electric gold and silver-plated ware of American workmanship, as to quality, have the foremost place in the marts of the world. The superiority of our staple cotton goods is indisputable, as is proven by the tribute of frequent counterfeits displayed abroad. The city of Philadelphia alone makes many better carpets and more in quantity than the whole of Great Britain. *These are noble achievements, which should neither be obscured nor lost by the sinister handling and industrious vituperation of free-trade monographists.*

"THE PROTECTION AFFORDED TO OUR INDUSTRY LAWS."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. D. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania,
in House of Representatives, January 31, 1866. (Congressional
Globe, page 557, 39th Congress, 1st Session.)*

THEN AND NOW.

Sir, let us contemplate for a moment our condition when the champions of slavery and free trade fired on the flag of the country. April, 1861, found us unable to clothe our soldiers or furnish them with implements and munitions of war. When the President called for seventy-five thousand troops, and that number of the flower of our countrymen promptly responded, they were clad, not in blue alone, but in gray, the chosen color of our enemy; in black, in red, or any other color, because we had not the proper material with which to clothe them. We had not the quality of iron to fashion a gun barrel, nor could we make it. We had no blankets to shield our men from rain or frost, in camp or bivouac; and as the people regarded the base character of the articles with which our army was provided, many of which had been made from American rags in the shoddy towns of Yorkshire, they raised a universal cry of "fraud" against both public officers and contractors. Our mills, forges, furnaces, and factories stood still. The frugal laborer was living upon the earnings of past years. Commerce, having dwindled from the expiration of the protective tariff of 1842, had ceased to animate our ports. The crops of the West stood ungathered in the fields, and the bankruptcy of 1857, from which we had not yet recovered, had returned to sweep away the few who had withstood the surge.

But the case is altered now. Necessity has compelled us to do what reason and experience long ago suggested. The fact that we determined to pay in gold the interest on our bonds and to obtain the required bullion by collecting the duties on imports in coin, has done much to animate and diversify our industry. This fact and the general results of the war—for the duties we lay on raw materials and our internal taxes more than counterbalance the protection afforded to many branches of industry by our tariff laws—have enabled us to recover from our prostration and started us in a career of prosperity and progress; and if wisdom guide our legislation, the waste lands of which I have read will soon be reinvigorated; the ancient village will be absorbed in the expanding city; new towns will mark the plain and river bank; and where the mean white and the negro have loitered listlessly through the months, *diversified and well-paid industry, quickening their energies and expending their desires, will employ all their hours, and enable each to carve his way as an American citizen should do, in a career that will afford him pleasure or profit.*

PROTECTION BEGETS COMPETITION AND CHEAPENS THE MONEY VALUE OF COMMODITIES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. D. KELLEY of Pennsylvania, in House of Representatives, January 31, 1866. (Congressional Globe, page 561, 39th Congress, 1st Session.)

PROTECTION CHEAPENS GOODS.

But protection begets competition, and invariably cheapens the money value of commodities. This is not mere theory; it is a fact established by the experience of all nations that have protected their industry. Washington's Secretary of the Treasury understood this as perfectly as the adept in social science understands it to-day. *Every nation that ever protected its industry improved the quality and lessened the price of its productions;* and no people, while not protecting their manufactures, have ever been able to hold a fair position among the commercial nations of the world, because they could not compete in cheapness with protected industries. While Holland protected her industry more adequately than England, she sold her cheap goods in that country and maintained her supremacy on the seas. It was then that the Dutch raised the ire of Andrew Yarrington, by taunting Englishmen with their want of skill, and England with her want of civilization, in selling her raw products at the price others would give, and buying back part of them when manufactured at the price at which others would sell. But when England perfected her protective system, her superior advantages in coal and iron gave her commercial supremacy, by enabling her to cheapen articles she had believed herself unable to produce, and to employ British ships in carrying English fabrics to mere growers of raw material in every part of the world.

France, as I have shown, protects her industry, and her silks, laces, cloths, cassimeres, and products of iron and steel hold their place in the markets of the world in spite of England's larger commercial marine and more abundant supply of coal and iron. *Has protection increased the price of anything but labor in Germany?* Before the establishment of the Zoll-Verein, or Customs Union, she exported nothing but raw materials, and was only too happy, as I have shown, to send with these her peasantry either for war or civic purposes; but under the influence of protection the value of man has risen in Germany, and that of German products fallen in the markets of the world, till her cloths and the multifarious products of her diversified industry compete with those of England and France in the markets of other nations whose people devote themselves to the production of raw materials. Even Russia, with her thirty millions of recently freed serfs, who enter upon the duties of freemen without disturbance, because the wise Emperor who enfranchised them had secured employment and wages for each by protecting the industry of all, is now entering into the general markets of the world in competition with France, Germany, Belgium and England.

"BOTCHERY OF THE TARIFF BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JUSTIN S. MORRILL of Vermont, printed in daily Congressional Record (50th Congress, 1st Session, page 3018).

The tariff of 1846 was left untouched until 1857, when, in consequence of a temporary surplus of revenue, it underwent some further reductions, resulting in an insufficiency for the annual support of the Government. The condition of the country was graphically described by President Buchanan in his message of December 8, 1857, as follows:

"In the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and in all the elements of national wealth we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want."

It will be remembered that, for the lack of a protective tariff, nearly the whole of the six hundred and forty millions of gold produced in California from 1849 to 1860 had to be at once exported to foreign lands, where it wonderfully developed and fertilized foreign industries instead of our own.

The financial revulsions of 1837, 1847, and 1857, and the general wreck of business affairs, fairly attributable to unwise reductions and botchery of the tariff by the party at the time in power, are as ineffaceably recorded in history as the political revolutions which followed in the overthrow and rout of the Democratic party.

PAGE 3020:

Files, prior to the tariff of 1861, were nearly all imported, and those of the ordinary size were sold at from six to seven dollars per dozen. Mr. Nicholson, of Rhode Island, invented a machine for their manufacture which proved a success, and to-day we have one hundred and fifty file-works established, entirely due to a protective tariff, and find that files of equal merit are now sold at from \$2 to \$2.30 per dozen. Of files only to the amount of \$40 were imported in 1887, but some thousands of American workmen now find employment in their manufacture.

PAGE 3019:

The marvelous increase of the wealth of our country within a score of years is an unfailing source of public felicitation; but I refer to it merely to say that even free-trade authorities concede that—

"In proportion to the increase of capital the relative share of the total product falling to the capitalist is diminished, while, on the contrary, the laborer's share is relatively increased."—*Bastiat*.

An additional fact may be stated that the deposits in savings-banks of no other country approach the aggregate deposits of the savings-banks of the United States, where they are chiefly made in monthly dribbles by laboring men and women, and here, under a protective tariff, the amount in 1872, \$669,329,917, had in 1886 increased to \$1,235,736,069. While this was being accumulated \$947,325,816 of the principal of the debt was paid by our country up to March 1, 1888, besides a large sum of interest. Thus it appears that these laboring men and women have on deposit in these savings-banks a sufficient amount to have paid on March 1, 1888, the whole of our national debt of \$1,202,454,714 and still have thirty-three millions surplus.

This illustrates the great fact that while, under the operations of a protective tariff, domestic productions are largely increased, yet in the distribution the laborer's share, compared with that of the capitalist, is always relatively most increased.

HON. THOMAS B. REED.

"A FEW FOOLISH FREE-TRADE IDEAS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. THOMAS B. REED of Maine, in daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Does your mouth water at the prospect? What market do you give up for all this? Where is the best market in the world? Where the people have the most money to spend. *Where have the people the most money to spend? Right here in the United States of America after twenty-seven years of protectionist rule. And you are asked to give up such a market for the markets of the world! Why the history of such a transaction was told twenty-four hundred years ago. It is a classic. You will find it in the works of Aesop, the fabulist.*

Once there was a dog. He was a nice little dog. Nothing the matter with him except a few foolish free-trade ideas in his head. He was trotting along as happy as the day, for he had in his mouth a nice shoulder of succulent mutton. By and by he came to a stream bridged by a plank. He trotted along, and, looking over the side of the plank, he saw the markets of the world and dived for them. A minute after he was crawling up the bank the wettest, the sickest, the nastiest, the most muttonless dog that ever swam ashore.—Page 4673.

Let me give this great truth of Bastiat's another application. Nature produces all. That is the origin of the much-abused phrase, "The farmer pays all." Whenever the farmer goes beyond his farm for the gratification of his desires, Bastiat, the free-trader, shows that he must then share his riches. Now whom shall we share with, the mechanic at home or the mechanic abroad; his fellow-citizen or an alien? Which is for his interest?

Let me put it in another phrase. Which is it better for a farmer to do, send his surplus wheat a thousand miles to the seacoast, three thousand miles across the water, pay the freight, sell it to the mechanic who gets less wages, or sell it right here at home to the mechanic who gets more wages? The answer seems obvious.—Page 4670,

For a nation to get out of itself or out of the earth all the wealth there is in both, it is not necessary for the nation to buy cheap or sell dear. That concerns individuals alone. What concerns the nation is how to utilize all the work there is in men, both of muscle and brain, of body and soul, in the great enterprise of setting in motion the ever-gratuitous forces of nature.—Page 4668.

"ALL SHIPPED THERE UNDER THE DINGLEY TARIFF BILL."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. E. J. HILL, of Connecticut, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 21, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to apologize to the House for taking any more time, but the gentleman from Minnesota asked a question which I should like to answer. It is as follows: "Do you think it would be for our best interest to have the Chamberlain policy carried out?" I will answer that by telling a story. Two years ago I stood on the deck of a Japanese liner in the harbor of Vladivostock, Siberia. In the hold of that ship was 700 tons of American agricultural implements that had come across the Pacific Ocean from America for the use of the peasants of Siberia. They came under the Dingley tariff bill.

Right over across the other side of the harbor was an English tramp ship loaded with American steel rails from Pennsylvania that had been shipped there to be used by the Siberian Railroad, and shipped there under the Dingley tariff bill.

That day I went ashore and at night at the hotel in Vladivostock I was introduced to a gentleman who told me that he represented the Baldwin Locomotive Works, of Philadelphia, and had just finished a contract by which he had put into operation on the Siberian Railroad 150 Baldwin locomotives, shipped there under the Dingley tariff bill.

The next day I rode 500 miles up to the Amur River over American steel rails shipped there under the Dingley tariff bill. The day following I got aboard the steamer to go up the Amur River 1,500 miles. It was a steel steamer and had in tow two steel barges, both made in Pittsburg, Pa., sent there—12,000 miles, to the other side of the world—and shipped there under the Dingley tariff bill.

The first night out we wrecked one of these barges and the freight had to be unloaded. There were all sorts of American products in that cargo of freight. Ten thousand miles from here, gentlemen, in the little Siberian village of Gorbitza, consisting of a dozen log houses, in a little store not over 8 by 10, we bought packages of candy wrapped up in paper on which was printed the picture of William McKinley to popularize that candy among the peasants of Siberia, all shipped there under the Dingley tariff bill. [Applause on the Republican side.]

All the way across Asia my journey on the cars was made safe and pleasant by the Westinghouse air brake made in Pittsburg, Pa., and shipped over there under the Dingley tariff bill.

The finest stores in all Europe—in Vienna, in Berlin, in Paris, and in London—are those which are selling American shoes shipped there under the Dingley tariff bill, and I say from personal knowledge of my own town that they are selling them at prices which are higher than they are sold at in the United States of America all shipped there under the Dingley tariff bill.

I went to London and I called on a friend, an English gentleman who had been in charge of a transportation company in this country for thirteen years. I said to him, "How's business?"

"It is bad."

"What is the matter?"

"Matter enough."

"What is it?"

"Our ports," he replied, "are wide open to you and yours are closed to us. If I had my way, I would put a duty on everything that comes from your country into Great Britain, and then I would have something to give to you in return for like concessions on your part."

Now, that is the Chamberlain policy, and I want to ask my friend from Minnesota [Mr. LIND] if, when he goes into a battle, he strips his armor off and hands it to his enemy? Would you by a Democratic policy put this country into the same position as England is when England is trying to get out of it in order to protect herself? [Applause on the Republican side.]

**"WISE STATESMANSHIP COMMANDS US TO LET
WELL ENOUGH ALONE."**

Extracts from remarks of Hon. Wm. McKINLEY of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, printed in daily Congressional Record (50th Congress, 1st Session, page 4751).

What country can show such a trade as ours, such commerce, such immense transportation lines, such a volume of exchanges, and such marvelous production from the raw material to the finished product. Its balance sheet is without a parallel in the world's history—richest in agriculture, greatest in its domestic trade and traffic, and leading in manufactures any nation in Europe. Why abandon a policy which can point to such achievements and whose trophies are to be seen on every hand? The internal commerce of the United States is greater than the entire foreign commerce of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Holland, Belgium, and Austria-Hungary. Why, a single railroad system in this country (that of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company) carries more tonnage and traffic in a single year than all the merchant ships of Great Britain. The whole of Europe has not built as many miles of railroad as this country has during some recent years, and in 1880 the whole known world did not lay as many miles of track as were laid across this country. Great Britain's foreign commerce equals about one-sixth of our domestic commerce. *Can we do better under any other fiscal policy? We say not. Our own history supports the answers. Wise statesmanship commands us to let well enough alone.*

PAGE 4749:

Free trade in the United States is founded upon a community of equalities and reciprocities. It is like the unrestrained freedom and reciprocal relations and obligations of a family. Here we are one country, one language, one allegiance, one standard of citizenship, one flag, one Constitution, one nation, one destiny. It is otherwise with foreign nations, each a separate organism, a distinct and independent political society organized for its own, to protect its own, and work out its own destiny. We deny to those foreign nations free trade with us upon equal terms with our own producers. The foreign producer has no right or claim to equality with our own. He is not amenable to our laws. There are resting upon him none of the obligations of citizenship. He pays no taxes. He performs no civil duties; is subject to no demands for military service. He is exempt from State, county and municipal obligations. He contributes nothing to the support, the progress, and glory of the nation. Why should he enjoy unrestrained equal privileges and profits in our markets with our producers, our labor, and our taxpayers? Let the gentleman who follows me answer. We put a burden upon his productions, we discriminate against his merchandise, because he is alien to us and our interests, *and we do it to protect our own, defend our own, preserve our own, who are always with us in adversity and prosperity, in sympathy and purpose, and, if necessary, in sacrifice.*

PAGE 4752:

During the last fiscal year over \$233,000,000 in value of foreign merchandise was imported into the United States free of duty, and over \$450,000,000 additional was imported which paid a duty. Is this not enough?

Summing up these figures, 9,580 men, working for 300 days, would have been required to produce the \$50,000,000 worth of iron and steel which we imported last year. Do you want that volume increased? Two million eight hundred and seventy-four thousand is the aggregate number of days' work that were taken from American workingmen, every day's work of which they could have performed, and were waiting ready to perform.

This Government is made for Americans, native-born and naturalized; and every pound, every bushel, every ton, every yard of foreign product that comes into this country to compete with ours deprives American labor of what justly belongs to it.

"THE GLORY AND TRIUMPH OF PROTECTIONISM."

Extract from article entitled "WHY FIRST VOTERS SHOULD BE PROTECTIONISTS," printed in daily Congressional Record, January 12, 1904.

Long after the output of manufactured articles in this country was greatly in excess of that of the United Kingdom, and even up to the time when it became equal in volume to the combined production of Great Britain and Germany, writers for the British press and authors of books published in England were accustomed to speaking of the United States as an agricultural nation. And when they used the term they were still under the domination of Cobden's idea that Americans "were created by Providence to dig, delve, and plow for the benefit of Great Britain."

They were confirmed in this remarkable belief by the vast quantity of American farm products annually dumped on their shores. They saw so many of the products of our soil that they unthinkingly concluded that we must be devoting ourselves wholly to agriculture. They had been taught by their master that it would be fatal, or at least highly injurious to our true interests as cultivators, to divert any of our capital from the soil, and it did not occur to them that it might be possible for us to have several irons in the fire at once and keep them all at a white heat.

But we did. We made good the protectionist claim that man succeeds best when he depends upon his own efforts. We showed that inexperience and unaptness are not synonymous terms, and we have conclusively proved that there is not a single industry prosecuted in England which we may not hope to carry on with equal or greater success than it is carried on in that country.

It is the glory and triumph of protection to have demonstrated that the whole world may be made a workshop, and that mankind need not be dependent upon a little corner of it. The greatest achievement of protectionism is the fact that it has practically taught the Western World that national progress receives its greatest impulse when the people of a country resolve to do for themselves.

During the years in which protection has been most rigidly adhered to the country has made its greatest gains in productivity. In these years have been built up the enormous industries the existence of which refute the vain assumption of the free trader that protection proves a hindrance to advancement.

Within the past thirty years, while the free traders of Great Britain and the United States have been proclaiming that manufacturing could never succeed in a country hampered by protective duties, there has been developed an industry the volume of whose output exceeds that of Germany and Great Britain combined.

In 1870 the value of the manufactured products of the United States was \$4,232,325,442; in 1900 the colossal total of \$13,039,279,566 was reached. Nor was this enormous production attained at the expense of agriculture. The free trader assured us that any artificial stimulus applied to the development of manufactures would impede the profitable use of our soil, but we have seen concurrently with the growth of our factories such an enlargement of farming operations within our borders as was never witnessed before in any country on the globe.

Had protection resulted in paralyzing agriculture in the United States as free trade did that industry in Great Britain, the American advocates of the promotion of production might have hesitated. But when they saw the predictions of the Cobdenites falsified by the event; when they saw American agriculture expanding year after year, the rate of increase impeded only by the inability of the world to consume the products of our farms at a price that would pay to raise them, protectionists were profoundly convinced that whatever might result from the policy of diversifying resources, it could not possibly be injury to agriculture.

That conviction can not be disturbed so long as the census discloses a continuous increase in the value of farm property and products as it has decade after decade since protection has been the nation's policy. In 1870 the farms of the United States were valued at \$8,944,857,749, in 1900 at \$20,514,001,838; in the same years the annual value of farm products increased from \$1,958,038,927 to \$8,764,177,706.

When we inquire into the details of the American farming industry we find a state of affairs the very reverse of that which the Cobdenites predicted and exactly the opposite of that produced by the free-trade policy in the United Kingdom. In the latter country the tiller is abandoning the soil; in the United States the number of farms and farmers increases steadily. In 1870 there were 2,659,985 farms in this country; in 1900 the number was 5,735,372. Thirty years ago the United Kingdom had six or seven millions more sheep than it has now; the number of sheep in the United States increased from 40,853,000 to 62,039,091 during the same period.

In the thirty years during which our manufacturing industry has made such enormous progress as to astonish the world, agriculture, too, has kept pace. We have increased our output of pig iron from 1,665,179 tons in 1870 to over 17,000,000 tons in 1902; but while the men in the foundries and factories were accomplishing this result the farmers also made an equally astonishing record. In 1870 they had 25,484,100 cattle; in 1902 the number was 61,424,599. In 1870 the number of horses was 8,248,800; in 1902, despite the introduction of the trolley, the bicycle, and the automobile, the number of horses had increased to 16,531,224. We now raise enough swine to provide the world with bacon and hams, the number increasing from 26,751,400 in 1870 to 56,981,142 in 1901. Our production of wool during the period increased from 162,000,000 pounds to 316,341,032 pounds; of wheat, from 235,884,700 bushels to 670,063,008 bushels; of corn, from 1,094,255,000 bushels to 2,523,648,312 bushels, and of cotton, from 4,347,006 bales to 10,680,600 bales.

No other nation can make such a showing as this. Had we hearkened to the free trader, however, it would not have been made. Our agricultural development has been stimulated by the utilization of our manifold resources.

"WITH THIS KIND OF FREE TRADE I AM IN HEARTY SYMPATHY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN SHERMAN, of Ohio, printed in daily Congressional Record (50th Congress, 1st Session, page 201).

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, there was imported from foreign countries for consumption in the United States merchandise to the value of \$683,418,981. Of these there was admitted free of duty merchandise of the value of \$233,093,659, giving absolute free trade in domestic productions to the sixty million of our people with each other and with all the world, and free trade in over one-third of all the articles of foreign production consumed in this country. These articles are mainly such as cannot be produced here by reason of climate; they do not come into competition with domestic industry; and a tax upon them would be simply a burden without any redeeming benefit. *With this kind of free trade I am in hearty sympathy, and would extend it to every article of common use, the growth or production of which is not profitable in the United States.* If Senators can name any such articles not already on the free list, they will have my hearty assistance to place them upon the free list. It is exactly the opposite policy that is proposed by the President and the school to which he belongs. *They seek to place taxes upon articles now free, such as tea and coffee, in order that a greater reduction may be made on articles that do come into competition with home industry.*

PAGE 202:

Both parties admit that luxuries should be taxed higher than necessities, whether by tariff or internal taxation, yet it is well known that diamonds, jewelry, and such things are not subject to so high a tariff duty as woolen or iron goods. This is because their great value and small bulk make smuggling so easy that a great duty could not be enforced.

Taking from the other schedules of imported goods a great variety of expensive fabrics, including expensive clothing, porcelain, and other articles of luxury, and adding their value to Schedule E, it will appear that the value of such articles is not less than \$120,000,000 and the duties collected on them not less than \$60,000,000, or nearly one-third of all duties collected. It certainly cannot be said of these duties, in the language of the President, "that they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people." On the contrary, these duties have imposed the chief burdens of taxation upon articles of voluntary luxury, and still have incited our own artists and mechanics to compete in these branches of industry with the most skilled artisans of Europe and Asia. In this way we have made the most remarkable progress in these expensive productions, and have brought within the means of great masses of our people porcelain, table ware, ornaments, clothing, decorated and enameled furniture, and a multitude of other articles of taste and luxury, the work of American mechanics. To reduce the duty on these foreign luxuries is but to transfer the burden of taxation from those who willingly bear it to the shoulders of the people.

**"FLEEING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC BY REDUCING
THE IMPORT DUTIES."**

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. McKINLEY, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, printed in daily Congressional Record (50th Congress, 1st Session, page 4756).

There is a trust or combination made up of all the plate-glass manufacturers of Europe. I have here a circular which is dated London, 25th of April, 1887, and which reads:

"DEAR SIR: We beg to inform you that the Associated Plate-Glass Manufacturers have revised their prices for plate-glass of all descriptions, and that, withdrawing all previous quotations, we inclose you herewith our tariff of prices, the discount from which will be 33 per cent., with the exception of glazing-glass used for silvering purposes, the discount from which will be 25 per cent."

This trust is still in force. Here is a foreign combination to control the price of plate-glass, and the gentlemen on the other side are engaged in making the monopoly more complete and controlling by reducing the import duties now paid on their product and by relieving them of a burden they now have to bear, and thus enabling them to break down American competition, which alone has reduced the price of plate-glass, and prevents the most extortionate exactions for the foreign product upon American consumers.

PAGE 4757:

Here, again, is an importers' trust in the same line of goods. I read from the New York Herald, of February 28, an account of the investigation by the New York Legislature:

"Mr. James H. Heroy, an importer of plate and French glass, was next called to tell what he knew about the glass trust. Colonel Bliss asked the witness to identify a circular. It is a very peculiar circular, and will open the eyes of the public, if not the eyes of the committee. It is as follows:

"HENRY C. MARRINNER,

"Plate and sheet glass importer, No. 126 South Fifth avenue:

"We beg leave to quote you 70, 10, and 5 per cent. discount from the price-list, January 20, 1887, for French window-glass. In case you wish to make any large purchases we can make you extra discounts.

"For orders of twenty cases or 2,000 feet or more at one time, 10 per cent. discount.

"For import orders of 7,500 feet or more of cathedral and one hundred cases or more colored, enameled, and ground glass we will make special prices, according to the conditions of the order.

"Yours, very truly,

"HEROY & MARRINNER."

"There was no doubt about the intention of that trust. Mr. Heroy said 'it was simply' to make prices below which they would not sell their goods. At the last meeting he attended he thought it was the desire of the combination to reduce prices, and added, 'We have not yet decided what to do in the case of a man who undersells us. We do not decide these things in a hurry.' As a result of the combination prices have advanced."

I have also in my possession a copy of the trust contract. Not content with making this combination among themselves, they sought in every way possible to induce our American producers of plate-glass to join them and assist in fleecing the American public.

There is a foreign trust on china and earthenware. I have the evidence here in the London Pottery Gazette of March 10, 1888, from which I read:

"If any manufacturers are not true to the rules of the new association the bond they will have signed will enable their fellow-manufacturers to sell them up 'rump and stump.' Nothing but the state of dire necessity into which the trade has fallen would tempt men to put their hands to such a bond. The scheme has just been successful with the china manufacturers. They have just obtained a second advance.

"If the keen buyers who always want to beggar the trade and reduce prices, say to a manufacturer who will not sell at lower than the fixed rate, 'Well, if I am forced to pay the association price I will not buy from you,' such manufacturer can reply, 'All right; if you buy from another, and I have to stand for orders, I shall get my pull out of your business, for our rules will not let me suffer through refusing to reduce at your request.' So you see one manufacturer cannot be played off against the others."

"WE STAND FOR A POLICY WHICH IS AMERICAN IN ITS HIGHEST AND BEST SENSE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. E. SAUERHERING of Wisconsin, in House of Representatives, March 31, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 39.

Now, just a few words concerning the tariff on wool. No one any longer questions the necessity of a tariff on wool. The experiment of free wool, as given us in the Wilson bill, has convinced everybody who has given the subject any attention that wool can not be grown in this country in competition with foreign countries. It has brought destruction to a large proportion of our flocks. It has not brought any appreciable benefits to anyone, and has brought bankruptcy to many. In this case, again, we find that the price of wool fell exactly the amount of the tariff on wool in the McKinley law when that law was repealed and wool placed on the free list. But that was not all our farmers lost by free wool. Up to the time of the Wilson law, which placed wool on the free list, a very large proportion of our farming lands was devoted to raising sheep and wool. A great many farmers devoted all of their lands to this purpose. But when wool was put on the free list, and it fell from 10 to 15 cents per pound, our wool-growing farmers gradually cut down their flocks, devoted part of their lands to raising grain for market, and gradually shifted from wool growers to general farmers. This change could not help but work great injury to those already engaged in that kind of farming, and it stands to reason that they will receive great benefits from the proposed tariff on wool, which will again establish our wool industry and take a large part of our present farming lands out of active competition in the production of grains, corn, milk, butter, cheese, etc. A tariff on wool is what this Administration owes to the American farmers, and we hasten to do what justice demands.

Mr. Chairman, our friends on the other side of this House object to this measure because they say that tariff is a tax. Now, I would like to ask these gentlemen, how in the world do you propose to run this Government without taxation? Does not the experience of the last four years show that we need taxes, and need them badly? Was not this extraordinary session of Congress called for the specific purpose of devising means for raising money wherewith to pay our legitimate expenses? We propose to levy a tax, and we propose to do it in a way which is least burdensome to our people. Every American feels proud of this great nation, feels proud of our splendid and successful form of government, proud of our magnificent system of public institutions, unparalleled in the history of nations. We have achieved great things in the past, and, God willing, our history in the future shall be more brilliant than it has been in the past. But we all understand that such a government as ours can not be run without money. Uncle Sam's expenses for twelve months amount to the enormous sum of almost \$500,000,000. It requires nearly one and one-half millions of dollars to keep the wheels of this Government running from sunrise to sunset. Now, who is to be held responsible for this daily bill of Uncle Sam's?

We stand for a policy which is American in its highest and best sense; a policy which stands for the independence of the United States from all the rest of the world; which stands for the development of all the natural resources of the country; which stands for the founding of cities, for the building of railroads, for the extension of telegraph lines, for the digging of canals, for the growth of internal commerce, for the employment of our own people in our own country. It stands for the production within our own borders of all the necessities and all the possible luxuries which our people require. *It stands for the American farm, the American factory, the American mine, the American laborer, at American wages.* This policy, during the years it was in control, advanced the United States to the head of nations in accumulated wealth, in the miles of its railways, for the transportation of the property of the people, in the output of its factories, and the product of its mines.

**"ANYTHING THE HUMAN HAND TOUCHES CEASES TO
BE RAW MATERIAL."**

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. D. OWEN of Indiana, page
5551 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

There stands a 50-foot tree in the pineries. It is raw material. What will you take for it? Ten dollars is a big price. I cut the tree down and haul it 5 miles to a mill. When I lay it at the mill door it is worth \$25. What makes it worth \$25? Plainly the labor I put into it. But a saw-log is raw material. No, it is not; anything the human hand touches ceases to be raw material, and has started into the process of manufacture. To cut down that tree and haul the logs to the mill is as necessary a part of manufacturing as planing the weather-boarding or framing the door of the house. The very first step of labor in the process of production, cutting down the tree and delivering the logs at the mill, has added 150 per cent. to the value. Ultimately from this raw tree we have 4 bureaus worth \$15 each; 4 bedsteads at \$10 each; and 20 kitchen tables at \$5 each; 25 desks for school-children worth \$4 each. Here labor's work has fashioned \$300 worth of value out of \$10 worth of raw material. The cabinet-makers and wood-workers are no distant manufacturers; they are located in our little towns all over the country.

"VERY LITTLE CAN BE CALLED RAW MATERIAL."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY M. TELLER of Colorado,
page 2206 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

A distinguished Englishman when comparing American laborers with English, said: "Where the American laborer gets 72 per cent., capital gets 23 per cent., and Government gets 5 per cent., our laborer gets 41 per cent., capital gets 36 per cent., and Government gets the balance." That is the English testimony. We get the bulk of what is paid out to manufacturers. All manufactures are made up principally of labor. In some cases it is nearly all labor, 90 or 95 per cent., and on an average 80 per cent. of everything manufactured is labor, if you follow into computation the labor put upon what is called raw material.

Mr. EDMUNDS (in his seat). There is no raw material,

Mr. TELLER. A Senator suggests in my hearing that there is not any raw material. There is very little that can be called raw material. It is said, I believe, by those who are now advocating this message that wool is raw material. The farmer in Ohio does not believe that it is raw material. It has cost him care, it has cost him money, it has cost him attention to get it from the sheep's back. It is to him something more than raw material. So you may say of everything else.

"TARIFFS MEAN THE MAXIMUM OF SECURITY FOR CAPITAL AND THE MAXIMUM OF INDUCEMENT."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

The key of competitive power in the modern age is the encouragement of capital. Now, it is obvious that tariffs in countries like America, Germany, and France mean the maximum of security for capital and the maximum of inducement. Free imports making one country the dumping ground for the surplus of all the rest and exposing the home manufacturer to the attacks of foreign rivals, who are all protected by their tariffs from his counter operations—free imports under these circumstances must necessarily mean the minimum of security for capital and the minimum of inducement. That is our real industrial malady. That is our real national peril.

A correspondent requests us to clinch the case by showing in detail in what trades our progress has been paralyzed and in which articles the imports of foreign manufactures have increased. We therefore give the following comparison. Look on this picture. It shows:

British manufactured exports in ten leading lines

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1890.	1902.
Iron and steel.....	31.5	29.0
Steam engines and machinery.....	16.4	18.7
Hardware and cutlery.....	2.7	2.1
Cotton manufactures.....	62.0	65.0
Linens.....	5.7	5.4
Woolens.....	20.4	15.2
Apparel.....	5.6	6.2
Haberdashery.....	2.1	1.7
Earthenware.....	2.5	2.0
Chemicals, drugs, etc.....	8.9	9.5
Total.....	158.8	155.8

And look at the opposite picture:

Manufactured imports into the United Kingdom in leading lines.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1890.	1900.
Cotton manufactures.....	2.3	4.7
Glass manufactures.....	2.0	3.2
Iron and steel manufactures.....	3.1	8.3
Leather goods.....	8.4	11.1
Silks.....	11.3	14.2
Woolens.....	11.1	11.4
Paper and pasteboard manufactures.....	1.9	4.4
Watches and clocks.....	1.2	1.9
Zinc.....	.4	.5
Miscellaneous.....	19.6	28.9
Total.....	61.3	87.7

These, we repeat, are astounding figures. What would Cobden have thought if he could have foreseen the time when we should be buyers of cottons as well as buyers of corn—buyers of metals as well as buyers of meat; and when our imports of textiles and iron would show in one decade a greater absolute increase, an immensely larger relative increase, than our exports of these commodities?

Nor is there any mystery about the process by which our trade, apart from the colonies, is driven in at the circumference and attacked at the base. The American has his home market of nearly 80,000,000 souls and ours of 40,000,000.

The German has his home market of nearly 60,000,000 souls and ours of 40,000,000. The British manufacturer has to share his only free market with all his rivals. It is not possible for insular capital to compete under these conditions, or for insular enterprise to survive. * * *

It is as certain that capital is discouraged, enterprise repressed, and employment restricted under free imports in this country as that all three have been stimulated during the last decade in the great competitive nations under tariffs.

"WHAT IS A PROTECTIVE TARIFF?"

Extract from remarks of Hon. WILLIAM McKINLEY of Ohio, page 4748 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

What is a protective tariff? It is a tariff upon foreign imports so adjusted as to secure the necessary revenue, and judiciously imposed upon those foreign products the like of which are produced at home or the like of which we are capable of producing at home. It imposes the duty upon the competing foreign product; it makes it bear the burden or duty, and, as far as possible, luxuries only excepted, permits the non-competing foreign product to come in free of duty. Articles of common use, comfort, and necessity which we cannot produce here it sends to the people untaxed and free from custom-house exactions. Tea, coffee, spices, and drugs are such articles, and under our system are upon the free list. It says to our foreign competitor, if you want to bring your merchandise here, your farm products here, your coal and iron ore, your wool, your salt, your pottery, your glass, your cottons and woollens, and sell alongside of our producers in our markets, we will make your product bear a duty; in effect, pay for the privilege of doing it. Our kind of a tariff makes the competing foreign article carry the burden, draw the load, supply the revenue; and in performing this essential office it encourages at the same time our own industries and protects our own people in their chosen employment.

"PROTECTION SAVES US OUR OWN MARKET."

Extract from remarks of Hon. O. H. PLATT of Connecticut, page 1016 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Protection does another thing—it saves us our own market. It makes a demand for labor in this country, and that is, after all, the real thing which results in high wages. Strike down the protective duty, open our ports to foreign manufactures upon the ground that we should buy where we can buy the cheapest, and by so much you have destroyed the home market and lessened the demand for labor, and made it impossible for high wages to prevail in this country.

"TO UTILIZE ALL THE WORK THERE IS IN MEN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. THOMAS B. REED of Maine, page 4669 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

For a nation to get out of itself or out of the earth all the wealth there is in both, it is not necessary for the nation to buy cheap or sell dear. That concerns individuals alone. What concerns the nation is how to utilize all the work there is in men, both of muscle and brain, of body and of soul, in the great enterprise of setting in motion the ever-gratuitous forces of nature.

How shall you get out of the people of a nation their full powers? Right here is precisely the dividing line. The let-alone school say leave individual man to his own devices. The protectionist school say let us stimulate combined and aggregated man to united endeavor.

Association is the instinct of humanity which grows with its growth. First the family, then the tribe, and then the nation. The race will come by and by. Faithfulness to each in their order is the true route to the next.

"THIRTY-NINE-FORTIETHS OF MANKIND REPUDIATE FREE TRADE TO-DAY."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. L. E. McCOMAS of Maryland, page
3838 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

It was to convert the world, and after forty years no nation has adopted it.

Enterprise was to be paralyzed and invention stifled where free trade did not prevail. It was to confer great benefits on its votaries, and impose evils on those who rejected it.

Free trade to-day comes with the broken promises, the disappointed hopes of its early supporters and founders.

Protective France and Belgium rival England, while Germany is surpassing her, and after five years of protection Bismarck says, "Germany fears nobody but God," while the United States has far outstripped England in enterprise and inventive industry. Thirty-nine-fortieths of mankind repudiate free trade to-day.

Prophecy has been falsified by history. One year ago, outside of England, of all the wise and thoughtful men in Europe and America, no ruler or minister dared to propose free trade. After forty years of trial all statesmen outside of England have united in rejecting it as one of the "puerile doctrines and illusions of mankind." The modern statesmen we find all protectionists: Thiers, Gambetta, Clemenceaux, Grant, Garfield, Bismarck, Sherman, and Blaine.

Whenever there is universal suffrage the producers the world over have repudiated free trade. *When free trade won in England the working people were excluded from the suffrage.*

"A FREE-TRADE WITNESS."

*Extract from the remarks of Hon. O. H. PLATT of Connecticut,
page 1014 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

I like a free-trade witness once in a while. Here is Consul Schoenhof, consul at Tunstall, who was sent abroad with a roving commission to see if he could not undo what some of our consuls had been doing to enlighten the people of this country as to the cheapness of the necessities of life here as compared to their cheapness abroad, and as to the wages paid in this country as compared to the wages paid abroad. This is one of his recent reports. I quote it from a newspaper article, but I have verified it so that I know the quotation is correct. Writing from Tunstall, he says:

"I find cotton goods fully as cheap in the United States as here. Shirtings and sheetings, if anything, are superior in quality for the same price. Articles of underwear for women are superior in workmanship and cheaper in price in the United States. Nor are men's shirts, when chiefly of cotton, any cheaper here. Of boots and shoes, factory made, the same may be said. Articles made to order are cheaper in England, owing to lower prices of hand labor, but the difference in prices of ready-made things is not so marked. In workmanship and finish I find the corresponding articles of wholesale manufacture superior in the United States. This is true of clothing, as well as collars, cuffs, and like articles."

There is a standing challenge in the office of a protection newspaper in the city of New York (with the samples ready to be shown to any free trader) to show that clothing in this country is not as cheap as it is in England. The truth is that everybody, except the dude and millionaire, can be clothed cheaper in this country than in England, and in woolen clothing, too; and I apprehend that we are not very anxious to reduce the tariff duties for the purpose of benefiting the dude and the millionaire.

"OUR POLICY IS TO KEEP OUR HOME MARKET."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOSEPH H. WALKER of Massachusetts, in House of Representatives, March 31, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 215.

OUR POLICY IS TO KEEP OUR HOME MARKET.

A comparison of the results of the Gorman-Wilson tariff, which was not half as disastrous as would have been the Wilson tariff pure and simple, is shown by the following statement, taken from the Statistical Abstract of 1896, which proves to any candid man that the policy of this country is to *conserve, protect, and keep to ourselves our home market, which a free-trade tariff turns over to foreigners, to the detriment of our own people.*

EFFECT OF THE WILSON-GORMAN TARIFF ON THE FARMER.

And the farmer is equally interested with the mechanic in the protection of our home market. The value of the home market to the farmer is nowhere shown any more conclusively and the Democratic free-trade assertions more conclusively proven untrue than by the United States Treasury Statistical Abstract. The consumption of our farm products by our people reached its maximum in 1892. Passing over 1893, the year of the panic, and taking 1894, it shows that more than 51 per cent. more pounds of our raw cotton were consumed by our own people in 1892 under the Republican tariff than in the year 1894 under the threat of a Democratic free-trade tariff; that more than 73 per cent more wheat was consumed by our people in 1892 than in 1894; that more than 33 per cent more corn was consumed by *our own* people in 1892 than in 1894; that more than 32 per cent more pounds of wool were consumed in 1892 than in 1894.

On top of this curtailment of our market in reducing the power of our people to buy and consume the products of the farm because of the threat of free trade in the process of enacting the Gorman-Wilson free-trade tariff in 1894, *our total exports of domestic merchandise to each man, woman, and child in the land were 22 per cent more under the Republican protective tariff in 1892 than under the Democratic free-trade tariff of 1894.* Not only this, but our total imports were also 32½ per cent more in 1892 than in 1894.

Thus does the mere threat of and the process of enactment, much more the actual operation, of a free-trade Democratic tariff destroy our own market by closing factories and making people idle so they can not earn wages to buy either home products or imported products.

The statistics of this country prove to any man who is not absolutely blinded by free-trade theories that to increase our foreign trade we must have a protective tariff in order to make our people prosperous in an opportunity to earn the money to buy imported goods as well as domestic goods. Great as was the falling off in the consumption of agricultural products, the consumption of manufactured products fell off very much more under the threat of the Democratic tariff of 1894 than the falling off in the consumption of the products of the farmer from 1892. *Markets are in the total volume of wages paid, and not in the numbers of people. The loss of employment of the artisan and laborer hurts the farmers first and most of all classes in the community.*

EXTENT OF THE AMERICAN MARKET.

In normal protective-tariff conditions, such as 1892, it is stated by Mulhall that the production and consumption of the manufactured products in the United States is one-third of that of the world. The inhabitants of the world are given as from 1,400,000,000 to 1,500,000,000; our country as 70,000,000. This fact shows that the market of the 70,000,000 of people in this country in the high wages and incomes they average to receive is equal to one-half of the people of the rest of the world, or 700,000,000 of average people. Of wheat, corn, cotton, and wool we consumed 47 per cent more in 1892 than in 1894. In 1892 our market equaled 700,000,000 under the Republican protective tariff. The Democratic free-trade tariff practically reduced our market in 1894 to the equivalent of 371,000,000 of the average people of the world.

"THE PROTECTIONIST POLICY OF KEEPING OUT OF DEBT IS A SOUND ONE."

Extracts from article entitled "Why First Voters should be Protectionists," printed in daily Congressional Record, January 12, 1904.

THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

If anyone should tell you that the right way to save and get rich is to run into debt and to consume more than you produce you would doubtless think him crazy. You would be justified in holding such an opinion, for it is impossible to prosper except by thrift and the expenditure of energy.

Nevertheless you will be seriously told by free traders that nations may prosper by practices which bring disaster to individuals. And if you are incredulous you will be reminded that Great Britain annually imports \$850,000,000 more of commodities than she exports.

It will be found on investigation, however, that whenever peoples who have not already established the right to draw from foreigners more than they give in return buy more than they sell they run into debt. This process may be continued for a time, but the ultimate result must be greater exports than imports, for there is always a day of reckoning for the debtor.

It is only by investing in foreign countries that the people of a nation can for any considerable period import more than they export. It was through the exercise of skill and the practice of thrift that the British put themselves in the position of being able to draw upon foreigners, and not by importing more than they export.

The present ability of the British to import on so large a scale is directly traceable to excess exports in former days. During a considerable period Great Britain drew upon her natural resources, coal and iron, to establish herself in the position of a creditor nation. She temporarily profited by parting with these resources and invested the proceeds in other lands whose resources her capital is now helping to exploit.

Thus we find the London Statist, in an article recently published, discussing as follows:

"Thirty years ago or so a very large part of the Government debt of the United States was held in Europe. Now the amount of the debt so held is hardly worth talking of. Ten years ago the amount of industrial securities held in Europe was enormous. Ten years hence the amount that will still be held by Europe will in all probability be quite trifling. *The United States in another ten years will be a great ship-owning country, will own its own securities, and send its goods on board its own ships, and we shall not only have to pay freight, but insurance and commission likewise.* When our imports from the United States exceed our exports to the United States by £100,000,000 or more, what will become of our money market, and how shall we make the payments which somehow or other will have to be made?"

No Cobdenite has attempted to answer the question propounded by the London Statist. Any attempt on the part of a free trader to do so would expose the utter folly of the assumption that excess of imports indicate a healthy industrial condition. The free-trader's response, if he tried to make his theory fit with the condition which the Statist says confronts England, would be: "Go on increasing your imports."

But the London Times told why this can not be done. It recently said: "The workingman's occupation is going, and occupation is income. Capital is also going. It has been lost altogether to a large amount by the falling off in our industries, and it is further scared into seeking abroad the investments which business ceases to offer at home."

If the workingman's occupation is going; if capital is going and is being lost by the falling off in British industries, how can the people of Great Britain hope to increase their imports? The Times has evidently lost faith in the efficacy of the Cobdenite panacea, for it adds:

"That is a serious condition of affairs for all of us, and most of all for the workingman. We can not meet it by cheapening food, we can not even prevent food from becoming dearer, and the country is asked to consider 'whether there are no means of getting more money to buy food with.'"

The young voter who has any doubts about the soundness of the balance-of-trade theory as interpreted by protectionists is asked to note that the London Statist and the London Times, both hitherto regarded as exponents of the free-trade idea, unconsciously use the terms which would make them obnoxious to the charge that "gold and silver are the only real wealth." The Statist wishes to know what will happen to the British "money" market when Americans cease to be indebted to Britons and the latter are compelled to continue importing more from the United States than they export, and the Times says the country will be asked to consider "whether there are no means of getting money to buy food with."

These queries disclose the true state of affairs. They make it perfectly clear that the Cobdenite assumption that free trade is to be credited with British ability to annually import several hundred million dollars more than she exports is erroneous, and they expose the fact that the real reason why Great Britain can now do so is because she is receiving returns from investments made in other countries by her people in former years.

When the returns from these diminish or entirely cease, British imports must inevitably decline. That is as plain as a pikestaff, and all the theories in the world will fail to prevent that result. Some nations may grow rich by trading when other nations consent to be exploited for their sake, but when a determination manifests itself in every country for the people to make the best of their resources, then trade becomes what it should be—an auxiliary to the work of production—and not a parasitic growth which threatens to smother the producer, as it is under conditions in which the middleman is of more consequence than the one who devotes himself to producing things.

The development of a manufacturing industry in the United States and in other protectionist countries is rapidly clearing up the obscurities in which the question of the balance of trade has been shrouded. That is proved by the admissions of the Times and the Statist. Very soon even the free trader may be able to grasp the idea that production is the prime thing and that the nation which fails to do its share in the work of producing things must go backward.

Then the absurdity of the Cobdenite contention that a country can grow rich by letting other countries produce for it will be fully exposed, and even American free traders will be forced to admit that the protectionist policy of keeping out of debt is a sound one.

"ALL CHANGES IN THE TARIFF SHOULD KEEP IN MIND AT ALL TIMES REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. P. HEPBURN of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

In the county conventions of the State of Iowa "the Iowa idea" is put to rest. [Applause on the Republican side.] The Republicans have asserted themselves, and have asserted themselves in harmony with the doctrines of the party and in harmony with the doctrines of the lamented McKinley.

Oh, "the lamented McKinley!" How the gentlemen on the other side phrased with tenderness that sentence—he upon whose devoted head all the vials of their wrath, vituperation, vilification, foul abuse, and fouler slander had been hurled until the very hour of his lamented death. *If there is any one thing that in my mind calls for the indignant rebuke of Republicans it is the insolent claim that McKinley and Lincoln, the men most abused the men most vilified, the men most slandered, were in complete harmony with the Democratic party, and that they are ready to take them into the galaxy of their sainthood.* Bah! It is contemptible on the part of men who have pursued this persistent course, the course of malevolence, to whine and snivel at the tomb of those who for a lifetime they have vituperated. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Speaker, the Republican party of Iowa stands by the platforms. Ah, they stand by the sentiments of the last speech that was ever uttered by the last of its martyrs. And they rebuke the efforts of Democracy, by forgery, by partial readings, by the omission of qualifying and controlling sentences, to torture that speech into a pretense of support for their theories.

Mr. McKinley never uttered a word—never a word in that speech or any other—varying from his constant insistence that all changes in the tariff or enactments in the tariff should keep in mind at all times Republican principles and should be written with complete regard to the protection of the industries and the labor of the country. [Applause.] You can here and there pick out a sentence, cut it in two, perhaps leaving off a qualifying or controlling clause, and in that way may be able, by the forger's tricks, to secure some countenance in his declarations for your theories.

But what of harmony in the Democratic party? What are you doing? What dare you say except the simplest, simpering platitudes? Here we have an illustration: A great convention, the greatest of the Democracy in the records of this year, has been held, great because it was expected that it would launch a Presidential candidate. What is there in that declaration of so-called "principles" that might not have been written on any day that any so-called "Democratic convention" ever assembled in the United States?

Think of the attitude of the Democratic party to-day! Here came a young gentleman out of the West, from California. He regarded himself, and many of his people regarded him, as a fit candidate for the Presidency of the United States. He moved over the troubled Democratic waters. He gave quiet and peace here and there, and he gathered about himself a vast following. And it at once became apparent that unless something should be done, and that quickly, this young man, HEARST, who was not in favor here with the Democratic leader of this body—he was not in favor, perhaps, with more than two-thirds of the Democrats of this House; he was not in favor with many of the Senators—that this man would be nominated if something were not done.

And so the men who said, "None but Cleveland," the men who said "None but Gorman," the men who said "None but Olney," all rushed together in conference, and scratching their ranks as with a fine-tooth comb, they finally discovered a man who, perhaps, had never uttered a political sentiment, who had, perhaps, voted the Democratic ticket, who was a friend of Mr. Cleveland, who is understood to have voted for Mr. Bryan, and who had the friendship of the one and on the other side the advantage of regularity. At once they said, "This is our man." Ah! If the Sphinx had been here, if he could have changed his habitat from Cairo to New York, he would have been of all gentlemen the most acceptable. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

He not only never has said any fool things, but he could give guarantees for the future [laughter]; but they could not get him, so in New York they accepted their next best but not inferior man, and they are now engaged in putting him forward. Why? Ah, *when the masses of the Republican party will name by acclamation Theodore Roosevelt* [prolonged applause on the Republican side], *it will be because they know him. It will be because they know his sentiments, and approve them; because they know his integrity, and approve it; because they know his intelligence and wisdom, and indorse them.*

OUR CONDITION UNDER PROTECTION—OUR CONDITION EIGHT MONTHS LATER."

Extract from McKINLEY'S Letter of Acceptance, 1896; Printed on page 415, Appendix to bound Congressional Record, 1st Session, 55th Congress; part of remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR, in House of Representatives, July 19, 1897.

OUR CONDITION UNDER PROTECTION.

In December, 1892, President Harrison sent his last message to Congress. It was an able and exhaustive review of the condition and resources of the country. It stated our situation so accurately that I am sure it will not be amiss to recite his official and valuable testimony. "There never has been a time in our history," said he, "when work was so abundant, or when wages were so high, whether measured by the currency in which they are paid or by their power to supply the necessities and comforts of life. The general average of prices has been such as to give to agriculture a fair participation in the general prosperity. The new industrial plants established since October 6, 1890, and up to October 22, 1892, number 345, and the extensions of existing plants, 108. The new capital invested amounts to \$40,446,060, and the number of additional employees, 37,285. During the first six months of the present calendar year 135 new factories were built, of which 40 were cotton mills, 48 knitting mills, 26 woolen mills, 15 silk mills, 4 plush mills, and 2 linen mills. Of the 40 cotton mills, 21 have been built in the Southern States." This fairly describes the happy condition of the country in December, 1892. What has it been since, and what is it now?

OUR CONDITION EIGHT MONTHS LATER.

The messages of President Cleveland from the beginning of his second Administration to the present time abound with descriptions of the deplorable industrial and financial situation of the country. While no resort to history or official statement is required to advise us of the present condition, and that which has prevailed during the past three years, I venture to quote from President Cleveland's first message, August 8, 1893, addressed to the Fifty-third Congress, which he had called together in extraordinary session. "The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation," said he, "involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people, has constrained me to call together in extra session the people's representatives in Congress, to the end that through the wise and patriotic exercise of the legislative duties with which they solely are charged the present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted.

"Our unfortunate financial plight is not the result of untoward events, nor of conditions related to our natural resources. Nor is it traceable to any of the afflictions which frequently check national growth and prosperity. With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurances to business enterprises, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side. Numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that the securities they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted. Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business."

A STARTLING CHANGE IN BUSINESS CONDITIONS."

What a startling and sudden change within the short period of eight months, from December, 1892, to August, 1893! What had occurred? A change of Administration; all branches of the Government had been intrusted to the Democratic party, which was committed against the protective policy that had prevailed uninterruptedly for more than thirty-two years and brought unexampled prosperity to the country, and firmly pledged to its complete overthrow and the substitution of a tariff for revenue only. The change having been decreed by the elections in November, its effects were at once anticipated and felt. We can not close our eyes to these altered conditions, nor would it be wise to exclude from contemplation and investigation the causes which produced them. They are facts which we can not as a people disregard, and we can only hope to improve our present condition by a study of their causes.

In December, 1892, we had the same currency and practically the same volume of currency that we have now. It aggregated in 1892 \$2,372,599,501; in December, 1895, \$2,194,000,230. The per capita of money, too, has been practically the same during this whole period. The quality of the money has been identical—all kept equal to gold.

It is a mere pretense to attribute the hard times to the fact that all our currency is on a gold basis. Good money never made times hard. Those who assert that our present industrial and financial depression is the result of the gold standard have not read American history aright or been careful students of the events of recent years. We never had greater prosperity in this country in every field of employment and industry than in the busy years from 1880 to 1892, during all of which time this country was on a gold basis and employed more gold money in its fiscal and business operations than ever before. We had, too, a protective tariff under which ample revenues were collected for the Government and an accumulating surplus which was constantly applied to the payment of the public debt. Let us hold fast to that which we know is good. It is not more money we want. What we want is to put the money we already have at work. When money is employed, men are employed. Both have always been steadily and remuneratively engaged during all the years of protective tariff legislation. When those who have money lack confidence in the stability of values and investments, they will not part with their money. Business is stagnated, the life-blood of trade is checked and congested.

"AMERICAN WOMEN MADE INDEPENDENT."

"IN THIS DIVERSITY OF EMPLOYMENTS RESULTING FROM TARIFF PROTECTION, AMERICAN WOMEN HAVE BEEN ELEVATED AND MADE MUCH MORE INDEPENDENT."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. S. MORRILL of Vermont, page 3020 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

In this diversity of employments, resulting from tariff protection, American women have been elevated and made much more independent. Largely participating in the world's useful work, they were never more charming than to-day. There is much fine and light work, often that connected with the manipulation of machinery, where their tact and aptitude has been found superior to that of men, and the wages of women for a week now often exceeds what was formerly paid for a month. *Far more than men would the fortunes of women be adversely affected by any steps toward the British goal of free trade.*

Extract from remarks of Hon. B. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio, page 4394 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

I will engage to go with you, Mr. Chairman, into any shop or factory in my district where the workmen I have alluded to are employed, and select a man at random, and you will not find one who cannot read the Constitution of his country in one language or two languages, or who does not understand the rights it secures and the obligations it imposes. Go with him to his home. In that home you will find not merely the ordinary comforts and conveniences of life, but also the incontestible evidence of education and refinement. Books and music will be found there. The daughter of that household will be found not only equal to the discharge of the duties which pertain to housewifery, but taking her place at the piano, she will discourse the rarest music from Wagner, Beethoven, and other masters in that science.

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, page 3688 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

In a locality 7 miles from Birmingham, sixteen thousand English women—wives, mothers, and daughters—toil by day and by night making nails and rivets. A writer in the London Standard speaks thus of their remuneration:

"The remuneration they receive is incredibly small. It is no unusual thing, indeed it is the usual custom, for a family of three or four persons, after working fourteen hours a day, to earn \$5 in a week, out of which scanty amount deductions are made for fuel, repairing machinery, etc., which makes the actual pay for three persons \$4.18 per week, work commencing at half past 7 in the morning and continuing all through the weary day until late at night, with no substantial food."

Extract from remarks of Hon. THOMAS RYAN of Kansas, page 4825 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

In the manufacture of cloth in the district of Potsdam-Frankfort on the Oder there are said to be about 26,000 hands employed, of whom about 14,000 are women, at a weekly wage of 10 to 12 marks (\$2.50 to \$3).

The inspector for the Dresden district gives the following as the average wages paid in his district:

	Cents.
Hand workmen	per hour.. 3¾ to 5
Factory operatives	do..... 5.. to 7½
Female workers	do..... 2¾ to 3½
Young persons, fourteen to sixteen years old.....	do..... 1¾ to 2
To a child twelve to fourteen years old.....	do..... ½ to 1

MR. COBDEN SAID THE UNITED STATES WOULD ABANDON THEIR PREMATURE MANUFACTURES."—"HE WAS MISTAKEN."

Extract from speech of Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN at Birmingham, England, printed in daily Congressional Record January 5, 1904.

[From the Scotsman.]

SPEECH OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AT BIRMINGHAM, NOVEMBER 4.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was received with great enthusiasm and the singing of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," said:

"MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: I thank you for the welcome that you have given me. I am glad to be amongst my own people, [Cheers.] It is now almost exactly six months since, in addressing my own constituency in the town hall, I called their attention to our relations with our colonies, to our present fiscal conditions, and I asked them, I invited them, to a discussion. I invited them to consider whether the time had not come when some modification of those conditions would be necessary and desirable. It was not for the first time that I had spoken on the subject.

"Here is one of the great changes which we have to recognize, which have altered the whole situation since free trade was adopted. Mr. Cobden based his whole argument upon the assumption that he made in good faith that if we adopted free trade it would mean free exchange between the nations of the world ['Hear!' 'Hear!']; that if we adopted free trade, five years, ten years would not pass without all other nations adopting a similar system. That was his belief, and upon the promise, the prediction which he offered, the country adopted free trade. Unfortunately he was mistaken. He told the country of his day that what he wanted to do was to keep England as the workshop of the world, and the rest of the world was to be the wheat field for England. I came across a passage in Mr. Morley's 'Life' the other day which really, now when you think of what has actually happened, seems to be almost astounding.

"Mr. Cobden said that the United States of America, if free trade were adopted, would abandon their premature manufactures [laughter], that the workmen in their factories would go back to the land [laughter], and—now I am quoting his exact words—'they would dig, delve, and plow for us.' [Laughter and cheers.] If that had been true I doubt whether I should have been here to-night. [Laughter.] But it wasn't true. The Americans have not so conceived their national destiny. [Laughter.] They have not believed that they were created by Providence in order to dig and delve and plow for us. [Laughter.] They have thought that they had natural resources even greater than our own; they have thought that they could manufacture as well as us; and I am afraid that their ideas of the future have been much more correct than Mr. Cobden's. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] We have to deal with altogether different conditions. What happened when free trade was adopted in this country? Foreign countries, which, as I have said, were backward in those days, were not manufacturers—their governments put on tariffs against our manufactures.

"I dare say it is quite possible they may have suffered in the first instance. They thought of the future, they thought of their children, and they thought of their country—all very good things to remember occasionally. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] What was the result? Behind the tariffs, behind the tariff wall, they built up their industry. Gradually during the twenty-five years in which we were so prosperous after free trade, gradually they became more and more manufacturing nations; gradually they got a firm hold on their own home markets and kept us out, and established the industries which, not satisfied any longer with their own home markets, are now invading ours. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I don't blame foreign countries. I don't appeal against their policy. But I ask you as sensible men, are we really so conservative a nation that when such a change as that has taken place in the whole conditions of our trade we are still to say, 'We stick to our well-tried policy?' [Laughter and cheers.]

"Now, gentlemen, let us see how this works. Cuba, a great island, only requiring the good government which it now has under American protection to make it one of the richest countries in the world, was handed over to the care of America, and our idea was that our conditions of trade with Cuba would be respected. They have not been respected. Perhaps the Americans did not understand them in the same sense as we do. Be that as it may, all representations by us have been fruitless, and the American Government, the American President, proposes preferential arrangements with Cuba, treating Cuba exactly as I want you to treat our colony of Canada. [Cheers.] He proposes to make a preferential treaty with Cuba, the result of which will be that no more English goods will go to Cuba, and all the traffic between Cuba and the United States will be done in United States ships.

"Not merely that. I am told a large trade is done between Rangoon and Cuba in Indian rice, and that is now done by British ships, but the result will be that rice will go to New York and from there to Cuba in American ships. And once more a portion of your trade has been snipped off, and because you have gained somewhere else you have the Cobden Club still holding high its flag and saying, 'See how great is our trade! See what a magnificent people we are and the losses we can sustain without complaints!' Now, I say that in this matter of shipping something should be done. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Our colonial premiers on the last occasion, among other resolutions besides the one asking us for preference, passed a resolution asking the British Government to consider the conditions under which the coasting trade as between ourselves and our colonies is carried on, and the premier of New Zealand has already, I believe, proposed a law to his own Parliament in which he recommends that the same treatment should be measured to foreign countries that they measure to the British Empire. ['Hear!' 'Hear!']

"Where they keep their coasting trade to themselves, New Zealand and the mother country should keep their coasting trade to themselves."

"THE PEARL BUTTON TRADE."—"THE JEWELRY TRADE."—"INFLUENCE OF THE TARIFFS."

Extracts from speech of Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN at Birmingham, England, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

"Will you take our trade? ['Yes!'] Well, take one of the oldest in Birmingham, the pearl-button trade. In the pearl-button trade 6,000 work people used to be employed. To-day there are about 1,000, and very few of them have full employment. Why is that? Well, *it is largely due to the influence of the tariffs, which shut out the pearl buttons from America, and it is partly due to the 'dumping' of pearl buttons from the Continent into England and even to Birmingham itself.*

"Well, I wonder what has become of the 5,000 pearl-button makers who were once employed, and who have lost their employment. [A voice, 'Making jam!' and laughter.] I will only give you one more. [Cries of 'Go on!'] I am going to take this time a comparatively new industry. Take the cycle trade. Now, what is the case there? Our exports to the foreign protected countries fell £566,000 in ten years, and our exports to the colonies rose in the same period £367,000. Why was that change? When the foreigners found that the manufacture of cycles was rather a good thing, they put up their tariffs—the tariffs now on cycles range up to 45 per cent.—and, not content with that, when the time of depression was strongest in America, the Americans dumped their cycles down here at prices with which English manufacturers could not compete. In 1897 the United States of America sent to the United Kingdom alone £460,000 worth of cycles, and at the same time they flooded the colonies and sent them £340,000 worth, all of which we might have had if we had had a tariff here to prevent unfair competition and if we had had a preference arrangement with the colonies which would have kept the trade for us. [Cheers.]

"Take the jewelry trade. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] We have only statistics for three years. Before that time the board of trade did not separate jewelry. In 1900 we sold to foreigners £50,000 worth, we imported from foreigners £137,000 worth. ['Shame!'], and we were £87,000 to the bad. ['Shame!'] Yes, that was 1900. But in 1902 we were £170,000 to the bad. ['Shame!'] That is to say, in those three years in this foreign trade we are twice as badly off as we were in 1900. Well, what is the reason? *What is the reason? Well, there are tariffs; tariffs which prevent you from sending your jewelry into those foreign countries, and which range up to 45 per cent.* Then they say, 'Very well; if it be true that your trade is falling off, that your primary industries are decaying, well, you had better bear the evil that you know sooner than risk an evil that you wot not of. You can't make any change.' Again—what a curious argument for a Radical!—"You can't make any change without being worse off, and, above all, if you are foolish enough to listen to Mr Chamberlain you will find the price of your food increase [laughter], the old bad days will return, destitution will be your lot, famine will stare you in the face. If you don't mind starvation yourself [a voice, 'Quack, quack!' and laughter] think of your families, think of your children.' Gentlemen, I beg of you to treat the arguments of our opponents with more respect. [Laughter.] Well, now, I have to say that all this prediction of evil as resulting from my proposals—a prediction which you ought to suspect, because it comes from prophets who had always been wrong—this prediction is a grotesque misrepresentation." ['Hear!' 'Hear!']

THE RESOLUTION.

Mr. E. Nettlefold, treasurer of the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association, proposed, "That this meeting thanks Mr. Chamberlain for his address and is of opinion that the time has arrived for the reconsideration of the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom (1) in view of the continually increasing restrictions of foreign markets and the unfair competition to which British manufacturers are subjected, and (2) for the purpose of consolidating and developing the Empire; and that this meeting accordingly approves of the policy of His Majesty's Government in asking for a free hand in negotiating with foreign countries, including the power of retaliation where no concession is made by them on their present hostile tariff, and also cordially supports the principle of reciprocal preference between the mother country and her colonies and possessions, which, without increasing the cost of living in the United Kingdom, will extend imperial trade to the mutual advantage of every part of the Empire."

A Conservative workingman, Mr. C. C. Cooke, seconded the motion, which was carried.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S REPLY.

Mr. Chamberlain, in reply said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the resolution which you have just passed with so much cordiality. I am encouraged by the support of my friends in Birmingham, and not only by your support, but by the way in which my appeal upon this subject has been received by the working classes in other parts of the country. I pointed out at Liverpool, as Mr. Cooke has reminded you, that the issue was one which under our existing parliamentary system, so different from that of the days of the Corn Law League, when every workingman who is a householder and every lodger who cares to claim has a vote, that the result must necessarily be decided by the majority—that is, by the working classes of this country; and I should be merely running my head against a brick wall if I attempted now to do what was done those long past days to carry legislation which was contrary to the wishes and aspirations of the majority of the people.

"Therefore it is that I say, finding, as I have found, such friendly acceptance, such generous consideration, such patience and attention, I do not believe that we are wrong. [Loud cheers.] Ladies and gentlemen you will not separate to-night without the usual vote of thanks to the chairman, which we shall heartily tender to Mr. Lowe. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Here in Birmingham, and, I am inclined to think, in the district round it, we shall be united, as in past days. Here, at any rate, the free trader will cease from troubling and the tariff reformer will be at rest." [Laughter.]

THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION REGARDED PROTECTION AS THE INSPIRATION OF OUR FREE INSTITUTIONS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. W. P. BROWNLOW of Tennessee, in House of Representatives, March 25, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 66.

The wise and Heaven-directed framers of the Constitution—that immortal document which is the golden girdle of the Union—regarded protection as the inspiration of our free institutions and the bed rock of our national development and prosperity.

In referring to our nation as "a free people," this meaty and significant paragraph occurs in President Washington's first annual message:

Their safety and interest require that they promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essentials.

Thomas Jefferson, the alleged founder of the present Democratic party, and whose memory the free traders profess to revere so greatly and gratefully, used this plain and spirited language in reference to protection:

The general inquiry is, Shall we make our own comforts or go without them at the will of a foreign nation? He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures must be for reducing us either to a dependence upon that nation or to be clothed in skins and live in caves and dens. I am proud to say that I am not one of these. Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comforts.

The prohibiting duties we lay on all articles of foreign manufacture, which prudence requires us to establish at home, with the patriotic determination of every good citizen to use no foreign article which can be made within ourselves, without regard to difference of price, secures us against a relapse into foreign dependency.

My own idea is that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of everything of which we raise the raw material.

James G. Blaine, the famous author of reciprocity—a piece of diplomacy that has saved this country hundreds of millions of dollars—and who was one of the most studious, observing, and biggest-brained statesmen of his time, said, in referring to the McKinley tariff:

The benefit of protection goes first and last to the men who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces. The auspicious and momentous result is that never before in the history of the world has comfort been enjoyed, educations acquired, and independence secured by so large a majority of the total population as in the United States of America.

In 1816 John C. Calhoun, that true and tried Democrat whom the Democracy of the South followed with the same consuming devotion that the French battalions followed Napoleon, in a strong speech in favor of a protective tariff, said in the course of his invincible argument for this policy:

When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they will under the fostering care of Government, the farmer will find a ready market for his surplus product, and what is of almost equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants. His prosperity will diffuse itself to every class in the community. *It (a protective tariff) is calculated to bind together more closely our widespread Republic and give greater nerve to the arm of Government.*

Andrew Jackson, the autocrat, idol, and now the patron saint of the Democratic party, in 1824, then a United States Senator, declared:

Providence has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron, and copper—and given us a climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the greatest materials of our national defense, they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection, that our manufacturers and laborers may be placed in a fair competition with those of Europe, and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential in war. We have too long been subject to the policy of the British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of Europe, feed our own; or else in a short time by continuing our present policy (the tariff for revenue only of 1816) we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves. *It is my opinion, therefore, that a careful and judicious tariff is much wanted.*

"SWIFT WITNESSES AGAINST FREE-TRADE FABRICATIONS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. S. MORRILL of Vermont, page 3020 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

The reckless assertion has sometimes been made that the cheaper cost of living in Great Britain fully compensates for the lower rate of free-trade wages. In the thirty-five years ending in 1887, 4,222,000 immigrants from the British Kingdom came into the United States, and their action brands the assertion as a colossal inaccuracy. The meaning of this is further accentuated by the fact that the total number of foreign-born residents in the United Kingdom at the last census was less than the half of 1 per cent. of the population. The British low-grade wages and living breed discontent at home, and attract no Americans, but expelled last year 281,487 of their own subjects, of whom 72 per cent came to the United States, and all are swift witnesses against free-trade fabrications.

The wages of laboring men, beyond all dispute, are far greater in the United States than in any other country in the world, and the cost of subsistence here is only increased by its higher grade and more generous amount. Undoubtedly it is more difficult for our sixty-two million of people to find profitable employment in 1888 than it was for thirty-five or thirty-six million in 1861, and the difficulty would be greatly augmented should free trade or the policy of non-protection ever become dominant in tariff legislation.

"WAGES THAT PUT HEART AND HOPE INTO A MAN ARE THE BEST OF INVESTMENTS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN M. FARQUHAR of New York, page 4487 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

It has cost the American workmen millions of dollars in wages and lost time to reach the vantage-ground in work and wages which they now occupy. The capitalist and the wage-earner, the employer and the employe, after fierce years of struggle and misunderstanding, now generally respect and consult each other's interests. What benefits one benefits the other. *Arbitration is supplanting strikes; co-operative production will succeed arbitration, as co-operation is the child of confidence.* He is a mean workman who begrudges his employer fair remuneration for his capital, and he is a mean employer who does not pay a fair day's wage for a fair day's work; for *good labor at good wages is cheaper than poor labor at poor wages.* Professor Thompson says:

"The lowest wages that you can get a man to live on will not get the best work out of him. Put a whole people on such wages, and keep them there, if you can, for two or three generations, and you will have crushed the energy, the spirit, the heart out of that people, and made them a very inferior and unprofitable class of workmen. On the other hand, wages that put heart and hope into a man, that make him feel that his personal efforts and his best work are needed to keep them at present rates, that offer him the prospect of becoming his own master by frugality, that enable him to educate his children to fill a place like his own intelligently, or perhaps to rise to a higher place, such wages are in the long run the best of investments."

"DOMESTIC COMMERCE IS MORE PROFITABLE THAN FOREIGN."

Excerpt from remarks of Hon. WM. D. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania, in House of Representatives, January 31, 1866. (Congressional Globe, page 560, 39th Congress, 1st Session.)

DOMESTIC COMMERCE IS MORE PROFITABLE THAN FOREIGN.

There is other commerce than that between foreign nations. France and England lie nearer to each other than New Jersey and Ohio, or than Indiana and Missouri. Commerce between New England and the Pacific slope takes place at the end of longer voyages than that between New and Old England. *A quick market and active capital make prosperous commerce.* Interest on borrowed capital is often a fatal parasite, and a nimble sixpence is always better than a sluggish shilling. Commerce is the traffic in or transfer of commodities. It should reward two capitals or industries—those of the producer of each commodity; and where trade is reciprocal, and really free, each man selling or buying because he wishes to do so, it does reward both. It is, therefore, apparent that if we consume American fabrics, as well as home-grown food, these two profits, and a third (two of which now accrue to foreigners, one absolutely and the other in great part), would remain in the country. These are the profits on the production of raw material, on its manufacture, and on its too often double transportation. But trade between a country in which capital is abundant, and the machinery of which, having paid for itself in profits already realized, is cheap, as is the case in England; and a new, or in these respects, poor country, as is ours, is never reciprocal; for the party with capital and machinery fixes the terms on which it both buys and sells.

In addition to keeping both profits on our commerce at home and doing our own carrying, the diversification of our industry will insure markets for all our products, and render the destruction of any one of the leading interests of the country by a foreign commercial power an impossibility. By securing the home market to our industry and giving security to the investment of capital in furnaces, forges, mills, railroads, factories, foundries, and workshops, we can steadily enlarge the tide of immigration. Men will flow into all parts of our country—some to find remunerative employment at labor in which they are skilled; some, finding that land, mineral wealth, water-power, and commercial advantages are open to all in an eminent degree, will come in pursuit of enterprises of moment, and each new settlement, and each new branch of industry established, around which thousands of people may settle, will be a new market for the general products of our skill and industry; so that we shall not only become independent of Great Britain in so far as not to depend on her for that which is essential to our comfort or welfare, but independent in having a population whose productions will be so diverse that though the seas that roll around us were, as Jefferson once wished them, "seas of fire," our commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural employments could go on undisturbed by what was happening in other lands. When we shall have attained this condition of affairs we will have foreign commerce, for *we will have that to carry away which, being manufactured, will contain in packages of little bulk our raw material, food, mechanical skill, and the labor of our machinery; and in exchange we will get whatever raw material we do not produce*, and the ability to retain the basis of a sound currency which England and France, by the free trade they preach but do not practice, now draw from us and other countries in the position we so humbly occupy of producers of raw material, and whose people lack the foresight or the ability to supply themselves with clothing and the means of elegant life.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE HOME MARKET.

"THE HOME MARKET EQUAL TO THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE OF THE WORLD."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, February 1, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Record a very carefully written and wholly non-partisan discussion in regard to our foreign and interstate commerce, by Hon. O. P. Austin, of the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce.

[Address delivered before the Rochester (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, by O. P. Austin, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor, Thursday, January 7.]

Before beginning a study of the question with reference to the markets of other parts of the world, let me call your attention to the importance of our home market.

Before stating the figures of the value of our internal commerce, however, I want to give you a standard of measurement, a great unit of value by which we may measure its importance and its growth. The international commerce of the world, the entire foreign commerce of all the nations and colonies of the world, so far as we can measure it, amounted in the year 1900 to about 20 billions of dollars. That is the total of imports and exports combined of all countries and colonies of sufficient importance to maintain any sort of a record of their commerce.

A third of a century ago, in the year 1870, the international commerce of the world was 11 billions, but the development and use of steam and steel and electricity in transportation and commerce, by land and sea during the wonderful period in which this generation has lived has brought it to 22 billions in the year 1903.

The internal commerce of the United States was in 1870 7 billions of dollars, and in 1900 it was 20 billions. With this definite basis of 20 billions in 1900 and knowing what rapid development has occurred in all lines during that period, we may safely and conservatively put the internal commerce of the year 1903 at 22 billions of dollars—a sum which actually equaled the entire international commerce of the world in that year.

Think of it, men of Rochester; you producers and manufacturers and merchants and traders and bankers and transporters, think of it! The market of our own country, the home market, in which you can transport your goods from the door of the factory to the door of the consumer without breaking bulk a single time, is equal to the entire international commerce of the world.

Not only is this true that our home market is equal to that offered by the international commerce of the entire world, but it is evidently growing far more rapidly than international commerce, for, as I have said, the internal commerce of the United States has grown from 7 billions in 1870 to 22 billions in 1903, while the international commerce has grown from 11 billions in 1870 to 22 billions in 1903, or, in other words, while the international commerce of the world is now twice as great as in 1870, the internal commerce of the United States is now three times as great as in that year and equals the entire commerce between all nations.

Now, let us see some of the results: In 1870 our production of wheat was 235,000,000 bushels; in 1903 it was 637,000,000, or nearly three times as much, while the population had but little more than doubled. Of corn, our production in 1870 was 1,000,000,000 bushels; in 1903 it was 2,250,000,000. In 1870 our cotton production was about 3,000,000 bales; in 1903, practically 10,000,000 bales.

In 1870 our production of steel was less than 100,000 tons; in 1903, more than 15,000,000 tons; and our production of pig iron and steel is now greater than that of England and Germany combined, and about one-third that of the entire world. In 1870 our production of copper was but 13,000 tons; in 1903 it was 280,000 tons, and we now produce one-half of the copper in the world.

And now for some of the financial results so far as relates to our own people. The internal commerce, as I have already said, has increased from 7 billions in 1870 to 22 billions in 1903; foreign commerce, from \$28 millions to 2,445 millions, and the exports alone, from 392 millions to 1,420 millions. With this increase in production and commerce has come increased wealth and financial accumulations. The total money in circulation in 1870 was 675 millions. In 1903 it was 2,466 millions, or nearly four times as much in 1903 as in 1870, while population was but little more than twice as much.

The result is that the money in circulation in 1903 is over \$30 per capita, while in 1870 it was but \$17.50 per capita. With this increase in money in circulation has come increased wealth per capita and increased bank deposits.

The total wealth of the country in 1870 was stated by the census at 30 billions of dollars; for 1900 it was estimated at 94 billions, and to-day it may safely be put at a round 100 billion dollars.

The average wealth per capita, according to these figures, would be, in 1870, \$780 and in 1903 \$1,250, an increase of 60 per cent. in the average per capita wealth in 1903, as compared with 1870. The effect of this increase of money and wealth is seen in increased bank clearings and what is much better, in increased bank deposits among all classes of our population.

The bank clearings of New York City grew from twenty-eight billions in 1870 to seventy-five billions in 1902, and the bank clearings of the whole country from fifty-two billions in 1887 (the earliest available figures) to one hundred and sixteen billions in 1902, having thus doubled in fifteen years. The total deposits in the various classes of banks in 1875, the earliest year for which we have data, were, in round terms, \$2,000,000,000; in 1902 they were nine billions, having thus quadrupled in twenty-seven years.

But the most gratifying feature of this picture of banking and financial conditions in our country is the fact that deposits in savings banks—those institutions for the safe-keeping of the earnings of workingmen and widows and orphans and children of the country—have increased from \$550,000,000 in 1870 to two thousand nine hundred and thirty-five millions, or almost \$3,000,000,000, in 1903. What say you, business men, of the future of a country whose workingmen and working women and children have three thousand millions of dollars laid aside for a "rainy day."

"THE AMERICAN IDEA."—"PROTECTION THAT IS ABSOLUTELY PANIC PROOF."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GAILLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

INCREASE OF HOME MARKET POSSIBLE.

Referring very briefly to this quest of our Democratic friends after foreign markets, I should like to draw attention to the fact that we have at our very doors, without crossing the seas, with its expenses for freight and the various disadvantageous accompaniments of foreign exports, a market which seems well worth considering and well worth cultivating, but which sometimes is apparently overlooked by tariff reformers.

We are now importing annually over \$1,000,000,000 worth of goods, about one-half of which could be produced in this country. We are importing over \$50,000,000 worth of cotton manufactures, about \$20,000,000 worth of woolen manufactures, some \$50,000,000 worth of manufactures of iron and steel, \$75,000,000 worth of sugar, \$35,000,000 worth of manufactures of silk, and many other millions worth of manufactures in metal and wood, which could well be made in this country, giving to our own labor the advantages of employment in those industries. It is not necessary to break down our tariff laws by lower duties or treaties in order to obtain an increased market for hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of manufactured products in our own country. The market is right here in the United States, and while it is but a small proportion of the total value of our home market, which we already possess, it certainly is well worth acquiring.

TWENTY YEARS' PROGRESS.

The following table gives at a glance a view of the progress of our country in its material industries during the last twenty years, in spite of the disastrous results which we experienced under the low-tariff period of the last Democratic administration. These figures speak so eloquently for themselves that it is not necessary for me to more than call attention to them:

Items.	1883.	1893.	1903.
Deposits in savings banks.....	\$1,024,856,787	\$1,785,150,957	\$2,935,204,845
Depositors in savings banks, number.....	2,876,438	4,830,599	7,305,228
Total bank deposits.....	a\$2,755,938,053	\$4,586,213,170	\$9,673,385,303
Gold in circulation.....	\$344,653,495	\$408,535,663	\$627,025,092
Gold certificates in circulation..	\$59,807,370	\$92,642,189	\$404,070,929
Total money in circulation.....	\$1,230,305,696	\$1,596,701,245	\$2,449,168,418
Per capita money in circulation..	\$22.91	\$24.06	\$30.21
Bank clearings, United States... b\$52,126,704,488		\$58,880,682,465	\$114,068,837,569
Tin plate, imported.... pounds..	484,088,488	628,425,902	109,913,293
Tin plate, manufactured..do.....	None.	99,819,202	819,840,000
Gold production.....	\$30,000,000	\$35,955,000	\$80,000,000
Silver production.....	\$46,200,000	\$77,575,757	\$71,757,575
Coal production..... tons..	102,867,969	162,814,977	269,081,049
Pig-iron production.....do...	4,595,510	7,124,502	18,009,252
Steel production.....do....	1,678,535	4,019,995	14,947,250
Copper production.....do....	51,574	147,043	294,423
Raw silk, imported.... pounds..	4,209,015	8,310,548	15,270,353
India rubber, imported...do.....	21,646,320	41,547,680	55,010,571
Manufacturers' materials, im-ported.....	\$237,778,910	\$312,915,815	\$480,828,386
Exports of manufactures.....	\$134,228,083	\$158,023,118	\$407,526,159
Total imports.....	\$723,180,914	\$866,400,922	\$1,025,719,237
Total exports.....	\$823,839,402	\$847,665,194	\$1,420,141,679
Excess of exports over imports	\$100,658,488	c\$18,735,728	\$394,422,442

a 1882.

b 1887.

c Excess of imports.

THE TRUE POLICY.

And now, Mr. President, I wish only to add that we have all heard of the Iowa idea, of the Minnesota idea, of the Massachusetts idea, and perhaps some corner or some citizen of some other State or Territory may have some other idea; but, Mr. President, such ideas can not long live. There is only one idea that we should cultivate and nourish and maintain, and that is the American idea, a policy not beneficial to one locality or to a single industry, but a fiscal policy that protects all alike in every part of our great and growing country, that protects the farmer and the factory hand, the manufacturer and the artisan, the professional man, the laborer and income earner in every walk of life. Such a policy is fully exemplified in our present most successful tariff law, a tariff that was the causative factor in restoring prosperity, the saving factor in maintaining it, and the best of all a tariff that when adverse conditions exist, when folly and finance for a time go hand in hand, when even the very elements seem to conspire against us, insures the preservation of prosperity, because of protection that is absolutely panic proof.

"WE HAVE CAPTURED THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD FOR ALL OF OUR PRODUCTS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

HOME MARKET BEST.

We have captured the markets of the world for all of our products, both agricultural and manufactured, and in domestic products we stand to-day as the first exporting nation on the face of the earth. This has been accomplished under the operation of a protective tariff without sacrificing any of our own markets, without lowering our high scale of wages, and without submitting our own people to the competition of the pauper labor of other countries. It is the greatest and most substantial victory ever recorded in industrial warfare in all history, and yet this remarkable foreign trade, which has been built up under our protective tariff, is only a small part of our industrial achievement.

Foreign markets for surplus production is all very well in itself, and very welcome when it can be gained without sacrificing any portion of our home market; but it is this home market of ours, Mr. President, which has been built up and maintained through our protective tariffs, and particularly during the operation of the law now on our statute books, which is not only the pride of every American citizen, but the envy of every foreign producer. *A most conservative estimate of the value of this internal commerce is \$22,000,000,000 annually, equal in value to the combined markets of the world for the purchase of foreign productions. Could we control the sale of all the goods which enter every port on the face of the earth, it would only equal that which we now supply to our own home market, an assured market which is constantly increasing. This grand home market of ours can not be maintained if we let down our protection bars, and adopt low tariffs, or if we enter into reciprocity arrangements in competing articles, which is the same, or at least a long step toward this same free-trade notion.*

The value of our home market has never been more forcibly and clearly presented than by Hon. O. P. Austin, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Department of Commerce and Labor, in a speech delivered in the city of Rochester, N. Y., on Thursday, January 7, 1904, from which I take the following brief extract:

The internal commerce of the United States was in 1870 seven billions of dollars, and in 1890 it was twenty billions. With this definite basis of twenty billions in 1900 and knowing what rapid development has occurred in all lines during that period, we may safely and conservatively put the internal commerce of the year 1903 at twenty-two billions of dollars—a sum which actually equaled the entire international commerce of the world in that year.

Think of it, you producers and manufacturers and merchants and traders and bankers and transporters; think of it! *The market of our own country, the home market, in which you can transport your goods from the door of the factory to the door of the consumer without breaking bulk a single time, is equal to the entire international commerce of the world.*

Not only is this true that our home market is equal to that offered by the international commerce of the entire world, but it is evidently growing far more rapidly than international commerce, for, as I have said, the internal commerce of the United States has grown from seven billions in 1870 to twenty-two billions in 1903, while the international commerce has grown from eleven billions in 1870 to twenty-two billions in 1903, or, in other words, while the international commerce of the world is now twice as great as in 1870, the internal commerce of the United States is now three times as great as in that year and equals the entire commerce between all nations.

This internal commerce of ours has been made possible only because of our splendid wage system, which has brought about a higher standard of living and a demand by our masses for more than the mere necessities of life. It is not necessary for me at this time to more than call attention to this feature of our tariff and industrial system. It has been made clear time and time again, and yet it would seem as if our opponents persist in losing sight of this splendid market at our very doors in their desire to gain for our producers an insignificant percentage in our sales to foreign countries, thousands of miles away from our farms and factories. *Much better would it be to sacrifice a large portion or even the whole of our foreign sales, than any considerable portion of our home market. But the figures which I have given show that it is not necessary to make any sacrifices whatever under the beneficent operations of a protective tariff. We have not only maintained and increased our home market during these past few years, but we have constantly increased our foreign markets at the same time, and more rapidly than any other country of the world.*

"UNITED STATES TARIFFS HINDER THE PLACING OF ORDERS IN GREAT BRITAIN."

Extracts from GLASGOW HERALD, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

[From Glasgow Herald, September 2.]

Views of Scottish Woolen Trade on Foreign Tariffs.

With the view of obtaining reliable information regarding the effect of foreign tariffs on the Scotch woolen trade, the South of Scotland Chamber of Commerce recently invited its members to answer several questions. The following answers have been received from thirty-three members of the chamber, all of them representing business firms of considerable importance, and many being partners in very large concerns:

United States Tariffs.

Question. What, in your opinion, has been the effect from time to time of the various tariffs levied on woolen goods by the United States?

Answers. No. 1. Yarn spinner—To greatly restrict, and latterly to certainly put a stop to business in Scotch woolen yarns.

No. 2. Tweed manufacturer—*Roughly stated, as tariffs rose, exports to the United States fell.*

No. 3. Manufacturer of fancy tweeds, worsted suitings, etc.—The present tariff we find to be practically prohibitive.

No. 8. Scotch tweed merchants, and also of English manufactured goods—At present it is not possible to sell in the United States, owing to the high tariff, except to houses doing a high-class trade, where price is a secondary consideration.

No. 9. Tweed manufacturers—*Reduced our trade to practically nil.*

No. 10. Woolen and worsted manufacturer—To stop the trade in bulk, what remains being specialties in cloth or design.

No. 11. Scotch tweed manufacturers—The effect has been most serious, as it has, since the McKinley tariff entirely stopped what business we had with the United States and thrown all that output (which was very large) into the home market, which has since that time been seriously congested, making trade unremunerative.

No. 12. Manufacturers of hosiery and woven underwear—To hinder the placing of orders in Great Britain.

No. 13. Woollen merchant—*Ruinous to the woolen trade of this country, without the shadow of a doubt.*

No. 14. Hosiery manufacturers—Almost entirely stopped the trade with the United States in hosiery.

No. 15. Manufacturers of high-class tweeds—To curtail or nearly stop business except that buyers look at our styles to get educated, buy a few bits to save their shame, and then make up their bulk in cheaper goods on this side or know better what to buy on the other. We lose patience when speaking of this country, which takes 95 per cent of a start—or, rather, 125 per cent., counting all—and then struts about as lords of creation.

No. 16. Tweed manufacturer and yarn spinner—*They have practically closed the markets.*

No. 17. Manufacturers chiefly of tweeds and fine worsteds—The effect has been very injurious upon our business.

No. 18. Woollen merchant, handling from medium up to best quality of Scotch goods; also English worsteds in fancy and plain coatings—Most adverse to business. Having a separate business in Boston, U. S. A., I can testify to an enormous increase in the use and production of local manufacturers. Every season the newest designs made in this country are copied both in fabric and colors; and I have seen surprising imitations, more especially in botany and crossbred worsteds. If it were not for the better class of Americans being determined to be exclusive and to wear only imported goods, the present limited trade would be snuffed out. Wearing the best class of British goods is one of the ways by which an American shows his importance financially.

No. 19. Manufacturers of fancy woolen and worsted goods—The effect undoubtedly has been to practically destroy the trade in fancy goods. A small trade is still done, but in my opinion makers would be better without it. It only exists because British makes and styles still lead the fashion in men's goods, and American merchants buy them in small quantities for the sake of educating themselves in order to "coach" the domestic manufacturer.

No. 20. Fancy woolen and worsted manufacturers—A decreasing trade.

No. 21. Hosiery manufacturer—Foreign trade too small to warrant giving opinion.

No. 22. Manufacturers of Scotch tweeds—Never did a direct trade with United States.

No. 23. Tweed manufacturer—Distinctly against the industry of this district.

No. 24. Tweed manufacturer—Very injurious.

No. 25. Tweed manufacturer—*Since the present high tariff has been put on woolen goods our trade has been practically nil.*

No. 26. Manufacturer of high-class woollens for men's wear—Staple goods which formerly were bought for this market in large quantities, are practically shut out. Merchants who used to order 1,000 yards to a coloring are now content with 50 yards or less.

No. 27. Scotch tweed manufacturer—Every rise in the tariff has had the effect of reducing the quantity of trade and making remunerative prices more difficult to obtain. One direct effect of the present high tariff is that new designs made in this country are immediately copied in American goods, and the manufacturer in this country does not get a fair return for his ingenuity in producing new designs or fabrics.

No. 28. Yarn merchant—(1) When the tariff was purely fiscal i. e., for revenue purposes only, British exports in woolen goods were most extensive. (2) When the tariff became protective, exports decreased. (3) Since the tariff became prohibitive, as it is now, exports have practically ceased, with the exception of special designs, weaves, or qualities which the American manufacturer can not yet produce.

"THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FREE-TRADE AND PROTECTION REVENUE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

INSTRUCTIVE FIGURES.

First, I wish to present a few figures as showing our principal financial and commercial conditions as far down as such figures can possibly be obtained, then I wish briefly to endeavor to refute the accusation made by our friends upon the points that I have mentioned, and I will also set forth the reasons why the outlook is so propitious, and why prosperity will not only continue to rule, but will rule with increased vigor in the years to come, if we continue to maintain our present tariff principles and do not allow ourselves to be converted to the disastrous and destructive economic doctrines of our opponents.

Our Democratic friends are fond of talking of a revenue tariff. The following table is instructive in that point, showing the difference between free-trade and protection revenue:

Year ending June 30—	Customs receipts.	Total receipts.
1895.....	\$152,158,617	\$313,390,075
1896.....	160,021,752	326,976,200
1897.....	176,554,127	347,721,705
Average.....	\$162,911,490	\$329,362,660
1898.....	\$149,577,062	\$405,321,335
1899.....	206,128,482	515,960,620
1900.....	233,164,871	567,240,852
1901.....	238,585,456	587,685,338
1902.....	254,444,708	562,478,233
1903.....	284,479,582	560,396,674
Average.....	\$227,720,694	\$533,180,509

It must be remembered that the internal-revenue receipts are affected by the tariff law as well as customs receipts, for in prosperous times, such as we enjoy under a protective tariff, the receipts from internal revenue are largely increased over the receipts during a low-tariff period. The result was that during the low-tariff years, 1895-1897, we had a deficit of over \$76,000,000 added to a deficit in 1894 (which was also a practical free-trade year) of \$70,000,000, or \$146,000,000 in the four years, while during the four years ending 1903 there was a surplus of over \$300,000,000. We have repealed war taxes to the amount of over \$100,000,000, and still our receipts are in excess of our expenditures. This, Mr. President, illustrates the difference between the revenue under low tariffs, and protective tariffs. This is the reason why we are able to undertake the building of the great interoceanic canal, involving as it does the expenditure of between \$100,000,000 and \$200,000,000, and possibly even a greater amount than that.

So much for the Treasury surplus. Now how does the balance stand regarding our foreign trade, about which our Democratic friends are always so solicitous? The official figures are as follows:

Imports and exports of merchandise, 1895-1903.

Year ending June 30—	Imports.	Exports of manufactures.	Total exports.	Total imports and exports.	Excess exports.
1895.....	\$731,969,965	\$183,595,743	\$807,588,165	\$1,539,508,130	\$75,568,200
1896.....	779,724,674	228,571,178	882,606,988	1,662,331,612	102,882,269
1897.....	764,730,412	277,285,391	1,050,993,556	1,815,722,968	286,268,144
1898.....	616,049,654	290,697,354	1,231,482,330	1,847,531,984	615,432,676
1899.....	697,148,489	339,592,146	1,227,023,302	1,924,171,791	529,874,813
1900.....	849,941,184	433,851,756	1,394,483,082	2,244,424,266	544,541,888
1901.....	823,172,165	410,932,524	1,487,764,991	2,310,937,156	664,592,820
1902.....	903,820,948	403,641,401	1,381,719,401	2,285,040,349	478,398,453
1903.....	1,025,719,237	407,526,150	1,420,141,679	2,445,860,916	394,422,442

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS NEVER TAKEN A BACKWARD STEP."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GILBERT N. HAUGEN of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

The Republican party has never taken a backward step, but has always been the supporting pillar of the National Government. Its cardinal principles have been the maintenance of the Declaration of Independence, internal improvements, a tariff to protect our labor and industries and to pay Government expenses, the building up of our Navy, preserving purity in elections, for the diffusion of knowledge and happiness among all the people, for an honest medium of exchange, the maintenance of a common standard of value and an elastic currency. It has stood for honor, dignity, integrity, patriotism, progress, prosperity, law, and order.

Following these principles we have prospered; we have advanced along the lines of accumulating wealth, furnishing employment for our labor, as well as good prices for our products; and in everything that makes opportunities and advantages for our people. We have attained that remarkable degree of American prosperity which is the culmination of the prosperity of the people of the earth; but as we have advanced in population, progress, prosperity, intelligence, and happiness our expenses have also increased.

Progress of the United States.

Years.	Population.			Wealth.		Statistics of farms.		
	Area.	Total.	Per square mile.	Total.	Per capita.	Number of farms.	Value of farms and farm property.	Value of products.
	Sq. miles.			Dollars.	Dollars.	Number.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1850.....	2,980,959	23,191,876	7.78	7,135,780,000	307.69	1,449,073	3,967,343,580	.....
1860.....	3,025,600	31,443,321	10.39	16,159,616,000	513.93	2,044,077	7,980,493,060	.....
1870.....	3,025,600	38,558,371	12.74	36,068,518,000	779.83	2,659,985	8,944,857,749	1,958,080,927
1880.....	3,025,600	50,155,783	16.57	42,642,000,000	850.20	4,008,907	12,180,501,538	2,212,540,927
1890.....	3,025,600	62,022,250	20.70	65,037,091,000	1,038.57	4,564,641	16,082,267,689	2,460,107,454
1900.....	3,025,600	76,303,387	25.22	94,300,000,000	1,235.86	5,739,657	20,514,001,838	3,764,177,706

Year.	Farm animals.						Production of principal commodities.		
	Total value.	Cattle.	Horses.	Sheep.	Mules.	Swine.	Wool.	Wheat.	Corn.
	Dollars.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Pounds.	Bushels.	Bushels.
1850.....	544,180,516	17,778,907	4,336,719	21,773,220	559,331	80,354,213	52,516,959	100,485,944	592,071,104
1860.....	1,089,320,915	25,616,019	6,249,174	22,471,275	1,151,148	83,512,867	60,294,913	173,104,924	888,792,740
1870.....	1,822,327,377	25,484,100	8,248,800	40,853,000	1,179,500	26,751,400	162,000,000	235,884,700	1,094,255,000
1880.....	1,570,917,556	33,258,000	11,201,800	40,705,900	1,729,500	34,034,100	232,500,000	498,549,868	1,717,434,543
1890.....	2,418,766,028	52,801,907	14,213,337	44,336,072	2,331,027	51,602,780	276,000,000	399,262,000	1,489,970,000
1900.....	2,228,123,134	43,902,414	13,537,524	41,883,065	2,086,027	37,079,356	288,636,621	522,229,505	2,105,102,516

"PROTECTION MAKES GOOD TIMES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. E. L. HAMILTON of Michigan, in daily Congressional Record, April 14, 1904.

At the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress we tried to submit a resolution to the people providing for an amendment to the Constitution permitting the Federal Government to follow, regulate, and control corporations generally, but it takes two-thirds of Congress to do that, our Democratic friends refused to vote for it, and it failed.

Failing in that, in the second session of the Fifty-seventh Congress we passed (1) a law providing for a Department of Commerce and Labor, with a Commissioner of Corporations charged with the supervision of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, also providing for corporate publicity.

(2) Inasmuch as it is no use to manufacture if you can not get your product to the consumer, and inasmuch as it had been for some time the cause of just complaint that railroad companies, endowed with the power of eminent domain, whose duty it is to serve the public impartially, had been giving preferential freight rates to preferred shippers, whereby shippers so preferred were strengthened into monopolies, arbitrarily fixing prices to buyers and sellers and driving competitors out of business, we passed the anti-rebate law, which prohibits under penalty the giving, demanding, or receiving of preferences and provides the preventive remedy of injunction.

(3) We also passed a law to "expedite the hearing and determination of suits in equity" under the antitrust law, and under this law to expedite hearings the Northern Securities case "came on to be heard."

The only antitrust law on the Federal statute books bears the name of a Republican Senator. The law creating an Interstate Commerce Commission bears the name of another Republican Senator and all the law is being enforced by a Republican President.

But gentlemen insist that trusts are fostered under protection and that the way to remove trusts is to remove the tariff.

It is not true that trusts are fostered by protection except in the sense that protection makes good times, and when times are good they are good for everybody. If it be true that when times are good they are good for everybody, the converse must be true that when times are bad they are bad for everybody, and if to discipline trusts it is necessary to make times bad for everybody, it is not unlikely that those least able to bear it would suffer most.

Laying aside the fact that trusts are organized under English free trade as well as German, Austrian, and American protection, it is susceptible of absolute demonstration that American free trade would operate in the interests of trusts and against the interest of American labor.

It appears by the Twelfth Census that only 12.8 per cent. of the total manufactured output of the United States is made by trusts; that only 8.13 per cent. of the food supply of the United States is controlled by trusts, and that only 7.5 per cent. of the labor employed in manufacturing is employed by trusts, and the word "trust" as here employed is used to mean all corporations organized in recent years. Since the taking of the last census, however, it appears that the capitalization of combinations which culminated in the year 1901 is rapidly falling off.

Now, if it is true that only 12.8 per cent. of the manufactured output of the United States is trust made, then the remaining 87.2 per cent. is made by competing independent industries.

And if it be true that only 7.5 per cent. of the labor employed in manufacturing industries is employed by trusts, then the remaining 92.5 per cent. of labor employed in manufacturing is employed by competing, independent industries.

Therefore, if you remove the duty from the 12.8 per cent. of trust-made products you remove it from the remaining 87.2 per cent. of products made by competing, independent industries employing 92.5 per cent. of all the labor employed in manufacturing industries in the United States; and inasmuch as the weak would probably go to the wall first, trusts which would then be given the benefit of free raw material would remain and not only dictate terms to labor, which would then be seeking employment in a crowded labor market, but would dictate terms to consumers, provided they themselves were able to survive competition with the trusts of Europe.

"A MAN IS A FREE TRADER OR PROTECTIONIST."—

"THERE IS NO MIDDLE GROUND."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. D. OWEN of Indiana, page 5545 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Mr. Chairman, there is no middle ground on this question. Such a claim is a mere pretense. A man is a free trader or protectionist. If a free trader, as far as the revenue is raised by tariff, he wants it levied without reference to protecting industries. If he is a protectionist, he wants it levied with special reference to its industrial benefits; and when an industry is self-supporting, or experiment has proven it incapable of development, he withdraws the protection. The lines that separate them are as widely separate as the poles and as clearly defined as any different policies of government. The tariff reformer is a politician, a citizen who is not anchored to any governmental principle. He is a speculator on political chances. *He is an industrial mugwump, who, when you scratch his back you find a man who reforms every one else, but wants to protect the industries in his own district.*

For me to defend and protect an industry in my own district, and support the free-trade policy against other industries elsewhere, shows me as really acknowledging the value of protection, but that as a politician I am willing to join my party in a crusade against others. It is of seed such as this that trouble is brought to governments.

**"THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY IS FREE TRADE AND
NOTHING SHORT OF THAT."**

Extract from remarks of Hon. S. L. MILLIKEN of Maine, page 4255 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

But to conclude, let me say that the issue is now fairly and clearly made between the great parties of the country, the Democratic free trader and the Republican protectionist, and I am glad it is so. We see no more such dodgery of this question on the part of our Democratic friends, as they have hitherto attempted with such success as their skill obtained by long experience in that art entitled them to. The President's message, the Mills bill, and the tariff debate in this House have done one good if no other. They have disclosed to the country that the Democratic policy is free trade and nothing short of that; and if the present bill goes not quite to that length, its advocates do; that is sustained upon free-trade ground and no other, and that the Democratic party only awaits a convenient opportunity to come out of its already broken shell into as fully fledged a champion of free trade, pure and simple, as the most ardent of its leaders or the most radical English members of the Cobden Club, to which it has contributed so many adherents in this country, could desire.

"ENGLAND LEARNS FROM EXPERIENCE—DEMOCRACY DOES NOT."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.

ENGLAND LEARNS FROM EXPERIENCE—DEMOCRACY DOES NOT.

On the day on which Mr. Balfour was delivering his splendid address in favor of a protective tariff, in which he showed that this policy had given tremendous development to the trade and industry in the United States at the expense of his own country, the Democratic party in convention assembled in Massachusetts adopted a platform which contained a vicious denunciation of our protective tariff and of our great industrial organizations, which, according to the testimony of Mr. Balfour, have been the very means by which the United States has gained the commercial supremacy now enjoyed. The platform reads:

We favor the immediate regulation of trusts under the interstate-commerce and taxation powers of Congress, and the admission, free of duty, of articles controlled by the trusts, raw materials of manufacture, and the necessities of life.

We have thus presented to our attention the astounding spectacle of the prime minister of Great Britain openly advocating the abandonment of free trade and the adoption of the American policy of protection, while on the very same day the Democratic party of Massachusetts, and in this respect the party in Massachusetts voices the sentiment of the party throughout the country, demanding the destruction of an economic system which, not only by the evidence of our own senses but on the testimony of Mr. Balfour, has brought us unprecedented prosperity and transferred Great Britain's commercial supremacy to the United States. Could political folly go further?

WHY GREAT BRITAIN ADOPTED FREE TRADE.

Mr. Balfour lately issued a pamphlet entitled "Insular Free Trade," in which he further explains his views. The contest between protection and free trade, which came to an end in Great Britain in 1846, was a struggle between two opposing ideas, viz., whether the country should become more and more a manufacturing nation or whether agriculture was to be maintained at whatever cost. The conclusion then was in favor of the first alternative, and Mr. Balfour says that the conclusion was right at that time, for the reason that an agricultural nation could neither have furnished the men nor the money necessary to enable Great Britain to carry out her imperial mission. To support a manufacturing community it is necessary that luxuries and necessities be imported and that a large export trade be built up in order that sufficient capital may be raised to pay for the imports, and further that sufficient capital shall always be available for home investment and furnish employment for a rapidly growing city population.

They failed—

Mr. Balfour says—

to foresee that the world would reject free trade, and they failed to take full account of the commercial possibilities of the British Empire. If they had been right on the first point—if free trade had indeed become a universal creed—no controversy about our commercial relations with any fiscally independent community could possibly have arisen. If, on the other hand, they had succeeded in giving us imperial free trade, the protective tendencies of foreign nations would in the long run have been but of secondary importance. The double error has established insular free trade, with its inevitable limitations, and left us bearing all the burden, but enjoying only half the advantages which should attach to empire.

The ocean we are navigating is smooth enough, but where are we being driven by its tides? Does either theory or experience provide any consolatory answer to this question? Consider some of the points on which we have commented in these notes—the injury which foreign protection is calculated to inflict on a free-trade country; its need for open markets; the threatened contraction of existing free-trade areas; the increasing severity of tariffs in protectionist areas; the building up of vested protected interests in new countries, which may be discouraged now but not hereafter; the effect of this protection on our future corn supply; the uncertainty and loss which tariff-protected plants are inflicting and may hereafter inflict upon British capital invested in Britain. One and all of these evils, actual and prospective, are due to protection. The man who says that their cumulative effect is so small as to be negligible can hardly describe himself as a free trader—at least he can attach but a very small value to free trade. The man, who admitting their reality does not anticipate their increase, has (it seems to me) not learned the lesson which theory and experience agree in teaching. The man who admits their present reality and the probability of their increase, and yet is too contentedly prosperous even to consider whether any mitigation is practicable, appears little short of reckless.

"EXCESS OF EXPORTS OVER IMPORTS."—"AN UNFORTUNATE SUBJECT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE of Massachusetts, in daily Congressional Record, Feb. 4, 1904.

Mr. President, an extension was given to the somewhat casual remarks which I made yesterday by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN]. This was something which I did not anticipate, because I had no desire when I spoke to do anything more than touch on the question of the St. Louis appropriation and the general economy which has been preached in various quarters during this winter. But the Senator from Maryland thought it necessary to infer that I had admitted the failure of our policies, because I had alluded to the fact that we had been told that there was likely to be a deficit in the revenue this year.

Mr. President, for the seven months of the year which have already passed, there is, if I am correctly informed, no deficit; we are about \$4,000,000 ahead in income.

The Senator from Maryland referred also to the decline in the excess of exports over imports. The amount of that excess no doubt has fluctuated, but I think it was an unfortunate subject to open for the purposes of comparison—I mean unfortunate for the Democratic party.

I have drawn up, stated in millions, the amount of imports and the amount of exports since 1893, which I will ask to have printed with my remarks; and I find that the excess of imports in 1893 was \$35,000,000; the excess of exports in 1894, \$215,000,000; the excess of exports in 1895, \$61,000,000; the excess of imports, that is, the adverse balance of 1896, \$84,000,000.

Mr. President, I think it is worth while to compare those four years, in two of which there was an adverse balance and in the other two a favorable balance, with the years which have followed. The excess of exports in 1897 was \$268,000,000; in 1898, \$594,000,000; in 1899, \$606,000,000; in 1900, \$521,000,000; in 1901, \$647,000,000; in 1902, \$452,000,000; in 1903, \$395,000,000.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Excess of Imports.	Excess of exports.
1893.....	\$866,000,000	\$831,000,000	\$35,000,000	.....
1894.....	654,000,000	869,000,000	.....	\$215,000,000
1895.....	732,000,000	793,000,000	.....	61,000,000
1896.....	779,000,000	863,000,000	\$84,000,000	.....
1897.....	764,000,000	1,032,000,000	.....	268,000,000
1898.....	616,000,000	1,210,000,000	.....	594,000,000
1899.....	697,000,000	1,203,000,000	.....	606,000,000
1900.....	849,000,000	1,370,000,000	.....	521,000,000
1901.....	823,000,000	1,460,000,000	.....	647,000,000
1902.....	903,000,000	1,355,000,000	.....	452,000,000
1903.....	1,025,000,000	1,420,000,000	.....	395,000,000

There never has been in the history of the country a period of an equal number of years or of all the years together which has approached the years since 1897 in the favorable balance of trade to the United States. There has been a decline in the last two years from the great balances of 1901 and 1899, but in order to find a comparison which shows a falling off in the excess of exports over imports in the last two years the Senator from Maryland is obliged to compare them with other years of Republican ascendancy. In this last year, which he pointed out as so bad, the excess of exports over imports was far larger than in the two favorable years of Mr. Cleveland put together.

As for the revenue, even after the great reductions which we have made, I think it is well for the Senator to remember that in order to meet the deficit incurred during Mr. Cleveland's term they found it necessary to borrow, in a time of profound peace, \$250,000,000, adding that amount to the permanent debt of the country.

We were charged with the expenses of a war. We met the war. We met those expenses. We met the great loan which was rendered necessary. Yet we have a balance in the Treasury to-day more than equal to that loan, and we have been steadily reducing the permanent debt ever since. We have had no deficit and we have issued no bonds to meet current expenditures. I do not think, Mr. President, it is possible to make a comparison more in favor of the wisdom of Republican policies than those figures show.

"UNITED STATES LEADS IN EXPORTS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY S. BOUTELL of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, January 26, 1904.

Your soothsayers told the people that if the Republican tariff bill was adopted terrible things would happen. You said that with a Republican protective tariff our exports would fall off. Instead of that our exports began to increase immediately upon the passage of the present Dingley tariff act. I hold in my hand a statement from the Bureau of Statistics, showing the increase in the exports, which I will insert in the Record.

It is only within recent years that the United States has taken her place at the head of the list of the world's great exporters of domestic products. In 1875 the exports of domestic products by the world's great exporting nations were as follows:

United Kingdom	\$1,097,497,000
France	747,400,000
Germany	593,052,000
United States	497,263,737

In 1885 the domestic exports of these four countries stood as follows:

United Kingdom	\$1,037,124,000
Germany	680,551,000
United States	673,593,596
France	596,000,000

In 1895 the domestic exports of the four countries were as follows:

United Kingdom	\$1,100,452,000
United States	807,742,415
Germany	789,660,000
France	651,100,000

In 1903 the relative rank of the four countries in the exportation of domestic products was as follows:

United States	\$1,457,565,783
United Kingdom	1,415,617,552
Germany a	1,200,000,000
France b	812,000,000

a Nine months' figures and estimate for closing quarter of the year.

b Eleven months' figures and estimate for last month of the year.

The table which follows shows the exports of domestic products from the United States, United Kingdom, and Germany in each year from 1875 to 1903, the figures being in all cases for the calendar year:

Year.	United States.	United Kingdom.	Germany.
1875.....	\$497,263,737	\$1,087,497,000	\$593,052,000
1876.....	575,735,804	976,410,000	605,886,000
1877.....	607,566,495	967,913,000	656,982,000
1878.....	723,286,821	938,500,000	686,671,000
1879.....	754,656,755	932,090,000	660,352,000
1880.....	875,564,075	1,085,521,000	688,500,000
1881.....	814,162,951	1,138,873,000	707,978,000
1882.....	749,911,309	1,175,099,000	758,817,000
1883.....	777,523,718	1,166,982,000	778,257,000
1884.....	733,768,764	1,134,016,000	762,432,000
1885.....	673,593,596	1,037,124,000	680,551,000
1886.....	699,519,430	1,035,226,000	710,186,000
1887.....	703,319,692	1,079,944,000	745,896,000
1888.....	679,597,477	1,141,363,000	762,444,000
1889.....	814,154,864	1,214,442,000	753,222,000
1890.....	845,999,603	1,282,474,000	791,717,000
1891.....	957,333,551	1,203,169,000	755,771,000
1892.....	923,237,315	1,105,747,000	703,078,000
1893.....	854,729,454	1,062,162,000	735,886,000
1894.....	807,312,116	1,051,193,000	704,826,000
1895.....	807,742,415	1,100,452,000	789,660,000
1896.....	986,330,080	1,168,671,000	838,981,000
1897.....	1,079,834,296	1,139,882,000	865,124,000
1898.....	1,233,558,140	1,135,642,000	894,063,000
1899.....	1,252,932,344	1,287,150,000	1,001,278,000
1900.....	1,453,010,112	1,417,086,000	1,097,509,000
1901.....	1,438,078,651	1,362,727,000	1,054,685,000
1902.....	1,333,288,491	1,379,282,000	1,113,313,000
1903.....	1,457,565,783	1,415,617,000	a1,200,000,000

a Estimate for closing quarter of year.

The exports during the calendar year just closed amounted to \$1,457,000,000, the record year in exports of the United States to foreign countries nearly double the entire exports in the year 1895. But another thing that is very gratifying to us all, gentlemen, partisanship aside, gratifying to every American in this House, is that during the past few years our great Republic has changed its place from fourth in the list of exporting nations to first, and to-day we lead Great Britain, Germany, and France.

Again it was predicted that the volume of money in the country would decrease, but it has not; it is greater now than it ever was before. It was predicted that the gold in the Treasury would decrease, but it has not; we have more gold in the Treasury now than there ever was in the United States Treasury before, and we have more gold coin and bullion in the United States Treasury than was ever collected at any one spot before in the history of the world—nearly seven hundred millions of dollars. It was predicted that wages all over the country would go down, but on the contrary, from the inauguration of President McKinley up to this year just closed, the average rate of wages all over this country has gone up.

Not only the average money wage, but the actual wage as compared with the cost of subsistence.

"TARIFFS AND TRADE BALANCES.—EXCESS OF IMPORTS UNDER LOW TARIFFS—EXCESS OF EXPORTS UNDER PROTECTIVE TARIFFS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, November 27, 1903.

TARIFFS AND TRADE BALANCES, 1790-1900.

Years in which low tariffs and protective tariffs, respectively, have been in operation in the United States, showing the excess of imports or exports in each year and the total excess of imports or exports under each system.

[Compiled from official statements of the Bureau of Statistics.]

Fiscal year.	Low tariffs.		Fiscal year.	Protective tariffs.	
	Excess of imports.	Excess of exports.		Excess of imports.	Excess of exports.
1790.....	\$2,794,844		1813.....		\$5,851,017
1791.....	10,187,959		1814.....	\$6,087,559	
1792.....	10,746,902		1815.....	60,483,521	
1793.....	4,900,428		1816.....	65,182,948	
1794.....	1,556,275		1825.....		549,023
1795.....	21,766,396		1826.....	5,202,722	
1796.....	22,861,539		1827.....		2,977,009
1797.....	24,084,696		1828.....	16,998,873	
1798.....	7,224,289		1829.....		345,736
1799.....	403,626		1830.....		8,949,779
1800.....	20,280,988		1831.....	23,589,527	
1801.....	18,342,998		1832.....	13,601,159	
1802.....	4,876,189		1833.....	13,519,211	
1803.....	8,866,633		1843.....		40,392,225
1804.....	7,300,926		1844.....		3,141,226
1805.....	25,033,979		1845.....	7,144,211	
1806.....	27,873,037		1846 ^a	4,165,409	
1807.....	30,156,850		1862.....		1,313,824
1808.....	34,559,040		1863.....	39,371,363	
1809.....	7,196,767		1864.....	157,609,295	
1810.....	18,642,030		1865.....	72,716,277	
1811.....		\$7,916,832	1866.....	85,952,544	
1812.....	38,502,764		1867.....	101,254,955	
1817.....	11,578,431		1868.....	75,483,541	
1818.....	28,468,867		1869.....	131,388,682	
1819.....	16,982,479		1870.....	43,186,640	
1820.....	4,758,331		1871.....	77,403,506	
1821.....		75,489	1872.....	182,417,461	
1822.....	18,521,594		1873.....	119,656,238	
1823.....	4,155,328		1874.....		18,876,698
1824.....	3,197,067		1875.....	19,562,725	
1834.....	6,349,485		1876.....		79,643,481
1835.....	21,548,493		1877.....		151,152,094
1836.....	52,240,450		1878.....		257,814,234
1837.....	19,029,676		1879.....		264,661,666
1838.....		9,008,282	1880.....		167,683,912
1839.....	44,245,283		1881.....		259,712,718
1840.....		25,410,226	1882.....		25,902,683
1841.....	11,140,073		1883.....		100,658,488
1842.....		3,802,924	1884.....		72,815,916
1846 ^a	4,165,408		1885.....		164,662,426
1847.....		34,317,249	1886.....		44,688,694
1848.....	10,448,129		1887.....		23,863,443
1849.....	855,027		1888.....	28,002,607	
1850.....	29,133,800		1889.....	2,730,297	
1851.....	21,856,170		1890.....		68,518,275
1852.....	40,456,167		1891.....		39,564,614
1853.....	60,287,983		1892.....		202,875,636
1854.....	60,760,030		1893.....	18,735,728	
1855.....	38,899,205		1894.....		237,145,950
1856.....	29,212,887		1898.....		615,432,676
1857.....	54,604,582		1899.....		529,874,813
1858.....		8,672,620	1900.....		544,541,898
1859.....	38,431,290		1901.....		664,592,826
1860.....	20,040,062		1902.....		478,398,453
1861.....	69,756,709		1903.....		394,422,442
1865.....		75,568,200			
1866.....		102,832,264			
1867.....		286,263,144			
Total.....	\$1,068,872,161	\$553,917,230	Total.....	\$1,371,397,064	\$5,470,423,925

^a Half year.

Net excess of IMPORTS under low tariffs..... \$514,954,931

Net excess of EXPORTS under protective tariffs..... 4,099,026,861

"THE UNITED STATES KNOWS HER BUSINESS."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

In spite of the alarming predictions of the Cobden Club the United States adopted the McKinley tariff. They knew exactly what they wanted; they believed that the more completely they secured their home market for home enterprise the higher would be the development of their internal industry and the greater, therefore, its success in foreign trade. No estimate was ever more brilliantly verified, against all the calculations of the prophets of free imports, like the late Mr. Gladstone, who declared, we believe, that America was not naturally fitted to excel in the production of iron and steel. The steel trust, with its £300,000,000 of capital, has been created since then. What McKinleyism meant to the textile and tin-plate trades in this country we know, but this is what it meant to America herself (Sir A. E. Bateman's memorandum on foreign trade):

American Exports of Manufactured Articles.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Decade before the McKinley bill:

1880	21
1890	a 31

Decade after the McKinley bill:

1891	35
1900	b 90

a 33 per cent. increase. b 190 per cent. increase over 1890.

There is no putting back the clock in that contrast.

Germany, under Bismarck, abandoned the system of approximate free trade in 1879 in the teeth of all the jeremiads of her doctrinaires. She has since achieved marvelous expansion in manufacture and commerce with which we have had cogent reason to be well acquainted. She has stopped the stream of emigration from her shores; that is the test. The Kaiser's subjects would have continued, as before, to flow abroad by millions if prospects of prosperity previously unknown had not been opened up at home after the free-imports system was abandoned. No competent witness can deny the immense subsequent increase of employment and the remarkable advance in the general well-being of the German people. These things have occurred in spite of the strangely misinformed comments of the Radical press, and even of some Unionist free traders upon the Socialist successes in the Reichstag elections. It is when Jeshurun is waxing fat that he kicks most lustily against a jack-boot system. Prosperity increases the sense of democratic independence. The Socialist party in Germany was founded and became formidable under approximate free trade, and only complete ignorance of German conditions can imagine that the army of protest under Bebel and Singer would be disbanded by free trade. (Sir A. E. Bateman's memorandum on foreign trade.)

German Exports of Manufactured Articles.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

1880 (when free trade was abandoned)	83
1890 (10 years after)	a 107
1900 (20 years after)	b 149

This has not been due to the tariff alone; other causes have cooperated. But what these figures absolutely prove is that free-trade theories can not be so important as their professors would have us believe. Free trade may be excellent, better trade is better.

But the case of France is the most remarkable of all. The Meline tariff of 1892 was the negation of free trade. Upon every calculation of the Cobden Club it should have ruined the French export of manufactures. But what has happened? They have increased more rapidly and steadily than before. Observe the following figures for maximum years of trade:

French Manufactured Exports.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Before the Meline tariff:

1882	76
1890	80

After the Meline tariff:

1893	70
1902	95

Our foreign trade has shown nothing approaching this ratio of increase for thirty years, and this in spite of the colossal burdens of the French people—a national debt twice as large as our own (also far heavier bounties and subsidies to shipping), and a normal peace taxation equal to our recent war taxation. France has diminished her exports of raw material, but increased her sales of finished articles; while of us, apart from our colonial trade, the converse has been true. Here are all the prophecies of the Cobden Club falsified by facts in three cases as widely different as could well be imagined. We are familiar with the orthodox explanation in the case of America. She has succeeded, we are assured, on account of her boundless resources; not because of protection, but in spite of it. Could anything be more ludicrous than this solemn affectation of superior intelligence by our doctrinaire mandarins at the expense of the most acute business nation in the world? Americans, for their part, adopted the tariff in order to secure certain results; they believe the results have been secured through the tariff, and could not have been secured without the tariff. Germany is a poor country, with a bad seaboard, which can not compare with our own in its natural advantages for industry and trade, and it has doubled the heresy of protection by the heresy of conscription. Upon free-import principles, if the tariff succeeded in the United States on account of their enormous internal resources it ought at least to have failed in the Fatherland. According to Cobdenite doctrines the competitive success of the German people against a nation like ourselves, enjoying all the blessings of a small army, a popular government, open ports and unlimited cheap consumption, ought to have been impossible. But German manufacturers and the greater majority of the German people are as convinced as Americans that the development of home production secured by the tariff is the true basis of successful attack upon foreign markets. In France, where the old free-trade party is becoming extinct, no widespread section of public opinion thinks for a moment of reversing M. Meline's economic policy.

THE MAIN STRENGTH OF AMERICAN BUSINESS DEPENDS UPON THE COMMAND OF THE HOME MARKET, SECURED BY THE TARIFF."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

Across the Atlantic capital is accumulating with incomparably greater rapidity than it has recently done here. The American manufacturer pays no income tax, and we have not the advantage of the returns; but there can be no doubt that capital in the United States now possesses a much greater accumulative and progressive power than does capital in this country. Mr. Carnegie, who ought to know, has always maintained that *the main strength of American business depends upon the almost absolute command of its home market, secured by the tariff.*

The Americans have great natural resources. But their idea of efficient organization absolutely rejects dumping-ground principles as a system incompatible with the encouragement of enterprise and the confidence of capital. Every protected manufacturer makes for two markets. He has a monopoly of his own, and freedom in ours. The governing law of cheap production is quantity of production. The larger the output the lower the cost. The foreign capitalist who makes for two markets, the one from which he excludes us by tariffs and the one to which we admit him by free imports, must and does possess an immense pull over the British manufacturer, who only makes for one market and is never sure of that. Pure free trade may be an indisputably sound principle. The combination of hostile tariffs broad and free imports at home, giving the foreign producer the best of both worlds—that, it will be seen, is a principle which the common sense of the country must investigate and will, indeed, reject.

In spite of the alarming predictions of the Cobden Club the United States adopted the McKinley tariff. They knew exactly what they wanted; they believed that the more completely they secured their home market for some enterprise the higher would be the development of their internal industry and the greater, therefore, its success in foreign trade. *No estimate has ever more brilliantly verified, against all the calculations of the prophets of free imports, like the late Mr. Gladstone, who declared, we believe, that America was not naturally fitted to excel in the production of iron and steel.* The steel trust, with its £300,000,000 of capital, has been created since then. What McKinleyism meant to the textile and tin-plate trades in this country we know, but this is what it meant to America herself (Sir A. C. Batesman's memorandum on foreign trade):

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"EFFECT OF THE DINGLEY LAW."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, November 27, 1903.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] has argued that our present attitude on the tariff question is about to destroy our foreign trade. The Democratic party is largely interested in the foreign trade of our country. It has always taken steps to promote it, and the pathway over which it has traveled, instead of being strewn with the growth and development of our foreign trade, is a graveyard of buried hopes and unfulfilled anticipations.

It sounded very strange to me to hear a Democratic Representative talking about our foreign trade and charging the Republican House Representatives with doing something, somewhere, and in some way, to the detriment of our foreign trade. He especially placed himself upon the ground that the passage of the Dingley law noted and built a monument at a point where, by our hostility to other countries, the downfall of American supremacy would take its origin. I want to encourage my Democratic brother on the other side to study this question of the trade of the United States with foreign countries before he makes another speech, and I am going to put into my speech some tables showing the exports of commodities from and imports of commodities into the United States during the whole period of our existence as a government, and will give my friend on the other side from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] a synopsis which I received in an official form on yesterday.

It is a letter from the Bureau of Statistics. And I might say right here that the pulse, the thermometer, of national progress in this behalf at least, is largely the question of how much we sell abroad and how much we buy from abroad. And when the balance of trade is running in our favor, so that we are selling more than we are buying, there is no cause for alarm and there is no cause for an attack upon the protective-tariff system. I was delighted that the gentleman located the beginning of our trouble at the beginning of the operation of the Dingley law. That is the question that we are interested in.

What is the effect and what has been the effect of the Dingley law? In order that any gentleman interested in this matter may not be misled, I have in these tables shown to him what the situation was in the year immediately preceding, when in large part the Chinese Wall was thrown down and substantial free trade upon many of the larger productions of American industry was given to the people of the world. Later I am coming to answer the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], who pointed out that at some time or other somebody said that somebody was afraid that somebody thought that there would not be money enough in the United States Treasury and undertook to borrow money to fill up the gap. Now, what is the situation? Here it is:

Replying to your telephonic inquiry of to-day, regarding the excess of exports over imports from 1790 to June 30, 1897, and from June 30, 1897, to June 30, 1903, I have the honor to hand you the following statement taken from the records of this Bureau:

Total excess of exports of merchandise from 1790 to June 30, 1897, \$356,808,822.

Well, that was a rather respectable showing, considering the fact that during a large portion of that 107 years we had a whole lot of Democratic Administrations, and we pulled through with a better record, considering the war times and all that, than we had any reasonable right to expect, and if there is any student of this subject here who wants to get the exact details I will furnish him the opportunity to ascertain for whose Administration it was that these three hundred and fifty-odd million dollars grew up. Now, I have another statement that I communicate to the Democratic agonizers on the other side of the House.

"The total excess of exports of merchandise over imports of merchandise from July 1, 1897, to June 30, 1903, was \$3,227,263,106."

That was the balance in favor of the American nation.

Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take!

Those clouds ye so much dread

Are big with mercy and shall (continue to) break

In (Republican) blessings on your head!

[Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

"GREAT BRITAIN PREPARING TO ADOPT REPUBLICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, in the debate to which we have listened in this House the last few days and which has covered a wide range of subjects we have heard the same old Democratic claim that the tariff is the mother of trusts, that the consumer pays the tariff duty, and that the people are being robbed of millions in unjust taxation in order to pile up a tremendous and unnecessary surplus for the Secretary of the Treasury to manipulate and hand out to favored banks as political favors. We know there is no truth in these charges. The American people have met these issues and have passed upon them. In 1896 they condemned the Wilson tariff law, and in 1900 they indorsed the Dingley tariff. The Democratic party, however, learns nothing from experience. The lessons of the past are lost upon them. It forgets the soup houses of 1893 to 1896, the smokeless chimneys, the closed factories, the idle workmen, the suffering and want which marked that period of depression, the result of the last Democratic tariff revision. It is becoming more and more apparent that the tariff is to be the issue for 1904.

The debate to which we have listened here this week is the opening skirmish in the Presidential campaign. Whether the Democratic party marches under the banner of tariff for revenue only or under the new flag of tariff reform the campaign will be directed against the Republican policy of protection. The assaults of the enemy will be aimed at the magnificent industrial edifice created by Republican tariff policies. *Jealous of the splendid prosperity of American manufacturers, which has enabled them to invade the markets of the world and compete successfully with foreign manufacturers on their own ground, Democracy is already threatening to reduce that tariff protection which has built up our present tremendous volume of foreign and domestic trade.*

The latest official figures show there is no decrease in that great volume of food products and manufactured articles which are leaving our ports to supply the demands of foreign markets. The Treasury statement for October, 1903, shows that the United States exported merchandise that month to the aggregate value of \$160,370,059, a volume of business which has been surpassed only once in all our history. The greatest year in our export trade was 1900, and in that year our October exports exceeded the exports of last month some \$3,000,000, but as compared with October of last year the increase is over \$16,000,000. While our exports increased last month, the imports declined, giving us a favorable trade balance of \$78,439,054, or an excess over the trade balance of the same month in last year of \$21,535,696. The November exports slightly exceeded those of October, while the imports fell off, making a balance in our favor of \$83,000,000, or \$5,000,000 better than the October figures. The favorable trade balance for the United States during the first ten months of the present calendar year is nearly \$309,000,000, as against a balance during the same period of 1902 of \$298,000,000.

These encouraging figures show how slight is the ground for complaint over present trade conditions. While the rich men of Wall street have been going through a period of industrial depression, the country at large has been continuing its onward progress in the path of prosperity and business development.

While tariff reform is being advocated in this country by the Democratic party, one of the great political parties of Great Britain is also raising the issue of tariff reform and is educating the voters in preparation for an appeal to the country upon that issue. But tariff reform in Great Britain means exactly the contrary from what it means in the United States. In this country tariff reform means a lowering of tariff duties. In Great Britain, under the leadership of some of her greatest statesmen, tariff reform means the enactment of tariff duties as a substitute for free trade. *The free trader in the United States and the advocate of a tariff for revenue only has long pointed with pride to Great Britain as illustrating the beauties of the free-trade system. The leaders of the Conservative party are now attacking that system and making plain that it is retarding the country instead of assisting it in the great contest now being waged between the nations for commercial supremacy.*

"IT IS NOT WELL WITH BRITISH TRADE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN'S SPLENDID FIGHT FOR A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

I turn now to the recent public utterances of Joseph Chamberlain, who retired from the English cabinet in order that he might be free to fight the battle of protection as against free trade. He is the special representative of the great middle class of England, of the industrial and commercial classes. The working classes of England look up to him as their special friend. He has been their champion on many a hard-fought battlefield, and they repose great confidence in his unselfish devotion to their interest. His present appeal to his countrymen to support him in his new crusade for a protective tariff has met with a prompt and enthusiastic response. He minces no words in describing the weak spot in England's present commercial condition. I quote from a letter he addressed last month to the London Daily Telegraph:

"It is not well with British trade. After a long period of success the policy of unrestricted foreign imports has now shown evident signs of failure. Our exports are stationary in amount and declining in character. We receive from our competitors a larger proportion of manufactured goods and we send them a larger proportion of raw materials than we used to. Our supremacy in what have always been considered our standard industries has been wrested from us or is seriously menaced. One by one our markets, once profitable and expanding, are closed to us by hostile tariffs. We have lost all power of bargaining successfully for the removal or rejection of these barriers to our trade. Our colonies alone continue to increase their purchases, and even here we must abandon all hope of expansion, and we are threatened with the loss of our existing trade if we are unable to meet their requests for reciprocal preference.

"Any duty on food imposed to secure preferential trade with our colonies will be a small one. It may probably be wholly paid, and will certainly be partly paid, by the foreigner. The additional cost, if any, to the working classes will be fully met by an equivalent reduction in other articles of food equally necessary to their existence. The 'dear food' cry is an imposture and the 'little loaf' a bugbear. The question of tariff reform may be considered on its merits without any fear that the cost of living will be increased to the poor. On the other hand, our tariffs may be revised so as to secure the following advantage:

"First. An increase of trade with our fellow-subjects and best customers, who not only take much more per head from us than foreigners, but take it in the shape of manufactured products whose production involves the employment of the greatest amount of labor.

"Second. The power of bargaining with our competitors and thereby securing either that they shall take more of the productions of our labor in exchange for the products of their labor or that they shall leave the British market more completely to British labor.

"Third. In either case this change and the increased trade with our colonies will provide more employment for our own people and a greater demand for our own labor.

"Fourth. If the demand for labor increases, the wages of labor must rise also, and full work at fair prices will enable our manufacturers to pay higher wages without loss to themselves."

In a preface to a pamphlet published a few days later Mr. Chamberlain declares that—

"Every other nation and all our own self-governing colonies have refused to accept the doctrine of Cobden, and yet they ought, according to its dogmas, to be in the last stage of decline; but they have grown during the last twenty years in wealth, population, and trade, and in everything that goes to make up the greatness of a nation. Those who maintain, in a spirit of blind obscurantism, the absolute inspiration of the antiquated doctrine will have much to explain."

Continuing, Mr. Chamberlain declared:

"It is difficult to believe that the results of the investigation will not convince every impartial man of the necessity for some reconstruction of the system which has remained stationary and unaltered for more than half a century, while every other policy has been modified and adapted to meet modern requirements."

Continuing, Mr. Chamberlain points out that the prosperity of the working classes has increased in greater proportion in the protected countries than in the United Kingdom, and says:

"Free trade, if it had ever existed, might have secured for us all that its promoters promised; but free imports without free trade have brought us face to face with problems which never entered into Cobden's calculations."

American trade and the American surplus are minutely dealt with and are summed up as follows:

"The fact stares us in the face, plain and undeniable, that McKinleyism has not produced the immediate results which it should have produced if the economic doctrine upon which our fiscal system is based really contained the whole truth of economic science. Which is the most prudent course, to treat the facts with disdain, or to reconsider the doctrine?"

**"THE TARIFF BUILT THE MILL, SET UP THE
MACHINERY."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. THOMAS B. REED of Maine, page
4671 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

Stimulated by the theory of "labor-cost," the chairman ordered an investigation into the oldest manufactories in New England.

What industries did he select? Cotton sheetings and cotton prints; cotton goods, the very articles, and perhaps the only articles which have had continuous, unbroken, effective protection since 1824. He selects industries which, under all tariffs, have had sixty-four years of solid protection, shows by them higher wages for labor and lower prices for consumers, then boldly wraps the flag of labor-cost about him and proclaims to a wondering world that tariff has nothing to do with wages. I wonder what Edward Atkinson thought of his new disciple at that moment.

Oh, no; tariffs have nothing to do with wages. It is coal and steam and machinery. *But what set up the machinery? What caused the cotton factory to be built? Why, the tariff. So, then, the tariff built the mill, set up the machinery, the machinery increased the wages, but the tariff did not. Is not that very much like saying your father was your progenitor, but your grandfather wasn't. How could you improve machinery you didn't have? How could you increase the efficiency of machinery that didn't exist?*

**PROTECTION."—"IT WILL DEVELOP OUR NATURAL
RESOURCES; IT WILL FURNISH EMPLOYMENT
FOR OUR LABOR."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. M. M. BOOTHMAN of Ohio, page
6751 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

Mr. Chairman, the theory of protection properly applied, results in no such absurd and untenable position. It confines the place of supply to the United States as to the things we can produce in sufficient quantities to meet, or approximately to meet, the demands of our people. In doing this it does not confine its beneficial effects to one industry or to a few favored pursuits; but it declares that as to all industries which are or may be established and which are likely in time to supply the demand of our people we will confine the purchases of such things by our citizens to our own home markets as far as a tariff reasonably can or ought to do so; that this will keep our money at home to be invested in home enterprises; that it will develop our natural resources in all directions; that it will diversify the occupations of our people; that it will thus furnish employment for our labor; that *under this system our laborers need not be all farmers or all anything else, but may be profitably engaged among us in nearly if not quite all the business pursuits and industries known to man.*

"THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE ADOPTED PROTECTION HAVE IMPROVED IN A GREATER RATIO AND MORE RAPIDLY THAN WE HAVE OURSELVES."

Extracts from Speech of Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN at Liverpool
printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

[From the London Daily Telegraph.]

SPEECH OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AT LIVERPOOL

Mr. Chamberlain, who was given a very hearty reception, said:

"I desire to express to you the hearty thanks of Mrs. Chamberlain and of myself for the cordial welcome which you have given us to Liverpool ['Hear!' 'Hear!'], and to say that while I come here with great pleasure to talk to you upon what I think to be the most important controversy of our time ['Hear!' 'Hear!'], I am especially pleased to think that I come at the invitation of a great workingmen's association. [Cheers.] I shall tell you why directly, but, in the first instance, I want, to put before you the position at which we have arrived. What is my case? What are the arguments by which I support it? What are the objections of my opponents? Well, my case is that *the trade of this country, as measured—*as I think it right to be mainly measured—*by the exports of this country to foreign countries and to British possessions, has during the last twenty or thirty years been practically stationary; that our export trade to all these foreign countries which have arranged tariffs against us has enormously diminished, and at the same time the exports to us have enormously increased. Then it is part of my case that those foreign countries which have adopted protection have, in the elements by which you have been accustomed to test the prosperity of a nation, improved in a greater ratio and more rapidly than we have ourselves; and I have also to point out that this tendency, which has become so manifest in recent years, is likely, in every sensible man of business knows, to be accentuated as time goes on.*

"Whatever may be our losses now on possible trade, our losses in the future are likely to be much greater if we continue our present system ['Hear!' 'Hear!']. And the reason for that is obvious. Not only are the old causes continuing to exist, but new causes are coming into operation. There is that process the name for which we have borrowed from the United States, and which is known to you as 'dumping.' What is dumping? Dumping is the placing of the surplus of any manufacture in any country which is able to take it. Dumping takes place when the country which adopts it has a production which is larger than its own demand. Not being able to dispose of its surplus at home, it dumps it somewhere else. [Laughter.] Now, England, the United Kingdom, is the only country where this process can be carried on successfully, because we are the only country that keeps open ports. Every other country—all the great countries, that is to say—if dumping takes place, immediately put on a tariff, large or small, to keep out these dumped articles.

"They are surplus stocks which are being got rid of, and just as you find that a great surplus sale at some gigantic emporium may have the effect of ruining all the small shops in the neighborhood, so the surplus of the products of all the producing countries in the world may very well ruin the trade of this country. [Cheers.] Now a curious thing is that 'dumping' only takes place seriously when the country that has recourse to it is in a state of depression. As long as any country is able to take up all its own supply for its own demand it does so, but when the time comes that trade is depressed, either in Germany or in the United States, or in any other of these countries, then under our present system they do not do what we do under similar circumstances; they do not close their shops, blow out their furnaces, shut up their factories. No; they go on making the full proportion at the lowest possible price, and they sell the surplus for what it will fetch in England. A very good policy for them; a very bad policy for us. [Cheers.] How do I propose to meet this state of things? I propose, in the first place, to meet the foreigner with his own weapon ['Hear!' 'Hear!']. I propose to treat him as he does us, until he treats us better [cheers], and I propose to treat our colonies better than we have hitherto done. And in connection with this, I hope for something greater in my opinion, even than increased trade; greater, certainly, than material prosperity. I hope to lay firm and deep the foundation for that imperial future which fills my heart when I look forward to the history of the world.

What is the whole problem as it affects the working classes of the country? It is all contained in one word—employment. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Cheap food, a higher standard of living, higher wage, all these things, important as they are, are contained in the word employment. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] If this policy will give you more employment, all the other things would be added unto you. If you lose your employment, all the other things put together will not compensate you for that loss. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] It is rather an interesting thing, which seems to me to have escaped altogether the attention of any of my opponents, who probably have never read the history of the anti-corn law movement, that when free trade was carried out the working classes were neither represented nor consulted. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I don't say that that makes free trade good or bad, but it is a fact that the movement was a manufacturers' and a middle-class movement. ['Hear!' 'Hear!']

"The leaders of the movement, or some of the leaders of the movement, admitted that they thought it would enable wages to be kept at what they called a reasonable level. They thought that it would give cheap food, and that if the laborer had cheap food he could afford to work for lower wages, and that they, therefore, could afford to carry on a competition with which they were threatened in the goods they manufactured. And it is rather curious to remember that long after free trade was carried out even as late as 1888, Mr. Bright, in writing to a friend in America protesting against the doctrine of protection, points out to him that if the Americans made protection their policy they would have to give high wages to their working classes—['Hear!' 'Hear!']—higher wages and shorter hours. Well, I do not think that that would be a disadvantage in any case, but what I want to point out is that, rightly or wrongly, the leaders of the free-trade movement believed that the big loaf meant low wages."

THE PROPHECIES OF THE FREE TRADERS HAVE TURNED THEMSELVES Topsy TURVY."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

GREAT BRITAIN HAS LOST THE BALANCE OF TRADE IN MANUFACTURES.

Twenty years ago we sold twice as much manufactures to our European and American competitors as we purchased from them. Ten years ago the balance was still substantial. Three years ago it existed. Now it has disappeared, and by the complete inversion of the whole Cobdenite expectation we are not only dependent upon foreign nations for food and raw material, but we actually purchase from our chief rivals more finished goods than we sell to them.

If the balance is against us upon the manufactures, how in the end are we to pay for our imported food—for the cheap food which is evidently to play so large an electioneering part in this issue? As a matter of fact, comparing predictions with facts, the prophecies of the early free traders seem to have turned themselves topsy turvy and to be all walking toward fulfillment upon their heads.

Richard Cobden was a manufacturer. A very large majority of manufacturers in this country have been convinced by bitter experience that the only wisdom in these matters is justice; that for equal progress in the world's trade we require equal opportunity; and that tariffs ought to be met by tariffs and freedom offered only in exchange for freedom. It is not an unreasonable presumption that if Richard Cobden were in presence of the state of things under which Europe and America not only supply us with food and raw material, but sell in our home market more manufactures than we purchase, his masculine intelligence would repudiate doctrinaire disciples who tell us that, however much we may be handicapped in trade by the fiscal methods of other nations, England's only policy is impotence.

Preference is the only guaranty of increased supply and future cheapness. But for the cabinet inquiry, we presume, and for the ordinary man the determining question will not be what is Mr. Sauerbeck's index number of the current price of food, but what are the position and prospects of our national prosperity—the future security for capital, employment, and wages. What, therefore, is the measure of our relative well-being under free imports? Let us take the various tests that eminent statesmen in admirable speeches have proposed in the course of recent debates.

There are two classes of free-trade critics, the optimists and the pessimists. Two irreconcilable conceptions of our social state are, indeed, often most incongruously mingled in the same speeches. The workingman is told that his condition is one of unparalleled prosperity under the unparalleled success of free imports. Lest that should not move him, he is also told that a whole third of the working classes in this country are on the brink of starvation after fifty years of free trade. These inconsistent dialecticians can not have it both ways. They must really declare on which horse they mean to win, and they must decide whether they mean to argue that we ought not to change free trade because we are prosperous, or that we dare not change it because we are wretched. Let us take the optimists first, or at least their optimism first. Lord Goschen has referred, in a fine oration, to the evidence of the savings-bank deposits.

Those deposits in the free-trade island seem satisfactory. But how do they compare with the savings-bank deposits of the peoples under protection? We do not ourselves think the point of any real importance either way for the reason that the British workingman is a heavy consumer. He saves less out of higher wages than his continental brethren, or their wives or them, contrive to save out of lower. The international figures may prove that improvidence rather than poverty is the complaint of the British workman. They certainly prove nothing as to his exceptionally prosperous state under free trade. In the "Journal de Statistique Suisse," M. Fatio gave the following estimate of the savings-bank deposits in different countries per head of population.

Savings banks in eleven countries, 1900.

Country.	Per head of population		
	£	s.	d.
Denmark.....	15	11	6
Switzerland.....	13	0	2
Germany.....	7	10	6
Norway.....	7	8	7
Australia.....	7	6	4
Belgium.....	6	7	0
United States of America.....	6	4	10
Austria-Hungary.....	5	8	3
Sweden.....	5	1	5
France.....	4	8	8
Great Britain.....	4	2	5

The only country, therefore, which possesses free imports is at the bottom of the list. Cobdenism is not necessarily to blame for that, but certainly the Cobdenites had better leave the savings banks out of the question.

"AMERICA HAS INCREASED HER SALES TO US BY ABOUT 45 PER CENT. SHE HAS CUT DOWN HER PURCHASES FROM US BY MORE THAN 40 PER CENT."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

HOW THE M'KINLEY ACT INJURED GREAT BRITAIN

Up to the adoption of the McKinley Act our exports to the vast and rapidly increasing people, to whom we were as valuable as nearly all other customers put together, had shown their natural increase. We threw our ports open to American trade. The great tariff policy associated with the name of the late President was meant to shut out ours. It has succeeded with tolerable efficiency. The board of trade figures also tell their own tale; and though the comparison they suggest is not quite so black as it looks, owing to the fact that the freights included in the cost of the American products are mainly earned by British ships, the statistics show with perfect accuracy how our exports to America have been beaten down by protection and how her sales on this side have increased under free trade by leaps and bounds. In the year before the McKinley Act came into force the account was as follows:

Year 1890.

Imports from United States	£97,280,000
Exports of British produce	32,060,000

Now look at the reverse of the medal after unconditional Cobdenism has been pitted for twelve years against consistent McKinleyism:

Year 1901.

Imports from United States	£141,000,000
Exports of British produce	18,390,000

In other words America has increased her sales to us by about 45 per cent. She has actually cut down her purchases from us, in spite of the immense expansion of her population and industry, by more than 40 per cent. There is not much pabulum here for those who maintain that protection stifles the commerce of countries adopting that heresy, and that free trade alone is enough to promote the interests of those who meekly imbibe the pure milk of that word. And if these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? The prospects of any drastic modification of the American tariff, as suggested in Mr. McKinley's last memorable speech, have disappeared with the tragedy at Buffalo. To the power of the tariff has now been added the power of the trusts. The most tremendous organization ever known in the sphere of international competition is rendered impregnable by an ironclad defense against the efforts of all external rivals. It is developing an immense equipment with which to attack in the future its rivals in their own market. And upon this side there is no obstacle whatever to its operations. Its strategical base upon the other side of the Atlantic is unassailable. Upon this side it can strike whenever it pleases at our center.

GREAT BRITAIN GREATLY FEARS OUR "TRUSTS."

The policy of the steel trust has been repeatedly declared by Mr. Schwab. Sooner or later it will be put into practice, and we shall have to meet it.

In that day some minds which are dark to the meaning of Mr. Chamberlain's warning may regard it under a very different light. The steel monopoly, with a capital of over £300,000,000 sterling, has been occupying since its foundation with the home demand. That demand is building up to still more menacing dimensions its formidable power. When the American boom breaks, as it must eventually, the immense process of mass production, upon which the whole position of the steel trust is based, cannot be suspended.

There can be no shutting down. The output must be maintained, and a market must be found for it. If it does not exist at home, it must be created at any cost abroad. Mr. Schwab has never concealed what is the intention of his directors when that emergency arises. It is to descend upon foreign markets, and, above all, upon the British market, with the full weight of the industrial power which is accumulating behind the American protectionist system like water behind a floodgate. A special project of Mr. Schwab's is to strike in between England and her colonies and to "cut off" our export, as he once expressed it, to Canada, South Africa, Australia, and India alike. Some day the steel trust will be supplemented by a cotton trust. America is manufacturing more and more of her own cotton in her own mills. Every other country has some guaranty against the swamping of its home and foreign markets by the trusts. We have no guaranty, and if we still have none when the boom breaks in America itself we are likely to meet surprises in the fight for trade hardly less remarkable than our military astonishments at the beginning of the Boer war.

This situation at once brings us to the root of the argument. What does free trade mean? When Cobden and his companions introduced the system they imagined that all the world would follow our example. By free trade they meant free exchange—the throwing down of the barriers on each side. This is the only state of things under which trade could be free. In that sense, free trade does not exist—it has never existed. There is no such thing. What we have are free imports only. We do not say now that this system is necessarily bad in itself, but let us call the system by the name which corresponds with facts. We have a free importation of foreign products; but to British products no important foreign market in the world is free. We imported from the United States in 1901 to the enormous total of £108,000,000. The United States in return, took the produce of the United Kingdom to the extent of something over £13,000,000 only. We purchased from our great protectionist competitor exactly six times as much as she purchased from us. We question whether there has ever been anything like that disparity in the commerce of nations.

"THE PROCESS OF PAYING FOR THE RAZOR WHICH IS TO CUT YOUR OWN THROAT."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

What was it, in the name of all that is notorious, that displaced British agriculture if it was not our free imports of American agriculture? You may urge that if labor was displaced in the furrow it was employed all the more in the factory? True. We allowed agriculture to be overwhelmed because we had manufacture to turn to. But when your manufacture itself is attacked, as now, in an open market by the power of protected capital, what then? Let no workman be so foolish as to imagine that the fate which reached the farmer and the rural laborer can in no circumstances reach him.

When free imports are pitted against the tariff-insurance system of our rivals, every industry in the protected market is guaranteed, but not a single industry in the unprotected market can consider itself secure. The British silk industry, for instance, was doomed to the fate of agriculture when our ports were thrown open to France. The woolen trade is the most ancient and national of all our manufactures, but while our export of woolen goods is now about £15,000,000 our import of woolen goods is already over £11,000,000. Some older industries have been destroyed; new industries have not been created. The development of the electrical trades, for instance, has been far slower here than it has been abroad—the most significant among all symptoms of the extent to which enterprise in this country has been handicapped in the last twenty years. The foundations of the iron and steel industry are being sapped by the underselling operations of foreign syndicates and rings, against which no counter attack can be directed by the British capitalist. Tariffs protect them. Free imports expose him.

It is perfectly possible for certain kinds of free imports to injure and destroy home industry, while hostile tariffs simultaneously force us, as we have seen, into less advantageous methods of paying for our imports. The sentimental doctrine that international business is a mutual-benefit system in all its forms, and that it does not matter what we import and does not matter what we pay, is demonstrable and dangerous nonsense. To the final profit of our annual transactions both these things matter vitally.

The first and non-competitive phase of imports—that of raw material—was wholly and universally beneficial. When imports began to be competitive, but meant cheaper food, they were still mainly beneficial, but already, by depressing agriculture, they were partly destructive. But for England, and England alone, the only great industrial country which gives foreign rivalry free footing, the process is advanced to a third and most dangerous stage, where competitive imports in the form of finished goods become mainly destructive and are only partly beneficial. Competitive food imports attacked the interests of agriculture only in favor of manufacture at large. But with competitive manufactures themselves coming into the country in the third phase at the rate of over a hundred millions sterling annually, it is clear that every manufacturing interest in the country is either already attacked or liable to be attacked.

For the farmer, who was told that it was his patriotic duty to be ruined, and that he should scorn, like a true Briton, to protest, there are infinite possibilities of grim humor in the situation. Imports are remittances for exports, no doubt. But if machinery is on the free list as well as ore, we make it as easy as possible for foreign nations to send us the machinery. So with boots and shoes instead of the leather, and woollens (as now in the case of France) instead of the wool. This, as we have already said, is the process of paying for the razor which is to cut your own throat, and it is a process from which Germany, Belgium, France, and the United States—though, according to the Cobden Club, they are not intelligent countries—take good care to be free.

Protection and the navigation laws did not go until they had placed our industrial and maritime supremacy upon a firm foundation. Cobden had nothing to do with the laying of the foundations of our prosperity, as some people imagine, though he enlarged the house and put modern doors and windows—too many of them, perhaps, for the complete security of small property—into its solid old front. It was a protectionist nation that won India and North America in the great trade wars of the eighteenth century. It was a protectionist nation which won the carrying trade of the world, sustained the twenty years' crisis of the revolutionary wars up to Waterloo, founded machine industry, invented the locomotive, and gave an example of triumphant vigor and success, of force of character and genius of mind, such as no people ever has surpassed. We drew in complete safety the raw materials of our industry from every clime. They were worked up here in the central mart and workshop of the world. Then the finished goods went out again, far and wide, to all the nations of the earth that could be reached by traffic from the sea. We laid the world under tribute, and even the power of Napoleon could not break the bond. The armies he led were clothed and shod to no small extent with the British manufactures he prohibited.

That was England before free trade.

Then came the second era, when imports no longer subject to duties of any kind by which home industry could benefit entered upon their competitive period. Rural England was soon a scene of shrinking culture and dwindling population, and agriculture decayed in spite of Cobden's early assurances to country meetings, on his faith as a farmer's son, that free trade could influence nothing unfavorably but rents. In this second period, however, the complaint of the farmer and the squire was a feeble note of discord lost in the swelling praise of an optimistic nation. * * *

Foreign competition since the general abandonment of free-import principles by other nations after the seventies introduced the third era of imports—that of the immense influx of untaxed manufactures from countries which keep down our exports by hostile duties. That this process must be mainly destructive to the interests of our industry it is not possible for any cool and searching thinker to deny.

"PROTECTIVE TARIFFS ALWAYS DEVELOP FOREIGN TRADE."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

PROTECTIVE TARIFFS ALWAYS DEVELOP FOREIGN TRADE.

The American, German, and French tariffs of the last twenty years have been followed, not by the decline, but by the rapid development of their foreign trade. Let us repeat once more upon that head the figures we have previously given:

Manufactured exports (four countries).

Year.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.	United States.
1882	£217,000,000	£94,000,000	£76,000,000	£28,000,000
1902	235,000,000	155,000,000	95,000,000	84,000,000
Increase	£18,000,000	£61,000,000	£19,000,000	£56,000,000
Increase per cent	8	65	25	200

In every one of these cases you see that the tariffs of your rivals have promoted foreign-trade more rapidly than free imports have promoted your own. Mr. Chamberlain's policy would develop our colonial commerce and your home industry. But it would not inflict one particle of injury on your foreign trade. It would improve that also, in improving your commercial position all around. * * *

Capital can move from trade to trade, and from country to country, though not without waste. There is always some damage involved in a compulsory transfer of the kind. But still capital can disengage itself from the wreckage of a beaten industry, as a rule, even though it suffers a certain degree of loss in the process, and can find another investment. You have seen an example of that process in the fact that the tariffs of the United States and the Continent have compelled many well-known British employers to transfer their undertakings to foreign soil and to find employment for foreign workmen. A firm which sets up a factory in France at once obtains the freedom of the French home market and retains the whole of its former freedom in this market. Capital then can move from this country, and has already been compelled by foreign tariffs to move abroad to a considerable extent.

But to a workingman the trade he has been taught is his very life. His whole fortune and the happiness of all dependent upon him are bound up with his success in the particular trade to which he has been apprenticed. Cobdenism talks the most cruel nonsense of all its stereotyped pedantry when it tells him that if his trade is killed he can turn to another. In all cases but the one in a thousand, he can do no such thing. If the ordinary skilled artisan can not find employment after he attains full manhood in the trade to which he has been brought up, he is ruined—unless he emigrates to a country like America, a country with a tariff not only willing to give him employment, but giving him an absolute guaranty against the displacement of his labor by foreign competition. Any workman who examines the matter must see that the free imports of foreign competitive manufacturers are simply incompatible with his security in his livelihood, and that the whole theory of traditional Cobdenism is irreconcilable with the principles upon which all that is best in trades unionism is founded.

POORHOUSES A FREE-TRADE LEGACY.

The workhouse system that exists to this day, repulsive and hateful from the first to the mass of the people, was the creation of the classical economists. It leveled misfortune with disgrace and condemned honorable age and stricken poverty to the same dreary fate that was reserved for the sot, the wastrel, and the vagabond. That was the classic free-trade idea of provision for old age. It was heartless, but it was the system. No matter how staunchly and well you had done your social duty in the time of your health and strength, no matter what blow of fate or bereavement might have rendered you helpless, nothing but the blank walls of the social prison-house could be provided for you lest the "sturdy independence of the people" should be sapped. This was one example of the tender mercies of the good, as the free-trade economists endeavored to make them prevail in British legislation.

"Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market," even when the negotiable commodity is flesh and blood, and regardless of all collateral circumstances. That was and is the fundamental maxim of the free importers' creed. In pursuance of this creed, you workmen whom we address have always been, and still are, sacrificed without a moment's hesitation by unintelligent pedants to a short-sighted ideal of immediate cheapness. When in America or in any continental country home labor is seriously depressed by foreign competition, the state steps in, checks the invasion, and gives the threatened industry time to form square. You can protect your own interests by your combinations when you have nothing but domestic competition to face, but as soon as foreign competition begins to displace your employment and to depress your wages the weapon of combination is broken in your hands. If you are undersold—well, as Abraham Lincoln might have put it, upon free-import principles—you are undersold, and there's an end.

THE PROTECTED COUNTRIES ARE PROSPERING, AND THE FREE-TRADE COUNTRIES DECAYING."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

WHY WE SHOULD CHANGE.

Comparative exports, 1872-1902.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1872.	1890.	1900.	1902.
British exports:				
(1) To British possessions.....	61	87	94	109
(2) To foreign countries.....	196	176	197	174
Total.....	257	263	291	283
German exports.....	116	166	238	241
French exports.....	150	150	164	170
United States exports.....	89	176	304	282

PRINCE BISMARCK'S PROPHECY, 1879.

I base my opinion on the practical experience of the times we live in. I see that the protected countries are prospering and the free-trade countries decaying. Mighty England, like a powerful athlete, strode out into the open market when she had strengthened her sinews, and said: "Who will measure with me? I am ready for all." But England herself is slowly returning to the protective tariff, and some years hence she will adopt it in order to keep at least her home market. (Bismarck's speech on breaking with free trade, May 2, 1879.)

THE COUNSEL OF DESPAIR, 1903.

We have now examined in all its main aspects the greatest controversy of our time from the standpoint of an observer with every original prejudice in favor of free trade, but forced by the study of foreign facts to change insular convictions. Cobdenism was presented and adopted fifty years ago as an infallible recipe for success. It was to be the universal principle of commercial policy equally applicable to all nations and to all times. Rejecting it you could not prosper. Embracing it you could not fail. If hostile tariffs should be continued against us by some erroneous portion of mankind, these perverse systems would only injure their authors and benefit ourselves. For Britain, at least, the stimulating pressure of open competition would be the sure guaranty of perpetual vigor and improvement. While her pampered rivals under protection, deprived by state aid of the true incentive to personal exertion, were bound to become languid and remiss, the merchants of England, relying upon themselves alone, would possess the superior secret of efficiency. Look at it closely and you will see that the whole question lies there.

PROTECTION PRODUCES INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY.

These theories have been disproved by modern facts. Free trade is no guaranty of industrial efficiency. Protection does not prevent industrial efficiency. In America and Germany alike the views of the thinkers who rejected Cobdenism from the beginning have prevailed. In America and Germany alike we see commercial energy and intelligence working at a higher power than in this country. Two generations ago, before the old tariff system of this country was destroyed, we were first in everything—first in invention and enterprise, first in every department of manufacture and transport.

Before free imports existed we had invented steam power, railways, textile machinery. We have done nothing of equal importance since. What are we first in now? In iron and steel we are not even second. In Cobden's own trade—cotton—Lancashire mill owners have lately discovered that they must take lessons in point of technical progress from the protected mill owners of America. Germans have the fastest steamers upon the Atlantic. In shipbuilding alone we are still far ahead, but we are already told that we depend in that branch upon the cheap importation of German iron and steel. If that is so, the transference even of our shipbuilding supremacy to the land where the materials are most cheaply produced can be only a matter of time. The United States has now the largest home production, the strongest home market—"the best weapon," as Mr. Carnegie most truly remarks, "for the conquest of markets abroad."

In other words, those who produce most must be able to sell most if allowed to keep their own market for themselves and to exploit yours also.

This must be the case whatever becomes of the trusts in their present exaggerated form. When the boom across the Atlantic breaks as we all know it must, we shall find what American dumping power means, and we shall need no second teaching. Meanwhile, as the figures at the head of this chapter show, German exports have again begun to gain upon us hand over hand. In foreign trade alone she has already beaten us. At the present rate, and within little over ten years, she will outstrip us together in spite of the advantage in colonial trade by which we still keep the lead. You are told that exports are not everything. Those who tell you so are superficial sophists. They lay stress in the same breath upon the amount of your investments abroad; but your investments abroad represent past exports and nothing else. Germany is now acquiring wealth by export precisely as you did formerly. She has now over £1,000,000,000 invested abroad.

United States, Accumulating Wealth Faster Than Great Britain

In another generation of your present system Germany and America will surpass you even in accumulating wealth. Do not mistake the meaning of these facts. The creed of immediate cheapness is the creed of ultimate decay.

"THE WORKSHOP OF THE WORLD HAS BECOME THE DUMPING GROUND OF THE WORLD."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

When Mr. Chamberlain says to the nation, "Look to your armor," let every business man exposed to foreign competition, let every workingman in a trade exposed to foreign competition, ask himself whether the colonial secretary has spoken too soon.

We know the Cobden Club answer. They will talk with sciolistic solemnity of "Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers" and tell us that the apparent stagnation of our European trade is a mere case of decline in values. We shall at once knock the bottom out of that argument. The decline in prices has affected every nation's exports equally. How is it, then, that the manufacturing shipments of every competing country have expanded even in value at a far faster ratio than ours? Upon that point take the following comparison to clinch the argument as to relative rates of increase, new ships being included in the British and German figures:

Manufactured Exports (Four Countries), 1882 and 1902.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Year.	Great Britain.	Germany.	United States.	France.
1882.....	217	94	28	76
1902.....	235	155	84	95

From this we may see that the Cobdenite argument from shrinkage of prices only recalls Mrs. Siddons's famous inquiry, "Will it wash?" and that the answer is decidedly in the negative. The respective percentages of increase in manufacturing trade during twenty years have been as follows: England, 8 per cent.; France, 25 per cent.; Germany, 64 per cent.; United States, 200 per cent. And in our case the whole of the increase has occurred in trade with the great self-governing colonies. Take the figures as we like, they will prove that in the last few decades, since our three great rivals commenced in earnest the giant struggle of universal protection against isolated free imports, our European exports, apart from coal, have shown an absolutely marked and, relatively, an immense decline by contrast with the general progress, not only of Germany and America, but even of France, whom we had considered out of the running.

THE FOREIGN INVASION.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1882.	1890.	1900.	1902.
Exports of British manufactures to competitive countries (all Europe and the United States).....	109	110	103	97
Imports of foreign manufactures into the United Kingdom.....	55	63	93	98
Balance.....	54	47	10	.....

No one who knows anything of public opinion or the conditions of business can doubt that a tax, and a stiff one, upon foreign manufactures would be one of the most popular as well as one of the wisest imposts ever levied in this country. Either the foreign manufacturer would pay the duty or the home manufacturer would get the trade. That internal trade, which the free-imports system has enabled protected capital to capture, is, as we see, immense. It is better worth fighting for than all the foreign markets of the world. Our fiscal system has thrown this vast business at home into the hands of competitors who shut us out from their sphere abroad. Its recovery would mean increase of output, and therefore cheapening of production and is indispensable to the success of our renewed assaults in the future even upon foreign markets. The benefits would be shared in the shape of profits and wages by every single class of society. If we can get back that trade, we ought to levy the tax for the security of capital and the advantage of labor. If we can not get that trade, we ought as obviously to levy the tax for revenue. In both cases the foreigner would either pay or fail in our market, precisely as we do in his; and in either case we should soon have the governments of competitive nations offering at last to lower their tariffs in our favor.

These figures show how in twenty years the workshop of the world has become the dumping ground of the world. But let us be certain of this, that a dumping ground for goods is a slumping ground for capital. That is the key of the whole question, and it is by far the greatest economic and social issue for the nation in the present controversy. Glance again at the statistics heading this argument. Cobden imagined that under his system we should always go on exchanging manufactured goods for foreign food and raw material. While that state of things continued even free imports with out true free trade was an ideal system in our industrial interests. We were the workshop, for instance, and America the wheat field. All that we could desire under such circumstances was the unfettered facility to deal with that golden age of free trade disappeared forever before the iron age of foreign competition, when America and Germany after their wars set up a business for themselves. They proved to us that manufacturing power was no monopoly. They repelled our goods from their markets, disputed the ground with us in neutral markets, and, above all, they invaded us in our own.

We are thus struck a threefold blow by every industrial country which puts up a hostile tariff against us and utilizes to the full the free-import system amongst us.

THE HIDEOUS HUMBUGH CONTAINED IN THE PROMISE OF THE CHEAP LOAF."

Extracts from article entitled "Why First Voters should be Protectionists," printed in daily Congressional Record, January 12, 1904.

THE CHEAP LOAF.

The Cobdenite will doubtless scorn the imputation that the policy he advocates has any other purpose in view than the freedom of trade, but the evidence is indisputable that the practice in Great Britain is to make it fit the fiscal plans of those who guide the destiny of the nation.

It is an admitted fact that during the repeal agitation orators in the cities told the British workingmen that the abolition of the corn duties would give them cheap bread. In the country they told a different story. They tried to reassure the farmer by pointing out that he had a natural protection in the distance of foreign competitors which would assure him against being undersold, and they even added that the increased business which would result from the change in fiscal policy would redound to the advantage of British agriculture.

If my reader has any doubt regarding the accuracy of this statement, he may consult Trumbull's Free Trade Struggle in England, in which the inconsistent attitude of the Cobdenites is described with charming naivete; or he may turn to J. Thorold Rogers's article on "Free trade" in the Encyclopedia Britannica, where the writer, as late as 1876, declared British agriculture was safe from the assault of foreigners. The pages of Mills's Principles of Political Economy also contain testimony which establishes the truth of the assertion that it was the common belief in the United Kingdom that its agricultural interests would benefit rather than suffer from freedom of trade.

It was long after the battle had been won and not until the British agriculturist had begun to feel the evil effects of the practice of foreign countries dumping their surpluses of food stuffs on the markets of the United Kingdom that the cold-blooded doctrine was preached that if a man was ruined and driven out of one industry he could turn his attention to some other mode of gaining a livelihood.

But the British are beginning to realize the heartlessness underlying the easy assumption that men driven out of one pursuit may easily adapt themselves to something else, and they are now rapidly coming to understand the hideous humbug contained in the promise of the cheap loaf.

What a mockery it is to speak of the cheap loaf in the same breath as the admission is made that millions are starving for bread in the United Kingdom. How can that be regarded as cheap which is unattainable to 30 per cent. of the population of Great Britain?

This is not a protectionist accusation. It is evidence furnished by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman in a speech made by him at Perth on the 5th June, 1903, in which he denounced Colonial Secretary Chamberlain's preferential plan of treating the colonies. Sir Henry said:

"In this country we know, thanks to the investigations of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree and Mr. Charles Booth, that there is about 30 per cent. of our population underfed and on the verge of hunger. Thirty per cent. of forty-five millions comes to something over twelve millions."

Bear in mind that this is not a protectionist attempt to emphasize the failure of the "cheap-loaf" policy, but that it is the deliberate admission of a leading British free trader, and that it was backed up by the formation of "anti-starvation" clubs throughout the United Kingdom.

In short, the net result of over half a century of free trade in Great Britain has been to bring to the verge of starvation twelve millions or more of its population, and the only defense that can now be urged in favor of the retention of the policy is that it must be adhered to in order to prevent other millions from starving.

Dearness and cheapness are meaningless terms when interpreted by price lists. True cheapness can only be measured satisfactorily by ascertaining the standard of living of peoples.

If they have plenty to eat, and plenty to wear, and may gratify their selfish desires, people are living cheaply, no matter what the nominal cost of things may be.

British free traders say that the United States is a dear country. So it is, and it is so because the standard of living of the masses is high. And the standard is high because higher wages are demanded in this country. The American worker attains real cheapness; he gets things. That is the touchstone.

Great Britain has the claim made for it by the free traders that it is a cheap country, but it is a dear land for the toiler to live in. Twelve million out of 41,000,000 Britons are on the verge of starvation.

China is a cheap country also; so is India. Human labor is held very cheaply in both those lands, and the result is that the masses are constantly steeped in poverty and menaced by starvation. In spite of the so-called "cheapness" the people don't get things.

We repeat it is only in the so-called "dear" countries that the masses get things, and the degree of attainableness is about in the ratio of the dearness.

"IN THE UNITED KINGDOM TRADE HAS BEEN PRACTICALLY STAGNANT FOR THIRTY YEARS."

Extracts from speech of Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN at Glasgow, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

SOME SOUND PROTECTIVE TARIFF TRUTHS FROM HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, OF ENGLAND.

[From the London Daily Telegraph.]

SPEECH OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, AT GLASGOW, OCTOBER 6.

Mr. Chamberlain, on rising to speak, was received with loud cheering, the audience rising and waving hats and handkerchiefs. When silence was restored, he said:

"Sir Matthew Arthur, my lords, ladies and gentlemen, my first duty is to thank this great and representative audience for having offered me an opportunity of explaining for the first time in some detail the views which I hold on the subject of our fiscal policy. [Cheers.] I would desire no better platform than this. [Cheers.]

"Ladies and gentlemen, I am not afraid to come here to the home of Adam Smith and to combat free imports. I don't say to you, gentlemen, that I anticipate any catastrophe so great or so sudden for British trade, but I do say to you that I see signs of decay ['Hear!' 'Hear!']—that I see cracks and crevices in the walls of the great structure; that I know that the foundations upon which it has been raised are not broad enough or deep enough to sustain it. [Cheers.]

"What are the facts? The year 1900 was the record year of British trade. The exports were the largest we had ever known. The year 1902—last year—was nearly as good, and yet if you will compare your trade in 1872, thirty years ago, with the trade of 1902—the export trade—you will find that there has been a moderate increase of twenty millions. The actual increase was twenty millions with our free trade. In the same time the increase in the United States of America was one hundred and ten millions, and the increase in Germany was fifty-six millions. In the United Kingdom trade has been practically stagnant for thirty years. It went down in the interval. It has now gone up in the most prosperous times. In the most prosperous times it is hardly in the least degree better than it was thirty years ago. Meanwhile the protected countries, which you have been told, and which I myself at one time believed, were going rapidly to wreck and ruin, have progressed in an infinitely better proportion than ours.

"That is not all. The amount of your trade remained stagnant, but the character of your trade has changed. When Mr. Cobden preached his doctrine he believed, as he had at that time considerable reason to suppose, that while foreign countries would supply us with our foods and raw materials we should remain the workshop of the world, and should send them in exchange our manufactures. But that is exactly what we have not done. On the contrary, in the period to which I have referred we are sending less and less of our manufactures to them and they are sending more and more of manufactures to us. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Now, I know how difficult it is for a great meeting like this to follow figures. I shall give you as few as I can, but I must give you some to lay the basis of my argument. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I have had a table constructed, and upon that table I would be willing to base the whole of my contention. I will take some figures from it. You have got to analyze your trade. It is not merely a question of amount; you have got to consider of what it is comprised. Now, what has been the case with regard to our manufactures? Our existence as a nation depends upon our manufacturing capacity and production. We are not an agricultural country. That can never be the main source of our prosperity. We are a great manufacturing country. Now, in 1872 we sent to the protected countries of Europe and to the United States of America £116,000,000 of exported manufactures. In 1882, ten years later, it fell to £88,000,000. In 1892, ten years later, it fell to £75,000,000.

"In 1902, last year, although the general exports had increased, the exports of manufactures had decreased again to £73,500,000; and the total result of this is that after thirty years you are sending £42,500,000 of manufactures less to the protected countries than you did thirty years ago. During this period of thirty years in which our exports of manufactures have fallen £46,000,000 to foreign countries, what has happened with their exports to us? They have risen from sixty-three millions in 1872 to one hundred and forty-nine millions in 1902. They have increased eighty-six millions. That may be all right. I am not for the moment saying whether that is right or wrong; but when people say that we ought to hold exactly the same opinion about things that our ancestors did, my reply is that I daresay we should do so if circumstances had remained the same. [Laughter and cheers.]

"But now, if I have been able to make these figures clear, there is one thing which follows—that is, that our imperial trade is absolutely essential to our prosperity at the present time. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] If that trade declines, or if it does not increase in proportion to our population and to the loss of trade with foreign countries, then we sink at once into a fifth-rate nation. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Our fate will be the fate of the empires and kingdoms of the past. We have reached our highest point, and indeed I am not certain that there are some of my opponents who do not regard that with absolute complacency. I do not. ['Hear!' 'Hear!']

"Now, what is the history of protection? In the first place a tariff is imposed. There are no industries, or practically none, but only a tariff. Then gradually industries grow up behind the wall, the tariff wall. In the first place they are primary industries, the industries for which the country has natural aptitude or for which it has some special advantage, mineral or other resources. Then, when those are supplied, the secondary industries spring up; first the necessities, then the luxuries, until at last all the ground is covered. Now, these countries of which I have been speaking to you are in different stages of the protective process. In America the process has been completed. She produces everything; she excludes everything. [Laughter.] There is no trade to be done with her but for a paltry six shillings per head."

'PROTECTION COUNTRIES HAVE OUTSTRIPPED THE UNITED KINGDOM.'

EXTRACT FROM LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, PRINTED IN DAILY CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, JANUARY 5, 1904.

THE HOME MARKET—SOME INDEX FACTS—PROTECTION COUNTRIES HAVE OUTSTRIPPED THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(1) TOTAL CONSUMPTION OF PIG IRON.

[Amounts expressed in million tons.]

Year.	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany.	France.
1880.....	6.2	4.2	2.6	1.8
1890.....	6.8	9.3	4.8	2
1900.....	7.7	13.6	9	2.9
Increase per cent in 20 years.....	24	224	246	61

(2) TOTAL MAKE OF STEEL, 1880-1902.

[Amounts expressed in million tons.]

Year.	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany.
1880.....	1.4	1.2	0.7
1902.....	4.8	15	7.8
Increase per cent.....	240	1,150	1,030

(3) COTTON CONSUMPTION, 1891 AND 1899.

[Amounts given in 1,000 bales.]

Year.	United Kingdom.	United States.	European continent.
1891.....	3,384	2,367	3,631
1899.....	3,519	3,553	4,836
Increase per cent.....	4	49	33

(4) ANALYSIS OF BRITISH IMPORTS, 1890 AND 1900.

[Amounts expressed in million pounds sterling.]

	1890.	1900.	Increase.
			<i>Per cent.</i>
Food and tobacco.....	177.4	219.7	24
Foreign manufactures.....	63.2	93.2	48
Raw materials for home manufactures.....	165.0	192.0	16

(5) Comparative imports of raw material for all industries.

[Amounts expressed in million pounds sterling.]

Year.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.
1890.....	165	89	94
1900.....	192	140	121
Increase per cent in 10 years.....	16	57	29

How free imports depress wages—a contrast, 1890 and 1902.

Produce of British labor.

Exported from United Kingdom:		
1890.....		£229,868,743
1902a.....		229,212,625
Decline.....		656,118

Produce of foreign labor.

Imported into the United Kingdom:		
1890.....		£63,218,167
1902.....		90,050,648
Increase.....		35,832,481

"In every one of the great industrial countries, in the United States, Germany, and France alike, industrial consumption and production have advanced more rapidly under the tariff than they have advanced here under free imports."

**"ENGLAND CONSUMES ONLY 37 PER CENT OF WHAT
SHE PRODUCES."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. R. P. KENNEDY of Ohio, page 4357
of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

England is a free-trade country, and why? Simply because she consumes only 37 per cent. of what she produces or manufactures, and is compelled to find a market for the remaining 63 per cent. of all her productions. In other words, when a British manufacturer makes three articles he can sell only one of them at home, and is compelled to find a foreign market for the other two; otherwise his factory must close.

America consumes 92 per cent. of what she produces, and sends only 8 per cent. abroad. Therefore, if America should sell nothing abroad, only one man out of every twelve would be thrown out of employment. We would not have a repetition of the mobs of London, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Manchester.

"INDUSTRIAL CRISIS IN ENGLAND SINCE 1875."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN KEAN, Jr., of New Jersey,
page 4256 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

The revenue tariff only has prevailed during that period in England and Ireland. The result there is also known to the world. Has it proved a benefit to Ireland? Let her people, escaping by the million to this and other shores, answer for her. What do Englishmen say for themselves? They certainly are competent witnesses in their own affairs. For years they have been bewailing the losses and ruin which have come to their agriculture, both in reduced production and reduced prices. The depression in manufactures and trade have become so public and serious that a parliamentary commission was recently appointed to inquire into its causes. That commission in its report declares that the industrial crisis in England has continued since 1875, which was the year when the remarkable prosperity of the United States became evident after the passage of the act for the resumption of specie payments. This commission gave as the reason for the depression the low profits of manufacturers.

An English writer, from whom I shall quote further presently, commenting on the commission's report, says:

"That low profits mean reduced wages of labor or the employment of a less number of laborers and less consumption by the worker.

"Low profits for the Lancashire and Birmingham manufacturers mean narrowed circumstances in this country.

"For many decades we have not seen such a cheapness of wheat and manufactured goods as we see now, and yet we are suffering from a crisis."

I call the attention of the Democratic lovers of the English system to this notable admission.

"THE BALANCE OF TRADE IS TURNING AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 6, 1904.

THE BALANCE OF TRADE IS TURNING AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.

To make this point clear we now give one of the most remarkable sets of figures we have had yet to present, showing how the profits of commercial exchange, despite the philanthropic theory, are unmistakably turning against us. Sir Alfred Bateman's figures used at the head of this article do not show the full gravity of the case, for, in accordance with customary classification, the chief statistician of the board of trade excludes from his tables of foreign manufactured imports chemicals, wines, and beet-root sugar.^a These are products of skilled industry, like the famous "pickles and jam," and we have reckoned such articles on both sides with the manufactured rather than with the crude commodities. We then get the true analysis of the change since 1875—chosen as a good average year, midway both in time and circumstances between the inflation of 1872 and the depression of 1879—in the character of our trade with the five competitive countries, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, and the United States. This is the statement:

British imports from competitive nations, 1875 and 1902.

[From Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, United States.]

	1875.	1902.
Raw material, food, etc.....	£117,700,000	£156,100,000
Manufactures.....	50,100,000	116,500,000
Total.....	£167,800,000	£272,600,000

^a This understatement is remedied by the new classification adopted for the board of trade returns, which show that imports of "articles wholly or mainly manufactured" are now coming into this country at the rate of £135,000,000 a year.

British exports to competitive nations.

[To Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, United States.]

	1875.	1902.
Raw material, etc.....	£8,100,000	£21,400,000
Manufactures.....	71,300,000	57,600,000
Total.....	£79,400,000	£79,000,000

Thus the total volume of our exports to our five chief competitors was actually less in 1902 than it was in 1875. But the composition of those exports had undergone a portentous change. We sold to Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, and the United States £12,000,000 more raw material than we did twenty-eight years ago, and nearly £14,000,000 less manufactures. But in the meantime, while our finished and half-finished exports to these great competitors had fallen from £71,300,000 to £57,600,000, their sales of manufactured goods had increased in our market by 130 per cent.—from £50,100,000 to £116,500,000. The significant details for each country may be set out, thus:

Manufactures exported to England.

From	1875.	1902.
Germany and Holland <i>a</i>	£10,500,000	£46,900,000
Belgium <i>b</i>	8,600,000	19,000,000
France <i>c</i>	29,000,000	96,700,000
United States <i>d</i>	2,000,000	13,700,000

a Increase over 340 per cent.

c Increase over 26 per cent.

b Increase, 120 per cent.

d Increase, 585 per cent.

Manufactures imported from England.

To	1875.	1902.
Germany and Holland <i>a</i>	£83,500,000	£22,000,000
Belgium <i>b</i>	5,200,000	6,400,000
France <i>c</i>	12,300,000	9,600,000
United States <i>d</i>	20,600,000	19,500,000

a Decline over 30 per cent.

c Decline, 22 per cent.

b Increase, 23 per cent.

d Decline, 5 per cent.

Under our present system a heavy check is already placed upon that accumulation of capital. Americans are steadily buying back their own securities. At this rate the time must arrive when we shall begin to trench upon capital itself, and nobody is quite sure, or can be quite sure, that we are not trenching upon it now.

Thus the whole elaborate contention upon which our stopped-clock economists rely is a house of cards which comes down if you breathe upon it.

"IRELAND DRANK THE FREE-TRADE CUP TO THE VERY DREGS."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. P. FRYE of Maine, page 65
of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

Ireland once supported in reasonable comfort 8,000,000 of people. Her manufacture of linen, silk, wool, and cotton, protected by tariffs and encouraged by subsidies, absorbed her capital, employed her laborers, promoted a diversity of industries, and insured prosperity. England, her next friend, advised, cajoled, and flattered her into the belief that she could raise raw materials on her fertile soil, sell them to her, buy of her the manufactured products more cheaply than she could make them, and that free trade would be a national blessing. Beguiled by her, Ireland consented, her tariff was gradually repealed, horizontally destroyed, her subsidies withdrawn. Since then she has been raising raw material, selling it to England, buying her manufactured goods of her at prices determined by England alone and to-day, with only 5,000,000 of people, is the poorest, most distracted and harassed country on earth. She drank the free-trade cup which England pressed to her lips to the very dregs. Thomas Francis Meagher, the Irish patriot, in a speech made at Dublin in 1847, thus summarized the results to his afflicted country of England's friendship and advice:

"The cotton manufacture of Dublin, which employed 14,000 operatives, has been destroyed; the 3,000 silk looms of the Liberty have been destroyed; the stuff and serge manufactures, which employed 1,491 operatives, have been destroyed; the calico looms of Balbriggan have been destroyed; the flannel manufacture of Rotterdam has been destroyed; the blanket manufacture of Kilkenny has been destroyed; the camlet trade of Bandon, which produced £100,000 a year, has been destroyed; the worsted and stuff manufactures of Waterford have been destroyed; the rateen and frieze manufactures of Carrick-on-Suir have been destroyed; one business alone survives, thrives, flourishes, and dreads no bankruptcy. * * * That favored and privileged and patronized business is the Irish coffin-makers."

And yet, England hopes and the Democratic party expects that every Irish-American citizen of this Republic shall, in the coming Presidential election, vote for free trade!

"THE COBDEN CLUB."—"AN ORGANIZATION THAT BODES DEATH TO IRISH INDUSTRIES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. WOODBURN of Nevada, page 4002 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

I am anxious to know if the adopted citizens of Irish birth and their descendants will continue to perpetuate the political power of a party the leading members of which adorn the roll of an organization that bodes death not only to American but to Irish industries. Cobden's free trade means that parliamentary independence in Ireland is utterly valueless. It has scattered them like the Israelites over every portion of God's footstool, robed them in rags, and made them "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Can they knowingly support at the ballot-box for the high office of President of the United States a leader of that party, when they are informed by the London cables and dispatches of the 18th day of January last that the surplus funds of the Cobden Club are intended as reinforcements for Cleveland in his efforts to hand over the control of American markets to British traders?

"THE FACT OF GROWTH UNDER PROTECTION AND OF DECAY UNDER FREE TRADE IS CLEARLY SET FORTH IN THE EXPERIENCE OF ENGLAND."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. P. P. CAMPBELL of Kansas, in daily Congressional Record, April 1, 1904.

Under the policy of protection the British Empire became the greatest commercial power in the world. Its commercial enterprises became a very hive of industry, and its commerce covered the seas.

Alison, in his History of Europe, speaking of the growth of England under the policy of protection, says:

There is perhaps no example in the annals of mankind of a nation having made such advances in industry, wealth, and numbers as Great Britain has made since the peace.

In the thirty years that have elapsed since the battle of Waterloo, during which it has enjoyed, in Europe at least, almost universal peace, its population has increased more than one-half, having advanced from 18,500,000 to 28,000,000; its imports have doubled, having risen from £32,000,000 to £70,000,000; its exports have more than tripled, having swelled from £42,000,000 to £130,000,000, exclusive of colonial produce; its shipping has doubled, having grown from 2,500,000 to 5,000,000 tons. * * *

During the same period the agricultural industry of the country has been so far from falling short of this prodigious increase in its commercial transactions that it has signally prospered; the dependence of the nation on foreign supplies has steadily diminished until the grain annually imported had come (on an average of five years, ending with 1835) to be more than a two-hundredth part in average years of the annual consumption; and the prodigy was exhibited of a rural industry in an old State possessing a narrow and long-cultivated territory not only keeping pace with but outstripping an increase of numbers and augmentation of food required for the purpose of luxury unparalleled in any age.

This is not an exaggerated picture of England as the nations of the world have known her. *But in the midst of her marvelous prosperity she yielded to the siren voice of the free trader and in 1846 adopted that policy. Since that time she has witnessed the growth and prosperity of the commerce of her competitors, while her own has been diminishing year after year.*

In a recent article Sir Guilford L. Molesworth has said of England's experience with the theory of free trade:

Free trade, so called, has had a patient trial of more than half a century, and it is now time to take stock of the results in order to see how we stand. The results may be briefly summed up as follows: *Under our policy of free trade we have lost that commercial and industrial superiority we acquired under the policy of strict protection.* Our policy of direct taxation bears heavily upon our industries and reacts on the working classes in reduction of wages and employment. *Our agriculture has been ruined and our industries are struggling hard for existence.*

Other nations, under a policy of strict protection, are beating us in the race of competition, not only in neutral, but in our own markets. The policy of free trade has not secured for us either the cheap loaf, low prices of provisions, or reduced cost of living; for all of these have been equally secured by nations under a strict protective policy. *We have sacrificed the substance for the shadow.*

This has been the experience of England. The theorist may exhaust the vocabulary in demonstrating his proposition, but the actual fact of growth under protection and of decay under free trade is clearly set forth in the experience of England.

But, Mr. Chairman, we need not confine experience under the policy of protection and the theory of free trade to the people of the British Empire. We have had experience of our own. * * *

We have seen the first half century of our country's history rising under the protective policy to prosperity and falling under tariff revision by the Democratic party to adversity. A condition of prosperity came with the policy of protection and a condition of adversity came when the theory of free trade was yielded to, and this has been without an exception.

It is not strange, then, that among the first laws enacted by the Republican party was a law putting into effect the policy of protection—a policy that was sustained for almost a third of a century after its adoption in 1861.

Mr. Chairman, the fact is that no like period in the history of this or any other country has ever witnessed such marvelous development of resources and such unparalleled prosperity of industry. Agriculture and manufacture have grown up and prospered together. The farmer has a market at home for his produce. The manufacturer has not had to go abroad with his wares. Both have prospered by practicing the profitable economy of eliminating distances from the question of trade. *The policy of protection has preserved the American market for the products of American manufacturers, and American manufacturers have made markets for the products of American farmers, and together they have established the high standard of American living and made possible a high scale of American wages.* [Applause on the Republican side.]

"OFFICIAL BRITISH FIGURES." — "SOMETHING WRONG WITH THE FISCAL SYSTEM."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.

THE BRITISH BLUE BOOK ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

Soon after this pamphlet was issued there appeared a British Blue Book of 500 pages, showing the trade of the leading nations of the world and reviewing the various aspects of British and foreign commerce and the industrial conditions which prevail in the United States, Russia, Germany, France, Austria, Great Britain, and Ireland.

One of the most important phases dealt with is imports and exports. The tables show that exports from Great Britain to the United States declined from \$145,000,000 in 1890 to \$97,000,500 in 1902, while the imports rose, \$485,000,000 to \$635,000,000. The total exports to all foreign countries declined in the same period \$90,000,000, though when the colonies are included the decline only amounts to \$5,000,000. Figures are also presented for twenty-two years, from 1880 to 1901, showing the amount of manufactured goods, the finished products of factories and workshops, purchased by the four leading countries in those twenty-two years and the percentage of increase.

I take the following figures from this official British publication:

THE OFFICIAL BRITISH FIGURES.

Imports of manufactured goods.

Country.	1880.	1901.	Increase
			<i>Per cent.</i>
United Kingdom.....	\$416,000,000	\$713,500,000	71.
Germany.....	195,500,000	266,000,000	36.
France.....	120,000,000	154,500,000	28.
United States.....	279,500,000	386,500,000	20.

Observe that in the twenty-two years the United Kingdom has increased her purchases of other nations' manufactured goods to nearly twice as great a degree as any other of the four, and three and a half times as much as the United States. With all her workshops and her shopkeepers she is becoming more and more dependent upon the workshops and shopkeepers of other lands. Now, let us look at the amounts of manufactured goods sold by these same four countries in the same years:

Exports of manufactured goods.

Country.	1880	1901.	Increase
			<i>Per cent.</i>
United Kingdom.....	\$991,000,000	\$1,105,000,000	11.
Germany.....	417,500,000	728,000,000	73.
France.....	368,000,000	450,000,000	22.
United States.....	107,000,000	428,000,000	300.

Observe, again, that Great Britain has increased her sales of factory products least of all—less than one-sixth as much as Germany, and less than one twenty-sixth as much as the United States. In brief, the "nation of shopkeepers" and the "workshop of the world" is rapidly becoming a nation of purchasers from the shopkeepers and workshops of other nations. What wonder that the British prime minister thinks it possible that there is something wrong with the fiscal system under which such retrogression is being effected!

The proportion of the United Kingdom exports, as between protected and unprotected countries, in the markets of the world has been reversed since 1850. Then it was 56 per cent. to the protected countries and 44 per cent. to the others. In 1902 the proportion was 42 per cent. to the protected countries and 58 per cent. to the others. Much attention is devoted to the tin-plate industry and the effect of the Dingley and McKinley tariffs. The figures show that the total exports of tin from the United Kingdom have declined only a little over \$5,000,000 since 1897, with a marked increase in the quantity produced and in the value of a number of mills since 1899.

COMPARISON OF WAGES.

The question of wages and the cost of living, especially the price of food, which has figured so largely in the recent Chamberlain agitation, takes up pages, and is summed up as follows: "The average level wages in the United States are one and one-half times greater than in the United Kingdom."

The percentage of family incomes, taking New York as the capital of the United States, is estimated (on the basis of 100 per cent. for the United Kingdom) for the United States, 123 per cent.; for France, 83 per cent. and for Germany, 69 per cent. The mean weekly rate of wages in skilled trades in the United States is estimated at 179 per cent., and in the United Kingdom at 100 per cent.

“THE BRITISH CONSUMER IS BY NO MEANS SO WELL OFF AS THE AMERICAN CONSUMER.”

Extracts from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

It may be generally stated without the slightest fear of refutation that in no country under the tariff has the general burden upon the people, as consumers, been so great as the general profit to the people as producers.

We can bring this matter to a very simple test. *Everyone knows that the average American consumer pays more than the average British consumer. Yet the British consumer, in spite of that advantage, is by no means so well off as the American consumer.* We make petty gains upon our expenditure under the present system, but we forfeit larger gains that would otherwise accrue to us in the shape of revenue. The Inquiry Blue Book gives two budgets showing the weekly expenses and weekly surpluses of British and American families of relatively similar situation. The comparison is based upon the data of inquiries made in 1890 and 1891 by the United States Labor Department.

The results, however, give a perfectly clear comparison of conditions under the high-price and the low-price systems, with the great commodity of labor itself selling at a higher price under the tariff and at a lower under free imports. The weekly earnings of a number of English families worked out at an average of 32s. 2¼d. The corresponding wages in America would be 48s. There is no American table for that exact sum, but there is a table showing the expenditure and surplus of a large group of American families earning on the average 46s. 4¼d. a week. But even this section showed a larger weekly surplus than that of English families earning rather more than a strictly corresponding rate. Here are the two comparisons:

Comparative budget for British and American families of approximately equal earnings relatively to the standards of wages in the two countries.

[English standard equals 100; American standard equals 150.]

BRITISH BUDGET.

Average weekly income per family	s.	d.
	32	2¼
Average expenditure:	s.	d.
Food	15	3
Rent	3	9
Fuel, etc.	2	0¾
Clothing	6	7½
Sundries	5	7½
Total expenditure	31	1¾
Weekly surplus	1	1

AMERICAN BUDGET.

Average weekly income per family	s.	d.
	46	4¼
Average expenditure:	s.	d.
Food	17	8¼
Rent	6	6
Fuel, etc.	2	6½
Clothing	6	7½
Sundries	9	9½
Total expenditure	43	1¾
Weekly surplus	3	3

ENGLAND'S LOSS FROM FREE TRADE—EXPORTS.

Comparative total exports of principal commercial countries—thirty years, 1872-1902.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1872.	1890.	1900.	1902.	Per cent of increase or decrease in 1902 compared with 1872.
British exports.					
To British possessions.....	61	87	94	109	79 per cent increase.
To foreign countries.....	196	176	197	174	21 per cent decline.
Total.....	257	263	291	283	10 per cent increase.
German exports	116	166	238	241	108 per cent increase.
United States exports.....	89	176	304	282	217 per cent increase.

Comparative exports of manufactures (four countries.), 1882-1902.

	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.	United States.
1882	£217,000,000	£94,000,000	£76,000,000	£28,000,000
1902	235,000,000	155,000,000	95,000,000	84,000,000
Increase	18,000,000	61,000,000	19,000,000	56,000,000
Increase per cent.....	8	64	25	200

"A UNIT LOST TO BRITISH POWER."—"TO NOURISH THE INDUSTRIAL VIGOR of our MOST FORMIDABLE COMPETITOR."

Extract from London Daily Telegraph, printed in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.

When the British emigrant, instead of settling under the flag becomes a citizen of the United States, what happens? He not only takes away his savings and the capital value of his personal efficiency, but he is a unit lost to British power, a unit lost to British production, and, above all, a unit lost to British custom. Instead of taking £6 worth yearly of home goods and providing therefore, £6 worth of home employment, he does both on the 6-shilling scale only. But that is not all. Settling under a prohibitive tariff, he is another consumer gained for that vast national monopoly—the American home market; *he is another producer gained to swell the population and to nourish the industrial vigor of our most formidable competitor*; and in the contest for trade supremacy he works with deadly effect in a commercial sense against the country that bore him, and against his fellows at home. We grumble at the British workman. Is it because we do not know how to manage him or because our system of free imports, with the lethargy of enterprise and restriction of employment it creates, prevents us from offering him the inducements and opportunities which seem to transform his character when he crosses the Atlantic? *America, at least, is only too glad to get him, and when she has got him she turns him into one of the keenest workers in the world.* It is notorious that British emigrants are everywhere among the most efficient artisans in the States.

These remarks, it is unnecessary to say, are not prompted in the faintest degree by any feeling of unfriendliness toward America. Friendship with the great English-speaking Republic must remain the foundation of our external policy. The cause of Anglo-American amity would be a little affected by preference on this side as it was by the McKinley tariff on the other side. These are purely *business readjustments, which every nation has the right to make and which every nation but ourselves does make.* The cry of retaliation, like the cry of the dear loaf, is part of the mere melodrama of Radical stage management. But what has become a matter of life and death to this Empire is that every nerve should be strained for the purpose of inducing the vast majority of the King's subjects who leave the mother country to settle under the flag. Of the four great expanding peoples, the American, the German, the Russian, and ourselves, the British Empire, owing to our utter neglect, under the era of free imports and *laissez faire*, of the deepest of all our questions, has now considerably the smallest white population. Not only so, but all the others are increasing far more rapidly, as we shall presently show, than we are. Every thoughtful politician has long since realized that our political and economic future alike depend upon the success of some resolute attempt to modify present tendencies and to stop the steady drift of our people away from their allegiance. Year by year, to the number of more than a hundred thousand annually of our best they are lost, not only to England, but to the Empire; not only to the Mother country, but to the flag. *Year after year they go to advance the development of the great trans-Atlantic competitor whose industrial advantages were already almost overwhelming.* In the meantime, while the growth of population bounds in the United States, it creeps in the colonies. At the present rate, when the inhabitants of the Canadian Dominion and the Australian Commonwealth alike increase by a poor half million or so every decade it would be fifty years hence before either of these great States of the Empire counted as much as 10,000,000 souls each.

Since the free-imports system was completed in 1861 the relative population of the five leading powers of the world has changed approximately as follows: [Amounts expressed in millions.]

Country.	1861.	1881.	1903.	Present rate of increase per decade.
British Empire (mother country and colonies).	32	42	53	5
United States.....	32	51	78	13
Germany.....	38	46	58	9
France.....	36	38	39	6
Russia (Slavs).....	70	90	120	14

"ALL PROTECTIVE NATIONS PROSPER MORE THAN THE UNITED KINGDOM."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

In a speech delivered at Greenock Mr. Chamberlain said he was a free trader and wanted to live harmoniously with his neighbors; but he desired free trade that was a real free trade and gave England the same concessions which she gave to other nations. If other nations would not exchange on those terms, he was not a free trader at any price.

The policy of their competitors and the policy of the United States is to use tariffs to support the home trade and exclude foreign trade. Under this policy the United States, Germany, and France are steadily increasing their foreign trade, while Great Britain is as steadily losing her trade with foreign nations. *Mr. Chamberlain asked why all protective nations prosper more than the United Kingdom, and declared if the free traders can satisfactorily answer that question he would ask to be allowed to hide his diminished head. It is unnecessary to add that no answer was given him.* The statistics of any period during the last thirty years, he declared, would support his arguments; even a small nation, like Sweden, under a protective tariff, had prospered more in that time, proportionately, than had Great Britain. The policy of protection, as supported by the late President McKinley, and long before by the greatest of Americans, Abraham Lincoln, at a later day by Bismarck, and by other distinguished statesmen, had a great deal behind it. Continuing, he declared:

I say that you are inconsistent; you are adopting a suicidal course. If you proceed in the present policy your workmen must either take lower wages or lose their work.

Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to refer to the enormous output of the United States Steel Corporation works and the diminishing home demand for steel in the United States. He quoted from an American paper an interview with a director of the steel corporation on the failing demand, in which the director declared that they had no intention of diminishing the output and throwing out of employment thousands of American workmen. Instead, they would invade foreign markets.

Mr. Chamberlain contended that this steel would be sent to Great Britain, the only free market, and said:

I warn you that within two or three years you will have dumped here 10,000,000 tons of American iron, and thousands of British workmen will lose employment for the sole benefit of American manufacturers and American workmen. I sympathize with American workmen, but after all I belong to England, and I am not cosmopolitan enough to see the happiness and prosperity of American workmen secured by the starvation and misery of the British.

FIGURES OF ENGLAND'S DECAY.

Concluding a general restatement, the speaker said that agriculture in Great Britain was practically destroyed, the sugar trade was gone, the silk trade was gone, the iron and wool industries were threatened, and the same fate would come to the cotton trade. He continued:

How long are you going to stand it? England is not afraid of foreign countries. She is the greatest market in the whole world, and foreign countries are her best customers. If a tariff war came, England would not come out second best. One reason advanced for America's prosperity is her enormous population of 70,000,000; but the British Empire has 60,000,000, all white, and some 350,000,000 of other races, all prospective customers of the mother country.

The official tables of diminishing export trade show too plainly the need of a new fiscal policy. The exports of British iron and steel amounted to £36,000,000 in 1872. They had dropped to £31,500,000 in 1892, remained at the same figure in 1890, and showed a further drop to £29,000,000 in 1902, an annual loss of \$35,000,000. Hardware and cutlery exports were £5,100,000 in 1872 and £3,000,000 less in 1902. The export of linen manufactures dropped from £8,200,000 in 1872 to £5,400,000 in 1892, a loss of nearly \$15,000,000. Woolen manufactures exported in 1872 amounted to £32,400,000, and were less than half as much in 1902, or £15,200,000, a loss of \$85,000,000. The haberdashery export trade dropped from £6,600,000 in 1872 to £1,000,700 in 1892, a loss of nearly \$28,000,000.

ENGLISH FIGURES OF ENGLISH TRADE LOSSES— MANUFACTURES.

Year.	Cotton.	Linen.	Woolen.	Total.
1872.....	£63,500,000	£8,200,000	£32,400,000	£104,100,000
1882.....	62,900,000	5,900,000	18,700,000	87,500,000
1890.....	62,000,000	5,700,000	20,400,000	88,100,000
1902.....	65,000,000	5,400,000	15,200,000	85,600,000

"EXPORT TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO PROTECTED AND UNPROTECTED COUNTRIES."

Extract from statement published in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

From the British Blue Book on Foreign Trade, 1903.

EXPORT TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO PROTECTED AND UNPROTECTED FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND COLONIES.

The following memorandum with tables deals with the course of the export trade of the United Kingdom carried on during the last half century with protected and unprotected countries and colonies, respectively, with special reference to exports of manufactured and partly manufactured articles:

The following is the selected list of "principal protected foreign countries:" Russia, Spain, Germany, Portugal, France, Italy, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Holland, United States.

The only countries in this list which require explanation are Holland and Belgium. Holland is hardly to be described as a protectionist country, and the Belgian tariff is less protective than those of most continental countries. It is, however, necessary to include both countries in the list, because a large part of the trade recorded in our official returns as between the United Kingdom and Holland and Belgium is in reality trade with Germany which passes through Rotterdam and Antwerp, so that it would be misleading to place Holland or Belgium in a different list from Germany.

The only British colonies which it has seemed proper to consider as "protected" over the period throughout which the statistics extend are Canada and Victoria. India is shown separately, and the remainder are grouped under the head of "All other colonies and possessions."

The table following shows for each year 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1902 the percentage distribution of (A) exports of all articles of British produce; (B) exports of manufactured and partly manufactured articles among principal protected and other countries and colonies:

Classification and years.	Principal protected countries and colonies.	All other countries and colonies.	Total to all countries and colonies.
<i>A.—Exports of all articles of British produce.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
1850.....	56	44	100
1860.....	51	49	100
1870.....	53	47	100
1880.....	49	51	100
1890.....	46	54	100
1900.....	45	55	100
1902.....	42	58	100
<i>B.—Exports of manufactured and partly manufactured articles.</i>			
1850.....	57	43	100
1860.....	50	50	100
1870.....	50	50	100
1880.....	47	53	100
1890.....	44	56	100
1900.....	42	58	100
1902.....	38	62	100

The summary shows that in the period 1850-1902 the proportionate distribution of our total exports as between the protected and unprotected markets of the world has been reversed, the proportions in 1850 being 56 to protected and 44 to other markets, whereas in 1902 the proportions were 42 to protected and 58 to other markets.

Taking the category of manufactured articles separately, the change has been even more marked, the proportions in 1850 being, protected, 57; other, 43; and in 1902, protected, 38, and other, 62. The change has been a continuous one, but it operated most rapidly during the first decade (1850-1860) and during the last few years (1890-1902). No doubt some allowance should be made for the expansion of the British Empire which took place during those two periods—e. g., the consolidation of the Indian Empire in the fifties and the extension of British dominions and protectorates in Africa in recent years. But after allowing for this there can be no doubt as to the effect of continental and American tariffs in checking our export trade, especially in manufactured articles, with the group of "protected countries" during the last two decades.

"FREE TRADE AN EMPTY NAME AND A VAIN FARCE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

PREMIER BALFOUR'S CAMPAIGN FOR PROTECTION.

Premier Balfour delivered a speech at Sheffield October 1 in support of a protective tariff. This speech has been referred to as the "most momentous speech in the history of England." He referred to the fact that for a long time there has been great uneasiness among all parties in England as to the condition of British trade in relation to the trade of the world. The last sixty years, he declared, had been filled with refutations of the prophecies made by Cobden and the great tariff reformers associated with him in the movement of 1846. While the reforms of that year may have been necessary at that time, every year of the last thirty had contradicted their prophecies. *Cobden, he declared, was a great man, but he failed to foresee the developments of the last half century, which had made free trade an empty name and a vain farce.* For fifty years England, without making a sign, had watched the wall of hostile tariffs growing up and dividing nation from nation. He continued:

And our own colonies, our own flesh and blood, the very sinews of the growing empire, are building up vested interests under another system of protection, which when it reaches its logical conclusion will make it as hard to export to them as to America or the other protected countries. And during the whole lifetime of those I am now addressing we have done nothing whatever to hinder a state of things so absolutely inconsistent with free trade as Cobden understood it. I confess that when I hear criticisms upon American and German policy, which caused those great industrial nations to accompany their marvelous commercial expansion with protective duties, which must have thrown a most serious burden upon the consumer, I feel that they have a retort to which I have no reply. They may well say that, although protectionists, they have established permanent free trade within the limits of their own country, where everything which can hamper production or limit the increase of wealth has been abolished by their patriotism and foresight, and they may well ask us whether we in the British Empire can point to a similar picture, and whether our vaunted free trade includes those great self-governing colonies which we proudly boast are to be the great buttresses of our Empire in the future.

Free trade is, indeed, an empty name and a vain farce if it is a fact that foreign nations are setting themselves to divert our industries, exclude our manufactures, and limit the international play of supply and demand. I know of no cure, but I do know of a palliation. The ill has gone too far. You will not get the great commercial nations of the world to abandon protection. I fear that you will not get the great self-governing colonies to retrace the steps which we, without remonstrance, permitted them to take. I am here, therefore, to recommend a palliation which I believe to be still possible. Cobden hoped and believed in free trade throughout the world. What in fact we have got to deal with is a world where international commercial relations are regulated entirely by treaty. It is common sense that we, the greatest commercial nation, should come forward and say, "We want to arrange treaties with you, but we have nothing to give you, nothing to withhold from you. We throw ourselves upon your mercy and consideration. Please remember how good we are to your commerce, how we throw no impediment in its way, and how we do all we can for you, and please don't forget us when you are making your next treaty." [Laughter.]

Are the negotiations between nations which have to deal with duties upon manufactured goods different from other negotiations carried on for other purposes? Did any man ever hear of successful negotiations without a nation having something to give, which, in case of necessity, it might withhold?

Concerning the question as to whether it was intended to reverse the verdict of the great case of Free Trade v. Protection, of 1846, his answer was that the controversy of 1846 was of no interest to the present generation, and was utterly inappropriate to 1903. He said

Our grandfathers fought the battle in view of the actual situation. I ask the nation to-day to follow their example and not be misled by misty debates. The second question is, "Do you desire to reverse and alter the fundamental fiscal tradition which has prevailed for two generations?" My answer is, "Yes, I do." [Loud cheers.]

He proposed to ask the country to reverse, annul and altogether delete from their maxims of public conduct that they must never impose taxation except for revenue. *In his judgment the country ought never to have stood self-deprived of that liberty, and it should publicly resume in the face of Europe and the world the liberty of which it deprived itself—the liberty which every other country in the world possessed, and that of which no country should deprive itself—the liberty of negotiating, and also something to negotiate with.*

To the next question, Why they should want to resume this liberty, seeing how well the country had prospered without it, he would reply:

My object is to mitigate to the utmost the injury done us by hostile tariffs.

No free trader can deny that England has suffered greatly of late from foreign traffics, and that her commerce and industry have fallen into evil ways. Cobden never dreamed of a situation where England alone had free trade and all other countries would be under a protective tariff, and which has resulted in causing great damage to British capital and British workmen. Mr. Balfour's argument is that as the United States, through a protective tariff, has passed England as a manufacturing nation, his country should seriously consider the advisability of adopting a like policy.

"ONE-HALF THE REVENUES OF GREAT BRITAIN IS DERIVED FROM PERSONS LEAST ABLE TO PAY."

Extracts from article entitled "Why First Voters should be Protectionists," printed in daily Congressional Record, January 12, 1904.

When the Cobdenites gave the name "free trade" to their fiscal policy they thought they were acting shrewdly. There is something about the word "free" that is very alluring. It appeals to most men in a way that no other word can. It is not astonishing, therefore, that it "caught on" at once.

In a very short time after the term had been coined hosts of writers began to sound its praises. They accepted the cue furnished by the impressionists of the Manchester school of economists, and began to laud a system which they said would bring peace to the earth and produce good will among men.

Doubtless many who gave expression to these ideas believed all they said, and some of them took pains to point out that "free trade" did not mean exactly what the two words implied; but the most of them obscured the fact that there must be taxation of some kind, and that therefore it would be impossible to devise any plan by which production could escape its share of the burden of government.

In short, the glamor of the words managed to conceal from the people most interested—the British masses—that the purpose of free trade was to shift the incidence of taxation in such a manner that the people best able to pay should be called upon for the smallest contributions.

Many years before the abrogation of the corn laws, Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, had pointed out that taxes on the necessities of life did not work an injury to the toilers. He said with exceeding plainness:

"The advanced price (caused by taxation) of such manufactures as are real necessities of life and are destined for the consumption of the poor * * * must be compensated to the poor by a further advancement of their wages."

Not only have the toilers of Great Britain recognized the axiomatic force of Smith's assertion, the class to which he spoke directly also took it to heart and put his suggestion into execution. The learned doctor said:

"The middling and superior ranks of people, if they understood their own interest, ought always to oppose all taxes on the necessities of life, as well as all direct taxes upon the wages of labor. The final payment of both one and the other falls altogether upon themselves, and always with a considerable overcharge."

Here we find the mainspring of those who framed the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom. They knew that taxes on necessities could not be made to stick to the workingmen, so "the middling and superior ranks of people," under the disingenuous pretext of helping the poor, abolished taxes which the foremost economist had explicitly declared could not affect that class. They went a step further, for Adam Smith's suggestions were well rounded out. He did not confine himself to describing the kind of taxes which could not affect the workingman; he indicated those which could be made to stick. He said:

"Taxes upon luxuries have no tendency to raise the price of any other commodities except that of the commodities taxed."

Here was a pointer. It was one that appealed to "the middling and superior ranks of people," because it indicated a mode by which the heaviest part of the burden of taxation could be placed on the masses.

It was swiftly acted upon. As rapidly as possible the incidence of taxation was shifted. The taxes on necessities were removed, because they could not be made to stick to the worker, for the reason mentioned by Smith, and a careful system of taxing luxuries was devised, which had for its object the imposition of the major part of the burden of taxation upon the toiling masses.

Tobacco, tea, rum, spirits, and beer, which are chiefly consumed by the workers of the United Kingdom, were made dutiable or subjected to excise, while kid gloves, silks, and all the other articles used by the rich were exempted from taxation.

In 1902 the total sum derived from taxation in the United Kingdom was £122,549,000. Of this amount, £31,047,000 was from customs, £31,598,000 from excise, £14,251,000 from estates and duties, £7,772,000 from stamps, £2,502,000 from land tax and house duty, and \$35,379,000 from incomes. If this enumeration of the sources of British revenue is scrutinized the ingenuity of the framers of the tax will at once be realized. It will be seen that more than one-half of the total revenues of Great Britain is derived from those persons least able to pay.

The £10,567,706 from tobacco, the £5,792,967 from tea, the £2,211,811 from rum, the £6,399,227 from sugar and glucose, the £17,647,421 from the spirit excise, and the £13,276,073 from beer are almost wholly taken from the working classes. A large part of the land tax and house duty amounting to £2,502,000 is passed on to tenants who are often toilers, and while the income tax is supposed to bear directly upon those from whom it is derived, it may reasonably be assumed that men whose revenues are gained from industrial or trading operations practice methods which enable them to place a good deal of this tax on the shoulders of the poor.

When it is stated that more than half of the taxes are drawn from the toilers of the United Kingdom the claim that free trade works in the interest of the masses is at once dissipated, and when to this statement is added the fact that in the United Kingdom less than 2 per cent. of its families hold about three times as much private property as all the remainder, and that 93 per cent. of the people hold less than 8 per cent. of the accumulated wealth, it is at once seen that the entire system of taxation is so arranged that it relieves the rich and oppresses the poor.

In this inequitable distribution of the burden of taxation we find the real motive for the change in the incidence, and in the fact that the United Kingdom collects £31,047,000 from customs duties we have a refutation of the claim that trade is free.

The more the question is investigated the more thoroughly convinced must be the impartial investigator of the British fiscal system become that its prime object is to shift the chief burden of taxation onto the shoulders least able to bear it, and that the result is proving disastrous.

SOME UNPLEASANT FIGURES FOR FREE TRADERS."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

UNITED STATES COMPETITION SO DANGEROUS BECAUSE BASED ON PROTECTION.

Here, at least, we bring the whole question once more to a clear issue. When American competition is mentioned the ordinary "free importer" throws up his hands and talks of natural laws. He tells us that since the Lake Superior ore beds were discovered the overwhelming supremacy of the United States in total output of iron and steel was assured. But America has no natural supremacy in textiles—not in silk, not in linen, not in wool, not even in cotton. It costs as much to carry raw cotton to a mill in New England as to a mill in old England. In the mills of the cotton belt itself labor is less efficient, while the hereditary aptitude of the Lancashire worker is unmatched in the world.

Further, we have a unique advantage in the dampness of our climate. America has to import the best wool and silk and flax, just as we have, in textiles, as in every other branch of industry, her advantage lay in the superior efficiency, enterprise, and inventiveness of capital under the tariff by comparison with capital under a free-imports system. This is what has happened since the McKinley tariff came into operation:

American textile factories.

Year.	Number.	Capital.	Persons employed
1890.....	4,276	£160,000,000	528,000
1900.....	43.2	217,000,000	678,000

What has happened in this country in the meantime? In the four years 1895-1898 alone, according to the latest labor department statistics, the total number of persons employed in British textile factories of all kinds actually decreased from 1,076,000 hands in 1895 to 1,037,000 hands in 1898.

PROTECTION DRAWS FOREIGN CAPITAL AND FACTORIES.

Finally comes the most important point of all. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who is fervently in favor of free trade for every country except the United States, where his own business interests happen to be situated, once raised a hymn of praise because the McKinley tariff had forced many of the greatest firms in the British textile trades to set up establishments in America. "Protection," says Mr. Carnegie, "has brought to us so many British manufacturers to establish industries, and thus develop our resources—the Clarks and the Coats, of Paisley; the Dolans, of Yorkshire; the Sandersons, of Sheffield; and last, but certainly not least, a great prize from Halifax. Who would not expect us to extol our idea of protection if we capture the Firths?" Who, indeed? That is the point.

SOME UNPLEASANT FIGURES FOR FREE TRADERS.

In the twenty years before Cobdenism, say 1825 to 1845, we tripled our output of iron. It is a remarkable coincidence that the United States and Germany did exactly the same thing in the two decades of protection, 1890-1900. France, in the same period, after breaking with the Cobdenite doctrine, increased her consumption of iron 60 per cent. We increased our consuming power for iron by 24 per cent. That is the master fact bearing upon the relative progress of home trade. During the last twelve years the iron and steel industries have been immensely helped by the construction of the fleet at a far greater cost than that of the Siberian railway. We may well wonder what would have been the stagnation of the home market in respect of iron and steel without the exceptional advantage it has enjoyed in the demands of the admiralty. Take, now, the following two tables showing the astounding change which has come over our position with regard to the industry upon which the manufacturing success of every country must in the long run depend:

Comparative output of pig iron.

[Amounts given in thousand tons.]

Year.	Great Britain.	Germany.	United States.	World.
1880.....	7,749	2,685	3,835	17,950
1890.....	7,904	4,583	9,203	27,150
1900.....	9,302	7,920	13,621	39,752

Comparative output of steel.

[Amounts given in thousand tons.]

Year.	Great Britain.	Germany.	United States.	World.
1880.....	1,375	728	1,247	4,205
1890.....	3,679	2,127	4,277	11,902
1900.....	5,000	6,189	10,639	26,685
1902.....	4,800	7,800	15,000	30,000

These are far more startling figures than any which can be brought forward from the statistics of our foreign trade. In 1880 we still made much iron and steel as the rest of the world put together. The position at the present moment is this: We are third now, and without a change of fiscal system we shall remain third. The United States' output of iron and steel is now more than double our own.

"MR. CHAMBERLAIN PROPOSES PREVENTIVE INOCULATION WITH AMERICAN PRINCIPLES."

Extract from LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

What Mr. Chamberlain proposes is a mild form of preventive inoculation with American principles. Under any circumstances, Washington could not logically, much less justly, object to the partial application, to our interests, of methods which she declares vital to her own. The American protective system was founded immediately after the Declaration of Independence by Alexander Hamilton's famous memorandum. That document has influenced "the wealth of nations," in the long run, more than Adam Smith. Germany, like every other continental country, has followed the American example, not ours. *The Republic is the patentee of tariffs. She sells to us, as we have shown, six times as much as she buys.*

* * * We have shown that the mass of our European trade in recent years has been absolutely and relatively far less than is generally imagined. But now let us take the character of that trade; let us take its progress. A glance at the subjoined figures will show that our continental commerce has been steadily declining with respect to manufactured articles for the last thirty years. In the character of our trade as a whole there has been an immense deterioration. We showed on another page that our exports to Germany were sinking except in respect of coal and kippers. The same statement is true of our sales to all our industrial competitors—to France, Holland, Belgium. And not only of them, it is true of Europe as a whole. Our exports of manufactures to the Continent have been steadily sinking for nearly thirty years. We have made up the balance and effected an apparent increase, not by sending our competitors more manufactures, but by sending them less and less manufactures, and more and more coal to manufacture with. We have been parting with more and more of our fixed capital in order to help our foreign rivals to swell their current profits. It is coal, and coal alone, which explains the mystery. Coal, and coal alone, has concealed the truth about the condition of our foreign trade.

And now to our figures. We do not share the opinion that in view of remote contingencies we should hoard our coal as Indian peasants do their silver. If nothing but keeping that residuum locked up in the country would prolong our industrial life by a few decades in the far future, we should be in any case, past saving. Let us, by all means, sell what we have that is marketable, and get the money for it, instead of refraining from immediate business through the preoccupations of a remote and problematical future. But at the same time do not let us mistake one thing for another. *Do not let us think that we are maintaining our manufacturing position because we are merely selling more coal.*

A workman out of employment might as well boast of maintaining his position by selling his tools. We might continue to do a roaring trade in the way of disposing of our primary raw material to foreign producers if ever loom and forge in our own country were stopped. Excluding the new ships entered since 1899, which would only vitiate the value of the comparison, we now give the following remarkable table showing the decline of our European trade in everything but coal during the last thirty years. The figures in the left-hand column are taken partly from Prof. Adolph Wagner's excellent and careful study in "Agrar und Industriestaat" and partly from the Blue Books. With respect to coal we have ourselves taken the thirty years' figures from the Blue Books.

Total British exports to all European countries (in years of maximum and minimum trade) compared with exports of coal, 1872 to 1902.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Years of maximum and minimum trade.	Total exports.	Coal.	Exports minus coal.
1872a.....	108.0	7.2	100.8
1879b.....	79.5	5.3	74.2
1882a.....	85.3	7.1	78.2
1886b.....	74.0	7.4	66.6
1890a.....	92.4	14.2	78.2
1894b.....	83.4	13.1	70.3
1896a.....	87.3	12.0	75.3
1898a.....	93.2	14.1	79.1
1899a.....	103.6	18.3	85.3
1900a.....	115.2	30.7	84.5
1901a.....	98.7	22.9	75.8
1902a.....	96.1	20.4	75.7

a Maximum year.

b Minimum year.

There is no getting over this statement. It is one upon which it would be impossible for Englishmen to ponder too earnestly or too long. They have been fluctuations for good years and bad. In periods of inflation there has been a temporary recovery. But on the whole, the course has been steadily downward.

"FIFTY YEARS OF FREE TRADE IN GREAT BRITAIN." —"THREE MILLION PAUPERS ROTTING IN FORCED IDLENESS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, May 16, 1894.

FIFTY YEARS OF FREE TRADE TRAFFIC IN GREAT BRITAIN.

What has it done and what is it doing for her tolling millions? England collects annually from customs duties on articles which she does not produce, but which her wage earners regard as necessities of life, the sum of \$100,000,000. The laborers of England pay more than three-fourths of this sum. They pay a duty of seventy-five cents or more a pound on tobacco; on coffee, three to four cents a pound; on tea, twelve cents; and other things in proportion. Then look at the places they call "homes." In Manchester great numbers of houses have but one small room, and this is used for all purposes by the family because they have no other. In London over 60,000 families are similarly situated. It is no better in Dundee. In Glasgow 45,000 families live each in a single room. In Scotland one-third of the laboring families live each in a single room. It is not unusual to find in these single rooms all over Great Britain families numbering from six to nine persons of all ages and both sexes. Is such life living, or is it herding? In one year the public authorities furnished relief to English laborers as follows: in Yorkshire to 50,000; in London to 500,000; and in all of Great Britain to 922,000 persons. In London, the wealthiest city of the world, one out of every nine died in the workhouse, and in Great Britain one out of every seven died in the workhouse. The paupers of England number nearly 1,000,000, or one to every thirty-six persons, and her pauperism and consequent crime cost her over \$80,000,000. A house owner among workingmen is seldom found. Land is going out of cultivation, and already 2,500,000 acres have been abandoned to foxes and birds. In ten years, 1871 to 1881, sheep decreased in number 6,000,000; farm and farmers, ten per cent.; and the number of those engaged in gainful occupations decreased about 3,000,000. Women and girls by tens of thousands are obliged to work in coal mines, in coal yards, in brick yards, in nail shops, and in other degrading places, at the merest pittance of wages. As black as is this picture of England's laborers much more could be added, and with all of these discomforts and disadvantages they have no single advantage that our workingmen are deprived of.

SOME ENGLISH OPINIONS.

Lest it may be thought that this description of the English laborers was the prejudiced opinion of an American protectionist, I will briefly quote from a few Englishmen of high standing:

JOHN RUSKIN: "Though England is deafened with spinning wheels, her people have not clothes; though she is black with the digging of fuel, they die of cold; and though she has sold her soul for grain, they die of hunger."

JOHN BRIGHT: "Nearly one-third of the whole people dwell in homes of only one room; and more than two-thirds of the people of Scotland dwell in homes of not more than two rooms. We find poverty and misery."

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: "The class of agricultural laborers of this country (Great Britain) are never able to do more than make both ends meet, and have to look forward in times of illness, or on the approach of old age, to the workhouse as the one inevitable refuge against starvation. The ordinary conditions of life among the large proportion of the population are such that common decency is absolutely impossible; and all this goes on in sight of the mansions of the rich."

JOHN MORLEY: "It is an awful fact—it is really not short of awful—that in this country (Great Britain) with all its wealth, all its vast resources, all its power, forty-five per cent.—that is to say, nearly one-half—of the persons who reach the age of sixty are or have been paupers. I say it is a most tremendous fact, and I cannot conceive any subject more worthy of the attention of the legislature, more worthy of the attention of all."

THOMAS CARLYLE: "British industrial existence seems fast becoming one huge poison swamp of reeking pestilence—physical and moral—a hideous living Golgotha of souls and bodies buried alive. Thirty thousand outcast needlewomen working themselves swiftly to death. Three million paupers rotting in forced idleness; and these are but items in the sad ledger of despair."

"A BRITISH PROTECTIONIST'S BELIEF."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH ON PROTECTION—A BRITISH PROTECTIONIST'S BELIEF IN THAT POLICY AS A FISCAL RELIGION.

[By Sir Guilford Molesworth, K. C. I. E.]

Extremes are injurious.

Unlimited free import is one extreme, prohibitive tariffs the other, protective tariffs the practical mean.

It is a fallacy to suppose that a tariff must necessarily raise the price of the article taxed.

As a general rule, when an article is or can be produced at home, a tariff, if it be not prohibitive, stimulates production, promotes internal competition, prevents a permanent increase of prices, and in many cases eventually decreases the cost to the consumers.

When, however, an article is not of home production—such as tea, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, wines, etc.—the tariff naturally increases the price.

A tariff on a competing import is frequently paid by the foreign producer, and does not fall on the consumer.

Experience has shown that the imposition of a tariff is frequently followed by a fall in the price of the article taxed.

It sometimes happens even that the anticipation of a tariff causes a fall in the price.

The imposition of a tariff frequently kills a foreign monopoly, or enables a new industry to arise.

Unrestricted foreign competition often prevents the establishment of a new home industry, or crushes out an existing one.

Even when a tariff raises prices, it adds to the revenue and saves other taxation.

Direct taxation of capital and profits is a burden on our industries and reacts on the working classes by reductions of wages and employment.

Industries burdened by direct taxation are at a disadvantage in competition with those foreign industries which do not share that burden.

Indirect taxation derived from tariffs, is in many cases no burden.

In the United States the periods of protective tariffs have uniformly been marked with prosperity, and the periods following their several repeals have been marked by depression and distress.

The prosperity which we enjoyed in the "fifties," although unfairly claimed as the work of free trade, was due to other causes, namely, gold discoveries, inventions and science, steam navigation, railways, etc., which have been shared by foreign nations.

Having laid the foundations of our industrial prosperity under protection, and having thereby secured the command of the world's markets, we were not merely the first but the only country able to utilize these new forces that then came into play.

For more than twenty years fortuitous events, such as the Crimean war in the "fifties," civil war in the United States, and continental disturbances in Europe in the "sixties" and early "seventies," retarded the progress of foreign nations.

As soon as foreign protectionist nations were able to avail themselves of the new industrial conditions they successfully competed with us even in our own markets, and our country is flooded with the productions of the very nations which we formerly supplied.

Since that time most of our industries have either been ruined or have struggled hard for existence.

Our colonies are also becoming more and more protectionist, and are flourishing under that policy, and Canada and our South African possessions are able to give the mother country preferential treatment, and to their honor do so as yet without reciprocity on our part.

Many of our best workmen have emigrated to the United States, where they obtain higher remuneration for their labor.

The capital recklessly expended by us in purchasing abroad that which might have been produced at home has armed protectionist nations with the sinews of war in competition with us.

Instead of fostering our own industries and providing employment for our working classes, we purchased from the foreigner in 1901 produce to the value of £416,000,000, much of which we could well have produced ourselves or in our colonies. The value of exports to those nations in return was only £175,000,000.

Canada is being thrown into the arms of the United States by our policy and our refusal to respond to her advances for reciprocal trade.

We are constantly raising our direct taxes, while the United States lower theirs.

Since 1868 our direct Imperial taxation has increased from £19,000,000 to £59,000,000, and our direct local taxation by rates from £20,000,000 to £40,000,000.

The cost of food and the necessities of life is not less in England than in protectionist countries.

The wages in protectionist America are, in the majority of cases, nearly double those prevailing in our "free-trade" country.

The prophecies which induced our people to adopt free trade have proved to be false.

We stand alone excepting Denmark, as "free traders" amongst civilized nations, and free trade is now recognized as either all British or a savage custom.

The predictions of ruin to those countries which have adopted protection have altogether failed.

Since the passing of the McKinley bill in 1891, which the free-trade apologists prophesied would ruin the United States, the industries of that country have developed by leaps and bounds.

The special exports of the United States increased in 1898 by £76,000,000 when compared with 1890, while those of the United Kingdom decreased by £30,000,000. * * *

"EXPORT DISCOUNTS."—"A MERE BUGABOO."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

I wish briefly to take up a subject that seems to have given our Democratic friends much concern and anxiety, namely, the question of export discounts, or the practice of selling our wares cheaper in the foreign than in the home market. When this contention is advanced by our opponents it is invariably asserted that it is the wicked trusts which adopt this pernicious business method because they are protected by the iniquitous tariff.

Now, to begin with, the policy in some instances of selling cheaper than the market price is a custom that prevails the world over in every line of industry and commerce known to the human race. It is practiced by the fruit vender on our sidewalks, who, at whatever price he can get, disposes of his fast decaying and almost unsalable wares. It is practiced by the merchant, when annually or semi-annually he has his great mark-down sale to dispose of shopworn and damaged goods, fabrics out of date, and of a surplus stock to make room for more seasonable goods. It is practiced by our manufacturers for several reasons. Sometimes it is to dispose of a surplus stock in order that the mill may not be shut down and that the workingmen may not be deprived of employment and wages. Sometimes it is to introduce into a foreign market a new article or a new model in order to gain a foothold, and to introduce a line of goods where they have not before been sold.

Sometimes it is to retain a market that, because of most zealous competition, is liable to be lost unless a temporary sacrifice is made to hold that customer. There are various other reasons why this business policy is sometimes resorted to, but, Mr. President, it is by no means a custom known only to American manufacturers. It is adopted by the manufacturers and merchants of every country on the face of the earth, and it is considered good business policy when it is undertaken, or else it would not be resorted to. But I must also emphasize the fact that the percentage of such goods sold as compared with our total output is so insignificant as to make the whole subject a mere bugaboo, not worthy of notice were it not for the fact that its constant reiteration has dignified it almost to the level of a campaign issue. Whoever will take pains to look into this question, studying most carefully the report of the recent Industrial Commission, which went into the matter fully, and whose report upon the subject is exceedingly clear and intelligible, will find that this percentage of goods sold at an export discount is, in round numbers, as follows:

Total annual value of manufactures.....	\$15,000,000,000
Exports of manufactures.....	400,000,000
Value of exports sold at lower prices abroad.....	4,000,000

To this extent, then, we are willing to concede that our manufacturers resort to this practice of cutting foreign prices, for the reasons which I have already mentioned. *Allowing the greatest margin possible, we have a total amounting to only 1 per cent of our manufactured goods sold abroad, and goods sold abroad amount to less than 3 per cent of our total output. This great bugaboo, then, consists of less than three one-hundredths of 1 per cent of our total manufactures, admitting, as we are quite willing to do, all that our opponents claim.*

In the face of these returns, which, by the way, are not prize statistics, but authoritative figures in every instance, *shall we, because of the fact that three one-hundredths of 1 per cent, or \$4,000,000 worth, of our manufactured goods are sold abroad at a lower figure than at home, tear down our tariff wall and submit the other \$14,996,000,000 to the ruthless competition of the hungry horde of pauper-paid foreign competitors? It is, Mr. President, a most astounding proposition to come from even the Democratic press and the free-trade element of this country.*

"DEMOCRATIC PARTY STANDS FOR FREE TRADE."

Extracts from speech by Hon. M. A. HANNA at Chillicothe, Ohio, September 19, 1903, and printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904, as part of remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania.

Stand by Roosevelt and Republican Principles.

The whole country has its eyes upon Ohio, knowing that this is the skirmish battle for 1904, and I join with Senator FORAKER, in making the appeal to our people, to send a word of greeting and confidence to the young President at Washington, and let him know that Ohio never falters in the right, and will not this time, and that we will lead in the campaign of 1904. [Long-continued applause.] Do that. Show by your action, show by your votes, that you intend to stand by those principles; that you intend that the men who represent you in the Halls of Congress and in the legislative body of the State shall be sent there with instructions to carry out these principles, and that you will have no other kind of representation. [Prolonged applause.] Do that, and this country is just as far from any prospect of distress, to say nothing of panic, as it was three years ago.

We are better off in every way than any other nation.

These conditions, my fellow-citizens, in this country are normal. That is to say, they are not abnormal. There is no reason why we should not have long and continued periods of prosperity in this country, because our natural resources are beyond those of any nation in the world. This great cosmopolitan people have shown themselves better as a nation, industrially, commercially, politically, than any other nation in the world. [Enthusiastic cheering.] We have achieved that position upon pure merit, and that merit is exemplified in the fact that under these influences and during the times of peace we are making such rapid progress in industrial development that we can enter the markets of the world with our products and still maintain the American price of wages. [Great applause.] That is even a prouder prestige, my friends, than the new political power which has come to us since the Spanish war, because that prestige is an inspiration to every man who works with his hands, to every man who has the ingenuity which God may have given him, to prepare for himself conditions, within the limits of his ability, along the line of those industries which gives him equal opportunity with any other man.

Democratic leaders stand for absolute free trade.

There is a serious side to it, because if, through ignorance of the true conditions or through any undue excitement created during a campaign, the laboring men should be led away from the party and the principles which have done so much for them, then it would be serious, because *that element which leads and dominates the Democratic party to-day stands not for tariff for revenue, but absolute free trade.* Mr. Clarke qualifies his position on the tariff by saying that he would take the tariff entirely off of every article manufactured by trusts. What does that mean? Every iron and steel industry in the United States, everything connected with the metal trades, with the cotton trades, and in fact nearly all of our great industries come within the scope of his proposition.

Why, is there any intelligent man among the workingmen of my State who does not know what would be the result of that policy. *Absolute free trade through all the schedules of our tariff would shut up 75 per cent. of the industrial institutions of the United States until we could get labor down to the prices where we could compete with Europe. That is what you are up against, boys.* [Laughter and long-continued cheering.] They fooled you in 1892 by the "clack" about "tin cans." They pulled the wool over your eyes about the McKinley bill. But McKinley, although his bill was defeated, never lost courage, and I have heard him say many times, "Yes, it is hard, but it is no humiliation to me, because I know I am right, and I know that soon the people will be right. I am only thinking of those homes where suffering and want will enter during the period which must pass before the men come to their sober senses and learn from bitter experience what it means to have this great structure of protection, built up in their interests more than any other, stricken to the ground, and all through the influences of demagoguery." * * *

No, as far as your interests lie in the direction of national questions, let me repeat, the questions have not changed, the principles have not changed, the results have not changed, and you stand here to-day just exactly where you stood years ago in this State, when, *under the leadership of the gallant man who believed in the protective policy and in safe money, you followed him to the polls and year after year registered your verdict, and that was the policy for the working classes of this State and country.* [Enthusiastic applause.]

A solemn warning against Socialistic doctrines.

Now, in conclusion, my friends, I want to sound a note of warning not only to my Republican friends, but to every man who owns a home in this and all other counties in this State. If the socialistic doctrines advocated by this new form of Democracy should by any possibility become a law, or that policy could by any possibility become established, then God help us. Whenever that socialistic, anarchistic, populist doctrine seizes the minds of the people of this or any other State, so as to dominate their reason and their judgment, and lead them to do almost what I would call an act of political suicide, then God help us.

Because all that we have sought for in the past, all that we have gained through our efforts and industry, all the battles we have fought for liberty to man, all the efforts that we have made to make this country what it is—an example to the world, the most powerful Christian influence in the world—to build up a government which belongs to the people, and which looks to the people for its enactment and for the enforcement of the laws which will protect it; when such "isms" as that can prevail, then all is lost. It is a serious thought that I want you to take home. Republican or Democrat, take it home to-night and think it over. Compare the conditions by your fireside to-day with those which existed eight years ago, and then make up your minds, and when you have reached a decision "stand pat." Goodby. [prolonged applause.]

"THE UNITED STATES HAS ADVANCED BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

The Moseley Industrial Commission, headed by Mr. Alfred Moseley, a prominent British capitalist and manufacturer interested in the prosperity of the industries and workingmen of his country, was composed of the secretaries of the trades unions representing the principal industries of the United Kingdom. They visited all the great manufacturing centers of the United States, investigated during the months of October, November, and December, 1902, the various classes of industries in which they as practical men, through their practical knowledge, felt a personal interest, and, returning to England, presented an elaborate report or series of reports.

Mr. Moseley himself, on the opening page of the report, says:

In my travels around the world, and more particularly in the United States, it became abundantly evident to me that as a manufacturing country, America is forging ahead at a pace hardly realized by either British employer or workman. I therefore came to the conclusion that it would be necessary for the workers themselves to have some interest in these developments, and I decided to invite the secretaries of the trades unions representing the principal industries of the United Kingdom to accompany me on a tour of investigation of the industrial situation across the Atlantic.

In my previous trips to America I had been favorably struck by the up-to-date methods of protection there, both from a business standpoint and as regards the equipment of their workshops. The manufacturers there do not hesitate to put in the very latest machinery at whatever cost, and from time to time to sacrifice large sums by scrapping the old whenever improvements are brought out. Labor-saving machinery is widely used everywhere and is encouraged by the unions and welcomed by the men, because experience has shown them that in reality machinery is their best friend. It saves the workman numerous miseries, raises his wages, tends toward a higher standard of living, and, further, rather creates work than reduces the number of hands employed. In England it has been the rule for generations past that as soon as a man earns beyond a certain amount of wages the price for his work is cut down, and he, finding that working harder and running his machine quicker brings no larger reward, slackens his efforts accordingly.

In the United States the manufacturers rather welcome large earnings by the men so long as they themselves can make a profit, arguing that each man occupies so much space in the factory, which represents so much capital employed, and therefore that the greater the production of these men the greater must be the manufacturer's profit. * * * The United States has advanced by leaps and bounds. She is beginning to feel the beneficial effects of the education of her masses and an enormous territory teeming with natural resources as yet but meagerly developed. At the present time the home market of the United States is so fully occupied with its own development that the export trade has as yet been comparatively little thought of; but as time goes on and the numerous factories that are being erected all over the country come into full bearing, America is bound to become the keenest of competitors in the markets of the world. * * *

How is it that the American manufacturers can afford to pay wages 50 per cent., 100 per cent., and even more in some instances both ways, and yet be able to successfully compete in the markets of the world? The answer is to be found in small economies which escape the ordinary eye. That the American workman earns higher wages is beyond question. As a consequence, the average married man owns the house he lives in, which not only gives him a stake in the country, but saves the payment of rent, enabling him either to increase his savings or to purchase further comforts. Food is as cheap (if not cheaper) in the United States as in England, whilst general necessities may, I think, be put on the same level. * * * It is generally admitted that the American workman, in consequence of labor-saving machinery and the excellence of the factory organization, does not need to put forth any greater effort in his work than is the case here, if much. He is infinitely better paid, therefore better housed, fed, clothed, and, moreover, is much more sober.

Under such conditions he must naturally be more healthy. * * * Fuel and raw material are much the same price in the United States as in Europe, and it therefore can not be claimed that he has very much advantage on this; but facilities for transport, both by rail and water, are undoubtedly better and cheaper. * * * In the United States one hears a great deal against "trusts" (as they are known, or what we term "large corporations"), but personally I am rather inclined to welcome these concerns, because large organizations that employ capital are best able to compete in manufactures on the most economical lines, can fearlessly raise wages within given limits, are in position to combat unhealthy competition, can provide up-to-date machinery ad libitum, can erect sanitary and well-ventilated workshops, and generally study better the comfort and well-being of the workmen than small individual manufacturers struggling against insufficient capital and old machinery. It is in the organization of capital, on the one hand and a thorough organization of labor on the other that I believe the solution of industrial problems will be found.

"THE BENEFIT OF PROTECTION GOES FIRST AND LAST TO THE MEN WHO EARN THEIR BREAD IN THE SWEAT OF THEIR FACES."

Extract from reply by Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE of Maine, to Hon. WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE, published in North American Review of January, 1890, and printed in daily Congressional Record, June 10, 1896.

Mr. Gladstone feels sure that, though the protected manufacturers of the United States may flourish and prosper, they do so at the expense of the farmer, who is in every conceivable form, according to the free-trade dictum, the helpless victim of protection. *Both Mr. Gladstone and the American free trader have, then, the duty of explaining why the agricultural States of the West have grown in wealth during the long period of protection at a more rapid rate than the manufacturing States of the East.* The statement of the free trader can be conclusively answered by referring to the census of the United States for the year 1860, and also for the year 1880:

In 1860 eight manufacturing States of the East (the six of New England, together with New York and Pennsylvania) returned an aggregate wealth of \$5,123,000,000. Twenty years afterward, by the census of 1880, the same States returned an aggregate wealth of \$16,228,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was slightly more than 216 per cent.

Let us see how the agricultural States fared during this period. By the census of 1860 eight agricultural States of the West (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska and Wisconsin) returned an aggregate wealth of \$2,271,000,000. Twenty years afterward, by the census of 1880 (protection all the while in full force), these same States returned an aggregate wealth of \$11,268,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 396 per cent., or 180 per cent. greater than the increase in the eight manufacturing States of the East.

The case will be equally striking if we take the fifteen Southern States that were slaveholding in 1860. By the census of that year the aggregate return of their property was \$6,792,000,000. But \$2,000,000,000 was slave property. Deducting that, the total property amounted to \$4,792,000,000. The aggregate return of wealth by the census of 1880 was \$8,633,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 80 per cent. Consider that during this period eleven States of the South were impoverished by civil war to an extent far greater than any country has been despoiled in the wars of modern Europe. Consider that the labor system on which previous wealth has been acquired in the South was entirely broken up. And yet at the end of twenty years the Southern States had repaired all their enormous losses and possessed nearly double the wealth they had ever known before. Do not these figures incontestably show that the agricultural sections of the country, West and South, have prospered even beyond the manufacturing sections, East and North? *And all this not merely with protection, but because of protection!*

As Mr. Gladstone considers protection immoral, he defines its special offense as "robbery." To have been fully equal to the American standard of free-trade vituperation, Mr. Gladstone should have denounced our manufacturers as "robber barons." This is a current phrase with a class who are, perhaps, more noisy than numerous. The intention of the phrase is to create popular prejudice against American manufacturers as grown rich at the expense of the people. This accusation is so persistently repeated that its authors evidently regard it as important to their cause. It may perhaps surprise Mr. Gladstone to be told that out of the fifty largest fortunes in the United States—those that have arrested public attention within the last ten years—certainly not more than one has been derived from protected manufacturing; and this was amassed by a gentleman of the same Scotch blood with Mr. Gladstone himself. The forty-nine other fortunes were acquired from railway and telegraph investments, from real estate investments, from the import and sale of foreign goods, from banking, from speculations in the stock market, from fortunate mining investments, from patented inventions, and more than one from proprietary medicines.

It is safe to go even farther and state that in the one hundred largest fortunes that have been viewed as such in the past ten years not five have been derived from the profits of protected manufactures. The origin may be found in the fields of investment already referred to. Moreover, the fear of the evil effect of large fortunes is exaggerated. Fortunes rapidly change. With us wealth seldom lasts beyond two generations. There is not one family in the United States recognized as possessing large wealth for four consecutive generations. When Mr. Jefferson struck the blow that broke down the right of primogeniture and destroyed the privilege of entail, he swept away the only ground upon which wealth can be secured for one family for a long period. The increase in the number of heirs in successive generations, the rightful assertion of equality among children of the same parents, the ready destruction of wills that depart too far from this principle of right, and, above all, the uncertainty and the accident of investment, scatter fortunes to the wind and give to them all the uncertainty that betides human existence.

In no event can the growth of large fortunes be laid to the charge of the protective policy. Protection has proved a distributor of great sums of money, not an agency for amassing it in the hands of a few. The records of our savings banks and building associations can be appealed to in support of this statement. The benefit of protection goes first and last to the men who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces. *The auspicious and momentous result is that never before in the history of the world has so much comfort been enjoyed, education acquired, and independence secured by so large a proportion of the total population as in the United States of America.*

"REMEMBER THOSE LESSONS WHICH HAVE BROUGHT PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS TO YOU."

Extracts from speech by Hon. M. A. HANNA at Chillicothe, Ohio, September 19, 1903, and printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904, as part of remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND FELLOW-REPUBLICANS: A political campaign is always interesting, and it is particularly so this year because of conditions which can not be understood from observation. It is unique. The Republican party with its proud record behind it, with present conditions which have redeemed every promise made and which hold out bright hopes for the future, is our position before the people to-day. We have opposed to us the Democratic party. I don't recognize it. [Laughter and cries of "Nobody else!"] I think we may naturally ask ourselves the question, "What is it?" [Laughter.] *A nondescript party with a crazy-quilt ticket and without a single flavor of Thomas Jefferson in its platform.*

We hold the fort. We have strengthened our position year after year by adhering to the fundamental principles upon which the foundation of this party rested. We never have swerved from those principles since the day the party was born. We have grown stronger in their advocacy because we have appealed to the reason of the people and from them have received the response that we were right. And they have upheld us and convinced others that we were right. * * *

Now, there are other issues, my friends, and, briefly, I want to touch upon those regarding national questions. Mr. Clarke, whether he did it thoughtlessly or intentionally, in a public utterance at Akron, Ohio, I believe it was, made this statement: "This country is on the verge of financial and industrial collapse." He sounded that note of danger. Why so, God only knows. But to my mind it was a criminal act, because it is not true. As far as the financial and industrial interests of this country are concerned, they never have been in any better shape than to-day. There is nothing to interfere with the onward progress of this development except one thing, and that one thing is to shake the confidence of the people in the principles and policies exercised by the party in power. * * *

It is worse than criminal. A man who assumes to speak for a great party and who has at heart the best interests of the men who have been associated with that party, and who are inclined to take the utterances that fall from the lips of their leaders as truth, is, I say, worse than criminal to thus deceive ignorant men.

Suppose that, predicated upon that speech, an alarm had been sounded that would have had practical effect. Suppose even—which is not true—that conditions in this country had been such that a spark like that would have ignited the dynamite, and then, after the harm was done, after wretchedness and woe had come to thousands of families, after it had been demonstrated that there was no cause for alarm, but merely the vaporings of a politician seeking to bewilder the minds of honest people, what ought to be done with such a man? Is he fit or is any such man fit to stand before an intelligent people, such as we have, and be called a leader or an adviser as to the best methods and best policies to be adopted in the interests of our country? Oh, my friends you have had experiences; you have had object lessons, and the results of those experiences and those lessons have not yet faded from your memories. *There is not a workman in this country nor in this State who has not had them vividly impressed upon him through avenues that reached his heart, because they have caused misery at his fireside*

The change came, and it became the privilege as well as the duty of our own dear William McKinley to come to the front with the confidence of the whole people behind him, and assuming the reins of government at that opportune time, not only by his living example, not only as a result of those principles which had guided him all his life, but preeminently because during that public life he had stood the friend of the workman and had taught the principles which had filled their minds and filled their hearts with gratitude until confidence grew so that they were willing to follow him, and, to a man, they did follow him in 1896 and in 1900.

Those principles are living to-day, although he has gone from us forever. [Applause.] But he has left behind a record which every Ohio man cherishes as a heritage to him. He has left behind an example to that class of which I speak, and if he could speak to-day it would be to remind every man in the State of Ohio who works with his hands: "Remember all that you have passed through in years gone by; remember how, step by step, you learned those lessons of economic policy which have brought prosperity and happiness to your hearthstones, and, remembering that, remember the party and the teachers of these policies, who have been your friends in all the past, and stand to-day where they stood in 1896, when the millennium came. [Great applause.]

I say, my friends, that the only danger that can possibly come—and I make this statement from the standpoint of a business man, and I think I know my business [great laughter and applause]—*the only danger that can possibly come to the people of this country is through their own acts, by their own power, and the will to change those policies which have made us what we are to-day.*

If it were thought that the heresies of Tom Johnson and his socialistic followers could make any impression upon the people so as to change the political conditions here, I will tell you what would happen. The men who control these great industries, the men whose power and money are moving all this enormous trade, the men who are associated with them as partners, together with the men who work with their hands in this great business development, would be the first ones to take notice of that change if it were imminent, and they would act upon the hypothesis that it is better to wait and know the truth than to surmise it and speculate upon it. The result would be—and I tell you it is true—that if a single cloud came into the commercial sky of this country which looked to any change of policy different from what we have had in the last six or seven years, the change would come, the wheels of industry would slow down, and there would be a waiting policy—waiting to know what the result might be; waiting to know whether the American people would tire of the conditions which have brought to them wealth and prosperity, just for the sake of a change, as it did in 1892.

U. S. GRANT.

"THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF LOCATING MANUFACTORIES NEXT TO THE PLOW AND THE PASTURE HAS PRODUCED A RESULT NOTICEABLE BY THE INTELLIGENT PORTION OF ALL COMMERCIAL NATIONS."

Extract from Seventh Annual Message of PRESIDENT U. S. GRANT, Dec. 7, 1875, printed in Congressional Record.

In this centennial year of our national existence as a free and independent people, it affords me great pleasure to recur to the advancement that has been made from the time of the Colonies, one hundred years ago. We were then a people numbering only 3,000,000. Now we number more than 40,000,000. Then industries were confined almost exclusively to the tillage of the soil. Now manufactories absorb much of the labor of the country. * * * Our progress has been great in all the arts—in science, agriculture, commerce, navigation, mining, mechanics, law, medicine, etc.; and in general education the progress is likewise encouraging. * * *

In 1776 manufactories scarcely existed even in Maine in all this vast territory. In 1870 more than two million persons were employed in manufactories, producing more than \$2,100,000,000 of products in amount annually, nearly equal to our national debt. *From nearly the whole of the population of 1776 being engaged in the one occupation of agriculture, in 1870 so numerous and diversified had become the occupations of our people that less than six million out of forty million were so engaged. The extraordinary effect produced in our country by a resort to diversified occupations has built a market for the products of fertile lands distant from the seaboard and the markets of the world.*

The American system of locating various and extensive manufactories next to the plow and the pasture, and adding connecting railroads and steamboats, has produced in our distant interior country a result noticeable by the intelligent portion of all commercial nations. The ingenuity and skill of American mechanics have been demonstrated at home and abroad in a manner most flattering to their pride. But for the extraordinary genius and ability of our mechanics, the achievements of our agriculturists, manufacturers, and transporters throughout the country, would have been impossible of attainment.

The progress of the miner has also been great. Of coal, our production was small; now many millions of tons are mined annually. So with iron, which formed scarcely an appreciable part of our products half a century ago, we now produce more than the world consumed at the beginning of our national existence. Lead, zinc, and copper, from being articles of import, we may expect to be large exporters of in the near future. The development of gold and silver mines in the United States and Territories has not only been remarkable, but has had a large influence upon the business of all commercial nations. Our merchants in the last hundred years have had a success and have established a reputation for enterprise, sagacity, progress, and integrity unsurpassed by peoples of older nationalities. This "good name" is not confined to their homes, but goes out upon every sea and into every port where commerce enters.

"WE CAN ENTER THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD WITH OUR PRODUCTS, AND STILL MAIN- TAIN THE AMERICAN PRICE OF WAGES."

Extracts from speech by Hon. M. A. HANNA at Chillicothe, Ohio, September 19, 1903, and printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904, as part of remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania.

The change came, and it became the privilege as well as the duty of our own dear William McKinley to come to the front with the confidence of the whole people behind him, and assuming the reins of government at that opportune time, not only by his living example, not only as a result of those principles which had guided him all his life, but preeminently because during that public life he had stood the friend of the workingman and had taught the principles which had filled their minds and filled their hearts with gratitude until confidence grew so that they were willing to follow him, and, to a man, they did follow him in 1896 and in 1900. [Long-continued applause.]

Those principles are living to-day, although he has gone from us forever. [Applause.] But he has left behind a record which every Ohio man cherishes as a heritage to him. He has left behind an example to that class of which I speak, and if he could speak to-day it would be to remind every man in the State of Ohio who works with his hands: "Remember all that you have passed through in years gone by; remember how, step by step, you learned those lessons of economic policy which have brought prosperity and happiness to your hearthstones, and, remembering that, remember the party and the teachers of these policies, who have been your friends in all the past, and stand to-day where they stood in 1896, when the millennium came. [Great applause.]

*The only danger that can possibly come to the people of this country is through their own acts, by their own power, and the will to change those policies which have made us what we are to-day. If it were thought that the heresies of Tom Johnson and his socialistic followers could make any impression upon the people so as to change the political conditions, I will tell you what would happen. The men who control these great industries, the men whose power and money are moving all this enormous trade, the men who are associated with them as partners, together with the men who work with their hands in this great business development, would be the first ones to take notice of that change if it were imminent, and they would act upon the hypothesis that it is better to wait and know the truth than to surmise it and speculate upon it. The result would be—and I tell you it is true—that if a single cloud came into the commercial sky of this country which looked to any change of policy different from what we have had in the last six or seven years, the change would come, the wheels of industry would slow down, and there would be a waiting policy—waiting to know what the result might be; waiting to know whether the American people would tire of the conditions which have brought to them wealth and prosperity, just for the sake of a change, as it did in 1892, and were prepared to throw aside the benefits and experiences of those principles and try new pastures or not. * * * There is no reason why we should not have long and continued periods of prosperity in this country, because our natural resources are beyond those of any nation in the world. This great cosmopolitan people have shown themselves better as a nation, industrially, commercially, politically, than any other nation in the world. [Enthusiastic cheering.] We have achieved that position upon pure merit, and that merit is exemplified in the fact that under these influences and during the times of peace we are making such rapid progress in industrial development that we can enter the markets of the world with our products and still maintain the American price of wages. [Great applause.] * * * No, as far as your interests lie in the direction of national questions, let me repeat, the questions have not changed, the principles have not changed, the results have not changed, and you stand here to-day just exactly where you stood years ago in this State, when, under the leadership of the gallant man who believed in the protective policy and in safe money, you followed him to the polls and year after year registered your verdict, and that was the policy for the working classes of this State and country. [Enthusiastic applause.] I want to sound a note of warning not only to my Republican friends, but to every man who owns a home. If the socialistic doctrines advocated by this new form of Democracy should by any possibility become a law, or that policy could by any possibility become established, then God help us. Whenever that socialistic, anarchistic, populist doctrine seizes the minds of the people of this or any other State, so as to dominate their reason and their judgment, and lead them to do almost what I would call an act of political suicide, then God help us. Because all that we have sought for in the past, all that we have gained through our efforts and industry, all the battles we have fought for liberty to man, all the efforts that we have made to make this country what it is—an example to the world, the most powerful Christian influence in the world—to build up a government which belongs to the people, and which looks to the people for its enactment and for the enforcement of the laws which will protect it; when such "isms" as that can prevail, then all is lost. It is a serious thought that I want you to take home. Republican or Democrat, take it home tonight and think it over.*

"AMERICA IS BOUND TO BECOME THE KEENEST OF COMPETITORS IN THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

SIR VINCENT CAILLARD ON PROTECTION VERSUS FREE TRADE.

The following are extracts from Sir Vincent Caillard's discussion of the effect of free trade in England as compared with that of protection in the United States and Germany. His work on this subject, entitled "Imperial Fiscal Reform," has attracted much attention in the United States and abroad:

As a concrete example of how far events falsify the conclusions of the sanest minds owing to change of conditions, I will cite the manner in which Lord Farrer in 1886 considered the question of the competition of the United States with ourselves in the matter of trade. After stating that the labor and capital of America were largely employed in providing Europe, and England especially, with food, and that to tax that food would be to drive her into providing the manufactures we want to sell to her, he continues:

"At present, in spite of, or possibly in consequence of, her system of protection, the sale of her highly forced and highly priced manufactures is in a great measure confined or nearly confined to her own subjects and she is no rival to England in her own markets or in the markets of the world. * * * In 1880 we exported to her twenty-four and a half millions of manufactures and imported from her two and a half millions. Out of her total exports about 10 per cent. are manufactures and 90 per cent. food and raw materials, chiefly agricultural produce. But if we deprive her of her market for agricultural produce we shall drive her into manufacture, and there is no saying how formidable a rival she may become."

The inference is that if our markets remained unrestrictedly open to her, her rivalry was not to be feared either in our own or foreign markets, possibly in consequence of her system of protection. Our markets have remained open, her system of protection has only been intensified, and the comparative figures are now as follows:

In the year 1880 our total imports from the United States amounted to £107,081,000, and our exports to her to £37,954,000; in 1899 our imports from her were £120,081,000, and our exports to her £34,975,000. Out of her total exports in 1880 about 10 per cent. were manufactures and about 90 per cent. food and raw materials; in 1899 about 29 per cent. were manufactures and about 71 per cent. were food and raw materials.

These percentages say something, but the absolute figures say more. The value of her manufactures exported in 1880 was £17,165,000, and in 1899 \$75,698,000; of food and raw materials in 1880, £154,490,000; in 1899, £185,329,000.

As to the general foreign trade of the two countries, the following table is very instructive:

[Expressed in thousands of pounds sterling.]

Year.	United Kingdom.		United States.	
	Imports. ^a	Exports. ^a	Imports. ^b	Exports. ^c
18 0	347,876	248,985	136,721	171,656
18 9	361,021	248,985	152,711	152,142
1899	419,994	255,831	155,507	261,027

^a Foreign and colonial produce reexported not included.

^b Retained for home consumption.

^c Of domestic produce.

^d Not including shipping (9,111,000) previously unrecorded.

Thus while our export trade in 1899 showed an increase over that of 1880 of £32,000,000 that of the United States showed an increase of £90,000,000, while of that total fifty-eight and one-half millions are accounted for by the increase of her exports of manufactures. * * *

As a further comment upon Lord Farrer's complacent observations, the following quotation from a paper read by Mr. A. S. E. Ackerman, recently returned from a four-months' engineering tour through the United States, before the Civil and Mechanical Engineers' Society, on January 2, 1902, is pointed enough:

"Americans have been very much awake for many years past, and their progress during the past six years has been phenomenal. Each day almost sees them surpass us in some branch of trade, and to my mind it is almost hopeless for us to get ahead of them again."

At least equally interesting and to the point, and still more recent, are Mr. Moseley's remarks in his preface (p. 7) to the reports of the Moseley Industrial Commission, in the course of which, after pointing out that the United States have already attained the position of the leading manufacturing country of the world and that they must be placed "in the same position relatively that England herself occupied some fifty years ago," he continues thus:

"It is more than necessary that both capital and labor should bear this point well in mind. At the present time the home market of the United States is so fully occupied with its own developments that the export trade has as yet been comparatively little thought of; but as time goes on and the numerous factories that are being erected all over the country come into full bearing, America is bound to become the keenest of competitors in the market of the world."

"FREE TRADE WOULD SHUT UP 75 PER CENT. OF THE INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES."

Extracts from speech by Hon. M. A. HANNA at Chillicothe, Ohio, September 19, 1903, and printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904, as part of remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Clarke, whether he did it thoughtlessly or intentionally, in a public utterance made this statement: "This country is on the verge of financial and industrial collapse." He sounded that note of danger. Why so, God only knows. But to my mind it was a criminal act, because it is not true. As far as the financial and industrial interests of this country are concerned, they never have been in any better shape than to-day. *There is nothing to interfere with the onward progress of this development except one thing, and that one thing is to shake the confidence of the people in the principles and policies exercised by the party in power.* * * * Either Mr. Clarke knows absolutely nothing about business affairs or else that single utterance, standing alone, as affecting the results of this campaign, should condemn him and the party he represents to oblivion forever. [Long-continued applause.] It is worse than criminal. A man who assumes to speak for a great party and who has at heart the best interests of the men who have been associated with that party, and who are inclined to take the utterances that fall from the lips of their leaders as truth, is, I say, worse than criminal to thus deceive ignorant men.

Suppose that, predicated upon that speech, an alarm had been sounded that would have had practical effect. Suppose even—which is not true—that conditions in this country had been such that a spark like that would have ignited the dynamite, and then, after the harm was done, after wretchedness and woe had come to thousands of families, after it had been demonstrated that there was no cause for alarm, but merely the vaporings of a politician seeking to bewilder the minds of honest people, what ought to be done with such a man? Oh, my friends, you have had experiences; you have had object lessons, and the results of those experiences and those lessons have not yet faded from your memories. There is not a working-man in this county nor in this State who has not had them vividly impressed upon him through avenues that reached his heart, because they have caused misery at his fireside. * * * I say, my friends, that the only danger that can possibly come—the only danger to the people of this country is through their own acts, by their own power, and the will to change those policies which have made us what we are to-day.

If it were thought that the heresies of Tom Johnson and his socialistic followers could make any impression upon the people so as to change the political conditions here, I will tell you what would happen. The men who control these great industries, the men whose power and money are moving all this enormous trade, the men who are associated with them as partners, together with the men who work with their hands in this great business development, would be the first ones to take notice of that change if it were imminent, and they would act upon the hypothesis that it is better to wait and know the truth than to surmise it and speculate upon it. The result would be—and I tell you it is true—that if a single cloud came into the commercial sky of this country which looked to any change of policy different from what we have had in the last six or seven years, the change would come, the wheels of industry would slow down, and there would be a waiting policy—waiting to know what the result might be; waiting to know whether the American people would tire of the conditions which have brought to them wealth and prosperity, just for the sake of a change, as it did in 1892, and were prepared to throw aside the benefits and experiences of those principles and try new pastures or not. * * *

Show by your votes, that you intend to stand by those principles; that you intend that the men who represent you in the Halls of Congress and in the legislative body of the State shall be sent there with instructions to carry out these principles, and that you will have no other kind of representation. [Prolonged applause.] Do that, and this country is just as far from any prospect of distress, to say nothing of panic, as it was three years ago.

These conditions, my fellow-citizens, in this country are normal. That is to say, they are not abnormal. There is no reason why we should not have long and continued periods of prosperity in this country, because our natural resources are beyond those of any nation in the world. This great cosmopolitan people have shown themselves better as a nation, industrially, commercially, politically, than any other nation in the world. [Enthusiastic cheering.] We have achieved that position upon pure merit, and that merit is exemplified in the fact that under these influences and during the times of peace we are making such rapid progress in industrial development that we can enter the markets of the world with our products and still maintain the American price of wages. [Great applause.] * * * Mr. Clarke qualifies his position on the tariff by saying that he would take the tariff entirely off of every article manufactured by trusts. What does that mean? Every iron and steel industry in the United States, everything connected with the metal trades, with the cotton trades, and in fact nearly all of our great industries, would come within the scope of his proposition. Why, is there any intelligent man among the workingmen of my State who does not know what would be the result of that policy? Absolute free trade through all the schedules of our tariff would shut up 75 per cent. of the industrial institutions of the United States until we could get labor down to the price where we could compete with Europe. * * *

Now, in conclusion, my friends, I want to sound a note of warning not only to my Republican friends, but to every man who owns a home in this and all other counties in this State. If the socialistic doctrines advocated by this new form of Democracy should by any possibility become a law, or that policy could by any possibility become established, then God help us.

"SCORES OF NEW PLANTS."—"LARGELY INCREASED WAGES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, having shown how trained and experienced experts in various branches of trade and commerce in other countries view the effect of the present Republican tariff upon the labor, industries, and commerce of this country, as well as of their own, I present a few figures from my own State, showing the difference in effect between the Democratic Wilson-Gorman tariff bill enacted during the last Cleveland Administration and the present Republican Dingley protective tariff bill enacted during the first year of President McKinley's Administration.

I propose to compare the condition of our iron, steel, and tin-plate industries in 1896, the last full year of President Cleveland's Administration, with 1902, the first full year of President Roosevelt's Administration. The figures are for these great industries in the State of Pennsylvania only, but they represent fairly the conditions in these lines in all parts of our country. The completed figures for 1903 are not yet available. For the following official tables I am indebted to Hon. Robert C. Bair, the very efficient chief of the bureau of statistics of Pennsylvania:

Employment, wages, yearly and daily earnings in the manufactures of pig iron, tin, tin plate, and iron and steel rolled into finished form in the State of Pennsylvania, in the years 1896 and 1902, respectively, showing the increase in 1902 over 1896.

	1896.	1902.	Increase 1902 over 1896.	Per cent. of in- crease 1902 over 1896.
PIG IRON.				
Production.....gross tons..	4,026,350	8,111,642	4,085,292	101.7
Workmen employed.....	11,580	17,101	5,521	47.6
Average days of employment...	289	314	25	8.6
Aggregate wages paid to workmen.....	\$4,589,165	\$10,191,759	\$5,602,594	124.2
Average yearly earnings.....	\$396.30	\$595.97	\$199.67	50.3
Average daily wage.....	\$1.37	\$1.89	\$0.52	37.9
IRON AND STEEL, ROLLED.				
Iron and steel rolled into finished form.....net tons..	3,757,070	9,429,365	5,671,295	153.3
Workmen employed.....	53,573	95,720	42,147	78.6
Average days of employment...	251	285	34	13.5
Aggregate wages paid workmen.	\$23,832,628	\$60,721,858	\$36,889,230	154.7
Average yearly earnings.....	\$444.89	\$634	\$189.11	42.5
Average daily wage.....	\$1.77	\$2.23	\$0.46	26
BLACK PLATE TIN WORKS.				
Total production of black plate for tinning.....pounds..	158,306,400	428,443,502	270,137,102	170.6
Quantity tinned.....do.....	97,814,762	352,544,992	254,730,230	260.4
Workmen employed.....	3,194	8,905	5,711	179
Aggregate wages paid workmen.	\$1,487,226	\$4,506,105	\$3,068,879	213.5
Average yearly earnings.....	\$456.55	\$506.02	\$49.47	10.8
Average daily wage.....	\$1.80	\$2.55	\$0.75	41.6
Number of plants.....	13	22	9	69.2
STEEL PRODUCED.				
Bessemer.....gross tons..	2,202,814	4,208,354	2,005,544	90.5
Open hearth.....do.....	1,009,608	4,220,279	3,210,671	318
Crucible.....do.....	43,107	82,562	39,455	91

From the foregoing figures it will be seen that in the iron, steel, and tin-plate industries alone there were employed in Pennsylvania 53,379 more men in 1902, under President Roosevelt, than there were in 1896, under President Cleveland, and that these employees received in wages in 1902 a total of \$75,419,722, as against \$29,859,019 in 1896, a difference of \$45,560,703 in favor of a Republican Administration. From the same source I learn that a comparison of results in 548 plants operating in 44 other different industries shows that the aggregate number of men employed in these 548 plants was, in 1896, 88,349, and in 1902, 131,575, an increase of 43,226. The aggregate of wages paid in these 548 plants in 1896 was \$33,151,563, and in 1902, \$66,618,463, an increase of more than 100 per cent.

But even this does not take into account the scores of new plants which have sprung up since 1896 and are therefore not involved in the comparison. There was not only afforded employment for thousands of additional men in 1902, but also each man received largely increased wages.

"THE TIN-PLATE INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

THE TIN-PLATE INDUSTRY.

The British Iron and Steel Commission after its visit to the United States in 1902, devotes a chapter of its report to a discussion of the tin-plate industry in the United States, and begins by saying:

The tin-plate industry is one of the most recent in the United States and has been built up on the McKinley tariff of 1890, which levied a duty of 2½ cents per pound on all tin plate imported into the country and practically caused the customs to claim as much on imports into the United States as the price of the product at works in the principality.

At the time the McKinley tariff came into force there was practically no tin plate manufactured in the United States, and the imports of that commodity ranged from 300,000 to 400,000 tons a year. In the following year the home production was only 552 tons, and the imports of British tin plates were 327,882 tons. Since then the American production has increased year by year, while the American imports have as rapidly declined. In 1900 the total American output of tin plates exceeded 400,000 tons, and the imports had fallen to only 58,000 tons, or about a sixth part of what they were in 1890.

The following table shows the British exports, American imports, and American output of tin plate for the last thirteen years:

Year.	Exports from Great Britain to all countries.	Imports into United States of America.	American produc- tion.
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
1889.....	430,623	331,311	.....
1890.....	421,797	329,435	.....
1891.....	448,732	327,882	552
1892.....	395,580	268,472	18,803
1893.....	379,233	253,155	55,182
1894.....	354,081	215,068	74,260
1895.....	365,082	219,545	113,666
1896.....	266,955	119,171	160,362
1897.....	271,230	83,851	256,598
1898.....	250,953	67,222	326,915
1899.....	256,629	58,915	397,767
1900.....	273,954	60,386	302,665
1901.....	171,657	.....	.....

The imports of the past three or four years have been confined almost entirely to tin plates, which are reexported in the shape of cans containing oil, fruit, fish, etc. By the terms of the Dingley law 99 per cent. of the duty originally placed on such tin plate is refunded by the Government on its reexport. * * *

It seems to be pretty certain from the available records that whatever "virtual monopoly" of the tin-plate trade the steel corporation may have possessed when it was founded, or whatever the amount of control exercised over the trade at an earlier date by the American Tin Plate Company, *competitive concerns have increased largely and rapidly, until the twenty-six tin-plate works under the control of the steel corporation are less than one-half of the whole number.* While, therefore, the action of that consolidation can not be regarded as unimportant in the affairs of the tin-plate trade, it is not likely to be all important, as it would have been while independent concerns were less numerous.

The number of completed tin-plate works in the United States at the end of 1901 was fifty-five, compared with sixty-nine in April of 1898, and the same number at the end of 1895. Hence the number of existing works at the end of 1901 was less than that of either of the two previous periods. But the amount of enterprise being shown at the end of 1901 in adding to the productive capacity of American tin-plate plants was greater than at either of those previous dates, Mr. Swank's figures show that at the end of 1901 no fewer than seven new tin-plate works were in course of construction, against one in April, 1898, and four at the end of 1895. Of the new works being built at the end of 1901, three were in Pennsylvania, two in West Virginia, one in Ohio, and one in Wisconsin, while one other was at that time projected in Illinois. The aggregate capacity of the whole of the tin-plate works of the United States is not quite known, but it is computed at over 700,000 tons, which is a good deal in excess of any actual output hitherto reached in the United Kingdom. * * *

EFFECT OF THE TARIFF ON PRICES.

The Americans generally dispute the argument that a tariff for protection tends to keep up prices to the home consumer, and in support of their attitude on this subject they point to the fact that the prices of coal, iron, steel, and other commodities are, and have been, materially lower in the United States than in Great Britain. This view opens up questions of vast range, which it would take much space to handle. The other side of the argument obviously is that prices of commodities in the United States have declined, not because, but in spite of the tariff. * * *

At the same time it is by no means clear that a high tariff does necessarily involve a high range of prices in the protected country, and in the United States within the last few years prices have touched a very low level in spite of the tariff. Take as a case in point the statistics of steel rails. When the steel-rail industry was begun in the United States, in 1867, the rate of duty on imports was 45 per cent. ad valorem. This rate was continued until 1871, when it was made a specific duty of \$28 per ton, which was reduced to \$17 per ton in 1883, to \$13.44 in 1890, and to \$7.84 in 1894, at which figure it has since been maintained. In spite of these duties, however, the average price of steel rails in the United States fell from \$28 in 1897 to \$17.62 in 1898, and in the latter year the average American price was probably under the average of any other country.

"THE FOREIGN DOOR OPENS OUTWARD, THE BRITISH INWARD."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

[From the Pall Mall Gazette, London, Nov. 21, 1903.]

THE STORY OF AMERICAN TIN PLATE.

The story of the tin-plate trade and its experience of American hostility is typical enough to be made the test of all that is in dispute about our fiscal policy. Our average annual export of this commodity to the United States before the days of the McKinley tariff was 304,695 tons, valued at £4,278,667. We mention quantity as well as price just to assure the Cobdenites that there is no loophole such as they sometimes look for in the "fall of values." The export in 1902 was 65,142 tons, valued at £887,432.

The demand for tin plates has not fallen off, for other countries have increased their requirements very fast. Their orders, which amounted in 1887 to 94,634 tons, valued at £1,403,974, had risen last year to 246,727 tons, valued at £3,445,734. The gain in one direction does not, as often suggested, counterbalance the loss in the other, for there is a net deficit of 87,460 tons, of the value of £1,349,475. And this is obviously nothing like the measure of what the foreign tariff has cost us. We see the consumption of tin plates by other countries than America rising by leaps and bounds, and our home demand must have risen at a substantial rate to keep the total production at the level we are told of. If we had continued to enjoy not free trade in tin plates with America, but admission under the old duty, the fair inference is that we should have claimed her, too, for a much larger customer than she was fifteen years ago.

The effect of foreign protection upon the output for the American market is that instead of rising to twice the dimensions of 1887 (which is a conservative estimate) it has declined to one-fifth, and even that proportion we retain, as Mr. Chamberlain says, only on sufferance, while the American industry, established behind the tariff wall, is developing to its fullest capacity. This is an example of the first stage in the conflict between protection and free imports. The foreigner begins by cutting off our exports to his own country. The Americans have all but completed this process in the case of tin plates, and they are busily laying the foundations of a similar achievement in the case of cotton. When our competitor has succeeded in monopolizing his home market the time is ready and the conditions are always favorable for carrying his conquest into ours. The foreign door opens outward, the British inward. The tariff-armed foreigner is only confronted by the proverbial "man in his shirt." *The way is open for him to capture one trade after another, first in its export branches and then in the market at its doors. And if in the face of this process we are to go to sleep in accordance with Lord Rosebery's suggestion, our most vital industries will probably awaken at last, as the Irishman said, to find that they are already corpses.*

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIN-PLATE INDUSTRY HAS RESULTED IN LOWER PRICES."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of
Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June
20, 1904.*

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIN-PLATE INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED
STATES HAS RESULTED IN LOWER PRICES TO CONSUMERS.

I call particular attention to the showing made by the
tin industry in one of the tables I have already given.
That industry in America is purely the product of the Re-
publican protective tariff. The first tin-plate plant in this
country was established in the city of Pittsburg in October,
1871. At that time foreign tin was selling here at \$14
per box. In 1873 another plant was established at Leech-
burg, and still another at Demmler, known as "The United
States Iron and Tin Plate Manufacturing Company."
These plants were mechanically successes, but financially
they were made failures by the action of the British manu-
facturers, who, under the prevailing low tariff of that
period, flooded the country with their product, reducing
their prices more than 50 per cent. below that they had
charged before the American plants were started, and the
latter were finally driven out of business. After the fail-
ure of the United States Iron and Tin Plate Manufactur-
ing Company, no further attempt was made by that or any
other firm to make tin plate in this country until after the
passage of the McKinley tariff law, the tin-plate clause in
which did not become operative until July 1, 1891.

In the presidential campaign of 1892 the increased duty
on tin plate formed a prominent feature in the arguments
of free trade or "tariff-for-revenue-only" orators, who con-
tended that tin plate could not be successfully made in this
country, and that the only effect of the tariff would be to
increase to the American consumer the price of the foreign
article. Their predictions have utterly failed, for, as I
have already shown, there were in 1902 employed in this
industry in my State alone 8,905 men, who received in
wages an aggregate of \$4,506,105. *The result of encour-
aging and enabling our own citizens to engage in this in-
dustry, instead of increasing, has actually decreased the
cost of tin plate to the consumer.* The lowest price ever
reached before the present tariff was imposed was \$5.18, to
which figure our British friends reduced it in their success-
ful effort to drive the early American plants out of business.
As soon as that was accomplished they put it up again at
least as high as \$7.50. But to-day, the domestic industry
having been protected since 1891 by a heavy tariff, our
own people are able to, and do, produce and sell tin plate at
\$3.65.

"IT IS ONLY BY A PROTECTIVE TARIFF THAT THE HOME MARKETS CAN BE RETAINED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

BENEFIT OF THE REPUBLICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

One by one the low-tariff countries of the world have recognized the advantages of protection and adopted its principles, and now the stronghold of free trade, Great Britain, seems about to surrender to the popular demand for protection.

With the prosperity which came to the United States to France, and to Germany through the protective system, the principal European countries, with the exception of Netherlands and the United Kingdom, have adopted the protective system. More recently, Japan, India, and China have increased their tariff duties, the increase on many articles being large; and now the two remaining countries of consequence, Netherlands and the United Kingdom, are respectively moving toward protection. In Netherlands a new tariff has recently been proposed by the Government which increases materially the rates of duty especially on many articles; and, as is well known, a strong demand is now being made in the United Kingdom for the adoption of a protective system.

The chief argument urged in the United Kingdom in favor of abandoning free trade and the adoption of protection is that it is only by a protective tariff that the home markets can be retained to the home manufacturer and workman. The Germans, with low wages, skilled mechanics, plentiful supplies of raw material, and the highest technical education known to the manufacturing world, have invaded the British market on the one side, while on the other hand the manufacturers of the United States, produced with highly paid labor, but with effective machinery, great supplies of raw material, low-priced fuel, cheap transportation, and the economies resulting from great organization are also proving a serious competitor in the home markets of Great Britain and her colonies. This dissatisfaction is based upon the fact that, under the free trade system, the importation of manufactures into the United Kingdom from the United States, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, and France, nearly all of these being protective countries, has grown from \$250,000,000 in 1873 to \$580,000,000 in 1902, and is intensified by the further fact that the exports of manufactures to the same protected countries fell from \$355,000,000 in 1875 to \$285,000,000 in 1902. These two great facts—that the countries whose manufacturing systems are developed under a protective tariff are capturing the home markets of the United Kingdom and at the same time excluding her manufactures from their own markets, as shown by the official figures published by the British Government—are the probable causes of the rigorous demand now being made in England for the adoption of the protective system.

"THE UNITED STATES TARIFF FROM THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW."

Extracts from reports of British Iron and Steel Commission, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904, as part of remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania.

From the British point of view the main interest in and the chief effect of the United States tariff takes two forms—that of excluding our products from the markets of that country and that of underselling us in our own. As regards the former, the fact is so well known that I need not pile up figures to prove it. Suffice it to say that our total iron and steel exports to the United States are now only about one-fifth of what they were ten years ago, although even now the tariff does not entirely shut out European iron and steel, seeing that pig iron and billets are being imported from Europe while I write. * * *

I may here point out that while Great Britain, according to the official records of the United States, took from that country an average of more than \$500,000,000 worth of merchandise during the last four years, the average imports of British produce into the United States have not exceeded one-third of that figure, while of that one-third from one-half to two-thirds are subject to more or less prohibitory duties. This is not a trade relationship which the people of this country can regard with perfect equanimity. Americans can hardly be surprised if in Great Britain there is an increasingly strong impression that in matters of commerce our American friends, like the Dutch described by Hudibras, have a habit of "giving too little, and asking too much."

Effect of the tariff on prices.

The Americans generally dispute the argument that a tariff for protection tends to keep up prices to the home consumer, and in support of their attitude on this subject they point to the fact that the prices of coal, iron, steel, and other commodities are, and have been, materially lower in the United States than in Great Britain. This view opens up questions of vast range, which it would take much space to handle. The other side of the argument obviously is that prices of commodities in the United States have declined, not because, but in spite of the tariff. * * *

At the same time it is by no means clear that a high tariff does necessarily involve a high range of prices in the protected country, and in the United States within the last few years prices have touched a very low level in spite of the tariff. Take as a case in point the statistics of steel rails. When the steel-rail industry was begun in the United States, in 1867, the rate of duty on imports was 45 per cent. ad valorem. This rate was continued until 1871, when it was made a specific duty of \$28 per ton, which was reduced to \$17 per ton in 1883, to \$13.44 in 1890, and to \$7.84 in 1894, at which figure it has since been maintained. In spite of these duties, however, the average price of steel rails in the United States fell from \$28 in 1897 to \$17.62 in 1898, and in the latter year the average American price was probably under the average of any other country.

Many hold that the tariff has mainly been responsible for the great fortunes made by the typical millionaire, and the case of Mr. Andrew Carnegie is often quoted as a conclusive proof of this theory. I should not have dealt with an individual example in this connection but for the fact that it stands out so prominently in the recent history of the American iron trade as to make it almost impossible to ignore it in the consideration of this phase of the question. Moreover, I have had the privilege on more than one occasion of comparing notes with Mr. Carnegie and of knowing something more of the facts than "the man in the street;" and while I would not, of course, make use of any of the facts and figures brought to my knowledge in this way, I am quite at liberty to deal with facts that are common property in the light of the aspects thus presented.

Everyone who makes any pretensions to a knowledge of the recent history of the American iron and steel industries must be fully aware that during one of the most critical periods in its career the operations of manufacturing firms, and not the least so of those engaged in the steel-rail industry, were not uniformly successful. In the years 1896-1898 the principal firms connected in the American rail industry were the Carnegie Steel Company and the Illinois Steel Company, afterwards merged in the Federal Steel Company. But it is a well-known fact that over a large part of this period the Illinois Company failed to make profits, while the Carnegie Steel Company did remarkably well. The difference of results is mainly, if not wholly due to differences in location, resources, and administration, and it is hardly likely to be claimed that the tariff was the cause of those differences, since its influence equally affected both. No doubt in the earlier history of the rail trade profits were large, but on a relative small product, for in 1875, when the Carnegie Company started, the total American production of steel rails was only 259,000 tons.

Trusts and the tariff.

In America the question has been many times raised of late whether there is not a large degree of interdependence between industrial combinations and tariff duties. On this subject the United States Industrial Commission recently reported:

"Protective tariffs do not seem to have been of special significance in the formation of industrial combinations in Europe, although in many cases the combination has been enabled to take advantage of the protective tariff in the way of securing higher prices. In free-trade England the combination movement seems to have developed considerably further than in protectionist France; but, on the other hand, the movement toward combination has gone much further in extent in Austria and Germany, both protectionist countries, than in England although in England the form of combination is generally more complete. Doctor Liefmann, in an article on combinations in England, expresses the opinion that the chief reason for the lesser development of monopolistic combinations in England and the continuance of severe competition in branches of industry in which in Germany there have existed for a long time very rigid combinations—for example, the coal industry—ascribes the cause rather to the principle of extreme individualism in England, which has a much firmer hold on business men, in his judgment, than in Germany, and this appears, on the whole, to be the right conception.

"ANOTHER TRIBUTE TO PROTECTION FROM ENGLAND."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Another tribute to protection is paid by another representative commission from England which visited the United States in 1902, namely, the commissioners appointed by the British Iron Trade Association to inquire into the iron, steel, and allied industries of the United States. This commission, which visited the great iron manufacturing centers of the United States, presented an elaborate report, forming a volume of nearly 600 pages. Throughout this elaborate report the writers point to the advantageous conditions existing in the United States, *the higher prices paid for labor, the better conditions of the laboring men than those of their own country, England, and the wonderful prosperity which has come to the iron and steel industry in the United States*, where, in the words of the secretary of the commission, Mr. J. Stephen Jeans, "In no country has protection been adopted in such a whole-souled manner. In no other country have the shibboleths of free trade been more emphatically held at arm's length."

Commenting upon the remarkable development in the United States in this industry, Mr. Jeans says:

The cost of production of iron and steel is made up of three main elements—raw materials, labor, and transportation. No one of these matters can properly be dealt with unless in relation to the others. Raw materials, however cheap and abundant, are of little value as a basis of industrial prosperity without cheap transport and labor at a reasonable cost. Similarly cheap labor is of little value without adequate supplies of raw materials of the right kind plus a reasonable rate of charge for transport. The interrelation of these three subjects has made it necessary to devote much space to all three of them in this report. Labor is perhaps the most fundamental of the trio, because in one form or another the ultimate cost of all commodities is mainly that of labor. In the United States, paradoxical as it may appear, we have to face conditions that make at once *the dearest and the cheapest labor that is probably to be found in any part of the world—dearest with respect to nominal remuneration, the cheapest with respect to industrial and economic results.*

It is the purpose of the following pages to demonstrate how American ironmasters and engineers have been able to so discipline and apply the labor at their command as to reconcile high wages with cheap production in a degree not hitherto attained elsewhere. * * * The influence of trades-unionism is not nearly so strong nor so aggressive in the United States as in Great Britain. * * * The almost absolute freedom of labor has been the chief instrument whereby it has won such conquests in the field of industrial economy during the last quarter of a century. In all countries industrial processes have been greatly cheapened during that period, but in America the cheapening appears to have been carried farther than anywhere else. Within that time a wire-rod roller has seen his earnings per ton reduced from \$2.12 to 12 cents, and yet he earns larger wages at the lower figure, while 5 cents are paid to-day for heating billets to make wire rods against 80 cents during the period referred to. * * * Wages, in short, are generally so good and the men have their futures so much in their own hands that they have every encouragement to do the best they can both for their employers and for themselves. *The human factor and the personal equation appear to count in the United States for more than they generally do in Europe. Workmen appear to enjoy a larger measure of independence, based on a knowledge of the fact that work is more easy to obtain than in the older countries, and they are able as a rule to save money and are therefore less dependent than when living, as is not unusual in Europe, from hand to mouth, and that they are living under a political régime which is founded on democratic principles.*

The commissioners naturally found that the influence of the corporation was almost all-pervading in certain districts, and that its future policy and its financial issues were regarded from very different aspects and with very different ideas by different observers. The United States Steel Corporation, in the opinion of the majority, has come to stay. As it controlled nearly two-thirds of the total iron ore, coke, pig-iron, and steel capacities of the United States at the time of its organization, it is natural that it should be looked to as the leader of all movements of prices and wages, and the prominent part which it took in the settlement of the important labor dispute of 1901 supplied an evidence, if any were needed, that it means to use its power and influence when occasion demands that it should do so. At the same time, there is reason to believe that its power is not relatively increasing—in other words, that the production of iron and steel controlled by independent concerns, or likely to be so in the near future, is or will be greater than that at the time of the consolidation.

It is natural that both here and on the other side of the Atlantic the vast influence and the commanding position secured by the United States Steel Corporation should have induced a degree of apprehension lest smaller plants may be swamped, and both production and price become largely a matter of monopoly. This is not, however, the opinion of the best informed and most far-seeing men with whom I have had the opportunity of discussing the situation in the United States. That private enterprise in that country is not afraid of the Steel Corporation is made evident by the unprecedented activity that is being displayed in the establishment of new independent plants while I write. In every part of the United States plants are entering the lists to compete against the Steel Corporation, and the capacity of the private plants opposed to it to-day is probably considerably greater than it was at the time it was founded, although that was only February, 1901. A recent writer has accurately noted that small plants well located and economically managed are remarkably tenacious of life. It has also been observed that the best returns on American capital during the period known as the "lean years" were not generally those of the largest enterprises, but those of a few smaller firms, and those in some cases outside the range of what are known as "the cheap centers."

“THE TARIFF MOVEMENT.”—“DAMAGING RESULTS TO BRITISH INDUSTRIES.”

Extracts from article by C. J. PEARSE in *London Boot and Shoe Journal*,
printed in daily *Congressional Record*, June 20, 1904.

The appearance of foreign competition really commenced in 1876. First America, then France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy, began to attack our trade, and it only remains for me to give you a rapid history of the tariff movement before showing you the damaging results to British industries.

From 1861 to 1865 the United States duties were largely increased. Why? In order to encourage the American capitalists to invest their money in and create new industries. Of the many men who have benefited under protection probably none have done so more than Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who tells us that after the American war the Government asked how much would induce manufacturers to enter the steel trade? *Thirty per cent. was the reply; and they got it, and everyone knows the result. America is today supplied with cheaper steel than any other nation, and it is certain that a large part of the world is to be supplied by the works of that country, and it clearly proves that the country in control of a profitable home market can successfully invade the foreign market.*

France followed in 1871, and after ten years' experience—in 1881—raised her duties by 20 per cent. England protested, but France made the unanswerable reply: "The British markets were free to all alike, and since France enjoyed no special privileges in the British markets, how could she claim any special exemption from French duties?"

Germany followed in 1879, when Bismarck, with marvelous foresight, said: "I base my opinion on the practical experience of our time. I see countries under protection prospering and the countries under free trade decaying. England, herself, is slowly returning to protection, and some years hence she will adopt it, if only to save her home markets."

The Iron Chancellor gained the day, and all but the poor Cobdenite realized that the free-import doctrine had received its death blow.

Eighteen hundred and eighty-one the Russian tariff was increased, and 1884 still further. Eighteen hundred and eighty-five the German tariff was again increased. In 1887 and 1888 the Russian and Italian tariffs were again increased.

In 1890 the Americans, well satisfied by their previous tariff experience, passed the McKinley bill, and in 1897 the Dingley bill. The effect on our trade is shown below:

Exports to United States.

1890	£32,100,000
1891 (first year after the McKinley bill).....	27,500,000
1902	23,800,000
or a decline in twelve years of £8,300,000 at the same time our population had increased.	

Imports from United States.

1890	£97,233,349
1902	126,961,601
an increase of £29,728,252.	

Yet, in the face of these figures, if we follow the illogical advice of some politicians we must utterly disregard America, because she is a young and energetic country with wonderful natural resources, and therefore we must "lie down" and allow her to beat us in all the markets of the world, more especially in our colonies, and then, I suppose, these keen-sighted gentlemen will "be against" whatever government may be in power when the crisis arrives for allowing such a state of affairs to have existed? Neither America nor Germany was always one huge Republic or one huge Fatherland. After their wars they settled down, combined together, and established free trade within their domains and raised a protective wall against all foreigners. This is precisely Mr. Chamberlain's idea. He wishes, as far as possible, to establish free trade within the Empire, to make us self-contained and, with the help of the wonderful natural resources of the colonies, dependent on no other country for our food supply. In fact, to make it cheaper for one end of the Empire to trade with the other than with any foreign country. * * As I approach British trade I find:

(1) That under free imports we have made less progress than any protectionist country, as the following figures show:

[From the Daily Telegraph.]

	1872.	1902.	Increase.
British exports:			<i>Per cent.</i>
To British possessions.....	£61,000,000	£109,000,000	79
To foreign countries.....	196,000,000	174,000,000	all
Total.....	257,000,000	283,000,000	.....
German exports.....	116,000,000	241,000,000	108
French exports.....	150,000,000	170,000,000	13
Belgian exports.....	42,000,000	74,000,000	76
Austro-Hungarian exports.....	39,000,000	81,000,000	108
Italian exports.....	46,000,000	59,000,000	28
United States exports.....	89,000,000	282,000,000	217

a Decrease.

"SAMUEL BOWLES."—"EDITOR OF SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN."

"SENT A PETITION TO CONGRESS ENTREATING IT TO
REVISE THE TARIFF OF 1846 IN THE
INTEREST OF PROTECTION."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in
Senate of the U. S., May 16, 17, 19, 1894; printed in the Congressional
Record.*

In 1850 Mr. Samuel Bowles and other representative citizens of Massachusetts sent a petition to Congress entreating it to revise the tariff of 1846 in the interest of protection, and this is what that well known editor of the Springfield Republican and his associates said at that time:

"Previous to the passage of that law the manufacturing and mechanical interests in this community were in a flourishing condition. Since that time the condition of things has entirely changed and it is fully believed that much of the stagnation of business may be traced to the operation of that law. Manufacturing languishes, mechanics are thrown out of employment, business of all kinds is dull, and unless protection can be afforded to our laboring classes poverty will overtake them. The subscribers therefore pray that Congress will so alter the tariff of 1846 that it will protect the labor and capital of the country from foreign competition."

In 1854 we find Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, a well-known free trade journal of that period, declaring that

"Confidence is shaken everywhere and classes are made to realize the insecurity of worldly possessions. The causes which led to this have been a long time at work. Goods which have accumulated abroad when the demand has almost ceased were crowded upon our shores at whatever advance could be obtained, thus aggravating the evil."

A little later, January 6, 1855, the New York Herald said editorially:

"Elsewhere will be found some mention of large failures at Boston and New Orleans. The epidemic is traveling over the whole country. No city of any note can hope to escape."

An address of the unemployed working men's committee to the Mayor of the City of New York was published in the Herald of that same date. These workmen said:

"We do not come as beggars, but we ask what we deem right. We ask not alms, but work. We don't want a little soup now and cast-off clothing to-morrow. But we do want work and the means of making an honest livelihood. The condition of the working classes is most piteous. They want bread. Is there not enough in the city? They want clothes. Is there none made nowadays?"

Can it be possible that those were prosperous times? If idleness, low wages, hunger, failures, bankruptcy, are evidences of prosperity, then indeed did the Walker Tariff bring prosperity to the country, but not otherwise.

But the democracy was still in power, and was so infatuated with British free trade that notwithstanding the fearful state of things just described, it would not stop the import of foreign-made goods that our people might have work, nor the flow of gold to Europe to pay for them. * * *

In 1857 the Democrats, urged on by the South and by their natural tendency to free trade, as repeatedly shown in their national platforms, again reduced the duties, already too low, to the lowest rates we have ever had since the adoption of the Constitution; and again financial revolution, appalling in its widespread severity and distress, involved the nation and for more than four years tortured and impoverished our people and exhausted our resources.

Both of these latter tariffs (1846 and 1857) were intended as tariffs for revenue only. Whether or not they were successful the resulting revenues shall demonstrate.

From 1847 to 1857 the expenditures of the Government exceeded its revenues by \$21,790,909 and the public debt increased in the same period \$13,149,629. Yet, notwithstanding these facts, the act of 1857 kept in force the principles of that of 1846, and reduced the duties on all articles that involved the doctrine of protection.

From this time to 1861, when a protective tariff was enacted by the Republicans, the public debt increased nearly \$46,000,000 and the expenditures exceeded the receipts by \$77,234,116 in the same time. So much for tariff for revenue only.

Hear what James Buchanan, the last Democratic President before the rebellion of 1861, in his annual message said officially of that distressful free trade period: "With unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and all the elements of natural wealth our manufactures have suspended; our public works are retarded; our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned; and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interests, is in a deplorable condition."

Buchanan, like Fillmore, not only depicts the complete failure of low tariff rates, but also proclaims the unutterable misery and ruin which invariably and inevitably follow such low duties. Why, under Buchanan and the tariff of 1857 our revenues were so small that it became necessary to obtain loans to meet even the expenses of the Government; and these loans could be had only by paying exorbitant rates of interest, running from eight to twelve per cent., so low were our national credit and resources.

WHY I AM A PROTECTIONIST.

Extract from American Economist, published in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

By Hon. Justin S. Morrill, former United States Senator from Vermont, father of the Morrill tariff act of 1861.

First. It brings together diversified industries which never fail to vastly increase the personal intelligence, industry, and wage earnings of the people.

Second. It adds prodigiously to the power of increasing, by machinery and steam and water power, the necessities of life and of advanced civilization, and also greatly cheapens the cost of subsistence.

Third. It furnishes an opportunity for every person to find the employment best adapted to his or her genius and capacity that will secure the largest income or the greatest happiness.

Fourth. It creates a home market, without which the cultivators of land in America would be but a little better off than our aborigines.

Fifth. It is the bulwark of national independence in peace or war.

By Hon. George F. Hoar, United States Senator from Massachusetts.

I am a protectionist because I think by that policy the workmen of America will be well paid and not underpaid.

Because I think by that policy the variety of industry will be created here which will make America strong in peace and in war.

Because the industries so fostered will develop the skill and brain power of my countrymen and raise the people of the United States to the first rank in intelligence among the nations of the earth.

Because that policy has already made us the richest and strongest nation on earth, and under a properly restricted immigration will bring to us much that is most valuable in the population of other lands.

By Hon. S. M. Cullom, United States Senator from Illinois.

First. Because as a result in a large degree of our protective-tariff system the United States has become one of the foremost nations of the world.

Second. Because by the policy of fostering American industries the development of our manufacturing interests have been secured; the inventive genius of our people has found a field; American labor has become the best paid, and consequently our laborers the best housed, clothed, and fed; and the wonderful development and progress in this country in all that makes a people great, have elicited the admiration of the civilized world.

In view of these facts, which are well known, I believe in such a protective tariff as will secure reasonable protection to American labor and industry.

By Hon. William P. Frye, United States Senator from Maine.

Because facts confront us, not theories. I have seen the wage-earners of Great Britain and continental Europe; know how they live; that they are homeless and landless as far as ownership is concerned; that they are helpless and hopeless as to any brighter future for themselves or their children; that in their scant wages there is no margin for misfortune and sickness, pauperism being the only refuge.

I know that in this Republic the prudent, temperate, and industrious worker is sure of an abundant reward; that his ambition to succeed seldom meets with failure; that he owns land and home; that luxuries to the European laborer are necessities to the American. How then can we compete with the former and maintain our superiority in these regards? Steam and electricity have made of the world one neighborhood, eliminating largely the protection once afforded by time, distance, and transportation. There is one way only of solving this problem: Legislation for our own, a tariff for protection.

By Hon. N. D. Sperry, M. C., of New Haven, Conn.

Because I am an American citizen and wish to see the people of this country prosperous. Experience of more than forty years in business has taught me that under a low, or revenue, tariff, business depression and financial distress has been the rule, while under protection good business and general prosperity has been the result.

"I AM A PROTECTIONIST BECAUSE I AM AN AMERICAN."

Extracts from American Economist, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

By Col. William L. Strong.

First. I am a protectionist because I am an American, thoroughly imbued with American ideas, American principles, American enterprises, and American thought.

Second. For the reason that it guarantees to the wage-earner, whether male or female, a better remuneration for their services than they can possibly obtain in any country on the face of the globe; and this remuneration does not apply simply to factory operatives, manufacturing textile fabrics, but applies equally to the employed in every vocation in life.

Third. It has caused the balance of trade to turn in our favor during the last thirty years to such an extent that the nations of the earth, during this time, have paid us eighteen hundred millions of dollars, and our country is just that much richer than it would have been had it not been for our system of protection.

Fourth. For the reason that it encourages manufacturing enterprises of all kinds to increase throughout the country, and the competition between the manufacturers prevents large profits from being made and prevents monopolies of all kinds in consequence of the competition. The result of our manufacturing interests is we furnish the people a better class of goods at a less price than they would have to pay if these different manufacturing establishments were not established in this country, creating a demand for our agricultural products and realizing a better price for them in our own home market than we get abroad.

Fifth. The United States Government collected in 1890 about \$230,000,000 from imports, and the most of this revenue was collected from importers who bring in a class of merchandise that is not used generally by the medium and lower classes, and particularly so since the duties have been taken off sugar.

The lowest estimate of the amount of money earned by the wage-earners of all classes in this country is about fifteen thousand millions of dollars annually, an excess of at least six thousand millions over the earnings of the same number of people living in other countries.

Can this country do away with our protective policy without reducing the wages of the bread-winners to the level of wages paid in foreign countries? If not, then the wage-earners could well afford to pay the \$230,000,000 collected by the Government, mostly from foreign producers, in 1890, and keep up the present rate of wages.

As the wealthier classes use at least seven-tenths of the amount of our imports, that portion of the duty paid by consumers bears very lightly on the poorer classes of people.

By Hon. D. B. Henderson, former Speaker United States House of Representatives.

First. Because the civilized world substantially protects itself, thus forcing us to protect ourselves.

Second. Because all the conditions of men and of women in this country are better than in other countries, and protection is needed to preserve our happier conditions.

Third. Because I want labor to get the best possible wages for its efforts.

Fourth. Because I want agriculture to find a near, sure, and reliable market.

Fifth. Because I want to keep the capital and labor of this country all actively employed, each helping the other.

By Edwin A. Hartshorn, of Troy, N. Y.

Because protection insures the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number.

Because steam and electricity have practically annihilated space while climatic conditions render living impossible upon the same land as come in all countries.

Because self-government under a labor system so degraded as to prohibit universal education is an impossibility.

Because protection is the first law of national, as well as individual, preservation, and self-preservation is the first law of nature.

Because cheap labor and free foreign trade were the fundamental principles of the Southern Confederacy, which threatened the destruction of our priceless Government.

"A PROTECTIONIST—FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS."

Printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904, as appendix to remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota.

By David J. Hill, D. D., LL. D., President University of Rochester.

I am a protectionist for the following reasons:

First. The policy of protection enables our country to develop industries of which other countries, if it were not for protection, would enjoy a practical monopoly. Although not profitable in the United States unless protected, these industries are important to our national development and independence and should not be allowed to become extinct.

Second. A protective tariff unquestionably increases the rewards of labor (a) by creating a demand for skilled labor, (b) by diversifying the kinds of labor in a country and thus differentiating both demand and supply, and (c) by making for producers of every kind a home market. This increase of the laborer's reward is not confined to the protected industries, but elevates wages in every sphere (a) by the sympathetic effect of high wages generally and (b) by withdrawing from the non-protected industries and from agriculture a surplus of wage-earners who would divide and reduce wages if they competed against each other.

Third. Although a protective tariff increases prices immediately after its adoption, the resulting activity and the abundant home production under protection tend constantly to reduce the prices of manufactured articles as industry becomes better organized. As a result the country becomes wealthier both absolutely and relatively—absolutely, because the aggregate of home-produced commodities is vastly increased; and relatively, because wages are kept above the European level by a high-tariff barrier to foreign competition. Under free trade or a tariff for revenue only we would have to send our gold out of the country to pay for imported goods and to compete with the entire world in disposing of our own products at home, thus lowering our wages to the level of those paid to the cheap labor of Europe.

Fourth. The United States is a continental nation and should adopt a continental policy. Free trade is adapted only to insular nations, and no continental nation has adopted a free-trade policy. We are the most continental of all the continental peoples and have the most diversified products. A naturally specialized nation, like Great Britain, can always drive us out of the market in that nation's specialty in the long run, because it must do so to maintain its own existence. On the one hand, we should not plunge our people into so desperate a competition with a specialized competitor, for this could end only in driving our people from the field; and, on the other hand, we should not permit our country to be itself specialized by being limited to those productions only in which it has a natural superiority under existing conditions. The only way out of the dilemma is to protect those industries which it is necessary to foster in order to secure diversified and harmonious national development.

Fifth. The deepest root of my adherence to a protective policy is, however, a moral one. I believe that we, as a nation, have great material advantages for the building up of a free, intelligent, and happy people such as the world has not yet seen. I believe that these advantages are surrendered if too widely shared. We are divinely set as a nation to work out the political problem of mankind. As a patriot, I claim that, having a manifest national destiny to be worked out by a historic process, we should not part with our birthright. As well might a father of a family, just started in a prosperous business with a small capital, distribute his little property equally among the poor of his neighborhood, depriving himself of the means of providing for and educating his children, as for this nation to share with the Old World every increment of power and superiority to be found in the new, assuming its burdens of mendicancy and debt, and receiving the peasant as the peer of the American citizen.

The greatest anomaly in our history is the free reception accorded to those who have come to our shores to claim rights which they were unfitted to exercise. Free trade secures to every other country all the advantages that belong to this, as soon as it is adopted, by putting American labor in open competition with the labor of Europe and Asia. Free immigration at least obliges the participant in American prosperity to come to America; free trade would send him the fruit of American industry without the trouble of crossing the ocean.

"THE FARM, THE SHOP, THE MINE, THE FACTORY— EACH FURNISHES A MARKET FOR THE OTHER."

Extracts from American Economist, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904, as appendix to remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY.

By Hon. George H. Ely, of Ohio.

It is obviously the right and the duty of this nation to care for its own. Whatever, from geographical position, commercial relations, and existing social and industrial conditions, may apparently be the policy of any other nation, it is our duty to make the utmost of American resources—resources in men and in material things. That was the underlying thought of the new nation, planted on the new continent.

It proposed a higher type of manhood than could be realized under Old World conditions.

It meant, first of all, a higher wage level. Men, not class interests, were to count in the new social and political framework. That higher wage level aimed at by the fathers of the Republic, the policy of protection which they inaugurated secured and still maintains. By carefully adjusted rates of duty the low-wage products of other countries which compete with ours, or with such as we can and ought to produce, are made to pay to a large extent the necessary expenses of our Government; while our free list of non-competitive products swings wide open the gates in every clime to the products of our agriculture and manufactures.

The instrument is a diversified industry, which, along the whole range of invention, discovery, and human labor, lifts into the sunlight the dormant and unutilized natural resources of our country.

By this policy the farm, the shop, the mine, and the factory each furnish a market for the other, and while taxation of foreign products at the gates is an unfailing reliance for revenue, home production, with competition the moment the defensive duty has established the industry, invariably lowers the cost of commodities to the consumer. In other words, "the tariff is a tax" only on the foreign producer. In no other land does a day's wages secure to the toiler so much to cover his necessities and to brighten his life. Whenever, at different periods in the one hundred years behind us, this economic policy has prevailed, and to just the extent it has been fully operative, its vindication has glowed upon the pages of our national history.

By Judge William Lawrence, of Ohio.

I favor protection because it is essential to national power, wealth, and independence; it makes a demand for skilled labor, including that for infirm men, for women and children, who would otherwise be idle; secures fair wages and adds to general intelligence; it makes a home market, always reliable, and the best for farm products and for vegetables and fruits which can not be exported and for which there would otherwise be no market; it improves the productive capacity, especially by stock raising and the value of lands; it saves to the world the useless expense and labor of shipping products from one country to another and turns these into productive sources of wealth; it secures national revenue paid largely by foreigners, and multiplies the sources which share the burdens of local taxation; its ultimate effect is to furnish more abundant and cheaper products by home competition, by preventing foreign monopoly and extortion, and by the invention of labor-saving machinery; it adds to the sources of individual wealth, education, comfort, and happiness.

Every period of adequate protection has been prosperous; every period of "tariff for revenue only," unaided by abnormal conditions, has been attended with depression in business and consequent idleness and crime, verifying the truth that "he that provideth not for his own household is worse than" a protectionist—he is a free trader or free traitor.

By Hon. Joseph Nimmo, Jr.

1. Because protection is in conformity with the dictates of common sense and patriotism.

2. Because protection is founded upon the hard teachings of experience, and not upon any fancied eternal fitness of things.

3. Because protection defends home markets entirely our own and in the aggregate at least five times as large as the total foreign market, in which we are forced to compete sharply with all other nations.

**"NO ATTACK BY REPEALING THE DINGLEY ACT CAN
HURT ONE WITHOUT HURTING ALL."**

**"IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY READY TO OPEN THE
BOX, KNOWING THAT ONCE IT IS OPENED,
ONLY HOPE IS LEFT BEHIND?"**

*Extract from article by Hon. THOMAS B. REED, printed
in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.*

Let us put this into a few words of a practical character.

We have a tariff carefully drawn, which has served us well. That tariff is only five years old. It has brought us away up on the hillside of success. It has no connection with great corporations, except what it has with small corporations and individuals. *No attack by repealing the Dingley Act can hurt one without hurting all.* Any disturbance of that kind would disturb trade in ways with which we are all too familiar.

A tariff bill at any time is not and can not be the creature of one mind. It means the result of a contest by all interests and all minds. Hence, whenever any man thinks of a tariff he would make, he always thinks of a tariff bill which will never be enacted.

There was once a President of the United States of great power and influence. For four years he had no Congress behind him, and he dreamed of such a tariff-reform law as would suit him. By and by he had a Congress of his own party, and he started in to make such a law as would please both gods and men. *There are those who remember the dismal looks of the Members of the House when they yielded to the Senate, and the averted looks of the President as he let the bill pass by, unsigned and friendless.* To those men it became apparent, as it should be to the whole world, that the tariff enacted is always different from the act in your mind.

Is the Republican party to open the box, knowing that once it is opened only hope is left behind?

"AT ALL HAZARDS THE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN MUST BE PROTECTED."

Extracts from public addresses and works of President Roosevelt, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

WHAT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SAYS ABOUT THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Our aim should be to preserve the policy of a protective tariff, in which the nation as a whole has acquiesced, and yet wherever and whenever necessary to change the duties in particular paragraphs or schedules as matters of legislative detail, if such change is demanded by the interests of the nation as a whole. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.)

The general tariff policy to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country to be irrevocably committed is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference in labor cost here and abroad; in other words, the recognition of the need for full development of the intelligence, the comfort, the high standard of civilized living, and the inventive genius of the American workingman as compared to the workingman of any other country in the world. (New York, November 11, 1902.)

At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American workingman must be protected in his standard of wages—that is, in his standard of living—and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. (Logansport, Ind., September, 1902.)

A nation like ours can adjust its business after a fashion to any kind of tariff. But neither our nation nor any other can stand the ruinous policy of readjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals. (Logansport, Ind., September 23, 1902.)

If a tariff law has on the whole worked well and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it may be better to endure some inconveniences and inequalities for a time than by making changes to risk causing disturbance and perhaps paralysis in the industries and business of the country. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.)

The real evils connected with the trusts can not be remedied by any change in the tariff laws. The trusts can be damaged by depriving them of the benefits of a protective tariff only on condition of damaging all their smaller competitors and all the wage-workers employed in the industry. (Cincinnati, September 20, 1902.)

The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests, large or small, profitable; and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 7, 1903.)

There is general acquiescence in our present tariff system as a national policy. The first requisite to our prosperity is the continuity and stability of this economic policy. Nothing could be more unwise than to disturb the business interests of the country by any general tariff change at this time. Doubt, apprehension, uncertainty are exactly what we most wish to avoid in the interest of our commercial and material well-being.

Our experience in the past has shown that sweeping revisions of the tariff are apt to produce conditions closely approaching panic in the business world. Yet it is not only possible, but eminently desirable, to combine with the stability of our economic system a supplementary system of reciprocal benefit and obligation with other nations. Such reciprocity is an incident and result of the firm establishment and preservation of our present economic policy. It was specially provided for in the present tariff law.

Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries. Just how far this is must be determined according to the individual case, remembering always that every application of our tariff policy to meet our shifting national needs must be conditional upon the cardinal fact that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well-being of the wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, First Session.)

Stout of heart, we see across the dangers the great future that lies beyond, and we rejoice as a giant refreshed, as a strong man girt for the race; and we go down into the arena where the nations strive for mastery, our hearts lifted with the faith that to us and to our children and our children's children it shall be given to make this Republic the mightiest among the peoples of mankind. (Detroit, Mich., September 22, 1902.)

No nation has ever prospered as we are prospering now, and we must see to it that by our own folly we do not mar this prosperity. (Speech at Union League banquet, Philadelphia, Pa., November 22, 1902.)

Wherever a deed is done by an American which reflects credit upon our country, each of us can walk with his head a little higher in consequence; and wherever anything happens through the fault of any of us that is discreditable it discredits all of us more or less. (Danville, Va., September 9, 1902.)

Throughout our history no one has been able to render really great service to the country if he did not believe in the country. (Speech at Augusta, Me., August 26, 1902.)

It is all right and inevitable that we should divide on party lines, but woe to us if we are not Americans first and party men second. (Speech at Logansport, Ind., September 23, 1902.)

Practical politics must not be construed to mean dirty politics. On the contrary, in the long run the politics of fraud and treachery and foulness are unpractical politics, and the most practical of all politicians is the politician who is clean and decent and upright. ("The manly virtues and practical politics," American Ideals, p. 58.)

The American who is to make his way in America should be brought up among his fellow-Americans. ("True Americanism," American Ideals p. 41.)

The prosperity of any of us can best be attained by measures that will promote the prosperity of all. The poorest motto upon which an American can act is the motto of "Some men down" and the safest to follow is that of "All men up." (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

"AS I DESIRE MY NATIVE LAND TO BE ON THE APEX OF PROSPERITY, I AM A PROTECTIONIST."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCleary, in Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Some years ago the American Economist called upon a number of leading Americans for a brief statement of their reasons for being protectionists. Some of the answers are given below.

By Prof. R. H. Thurston, of Cornell University.

I am a protectionist because I can see very clearly that the political independence which every patriot would sacrifice his life to preserve to his country, can only be safely assured when we are industrially independent, and I am glad, if it requires that lesser sacrifice, to forego a few pennies of my savings to do my part to secure that assurance.

I am a protectionist because I can see, I think with equal clearness, that the greater the diversification of our industries the greater the prosperity of our people.

I am a protectionist because it seems to me evident that a carefully arranged tariff—arranged, I should say, by a special commission of honest, disinterested, and wise men—must be kept up to preserve us from industrial crises and disturbances due to foreign industrial changes and crises.

I am a protectionist because I think that ultimately we shall insure the most uniform, moderate, and satisfactory markets when the manufacturing and the agricultural classes are most thoroughly intermingled, so that we shall have a minimum expenditure for transportation and maximum labor applied in actual production.

I am a protectionist because I find my views confirmed by the practice of the whole world, with the single exception of Great Britain, where I see that the principles just enunciated are violated by excess of productive capacity in manufactures, and, naturally, to relieve her people from their difficulties, open markets and free-trade must be sought by that nation, Great Britain in this respect standing alone.

By Hon. H. B. Metcalf, Pawtucket, R. I.

Why am I, an American citizen, an advocate of such a tax upon imports as will actually assure to American industry the highest attainable degree of prosperity, whatever law may be required to that end; or, in other words, why am I "Protectionist?"

Because for forty years I have been both an active business man and an actual observer of actual events. I have read and listened to the theories of the opponents of protection and actually seen those theories refuted in living experience. I have studied the policy and promises of the advocates of protection, and actual evidence on every hand confirm those promises.

I have seen it to be an actual fact, abundantly sustained by evidence, that under the system of protection every hour of honest toil purchases more of material comfort for the toiler than is attainable under any other system, the degree of such advantage being contingent upon the completeness and accuracy of the application of the protective system. This advantage comes directly or indirectly to all classes of toilers, be they weavers, spinners, carpenters, painters, machinists, farmers, doctors, editors, or teachers.

I am convinced that the system of protection fosters a spirit of national self-independence, such as is indispensable to the highest standards of citizenship under a government of the people.

By Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, ex-Governor of Pennsylvania.

I am a protectionist because the welfare and happiness of the people in America depend on their ability to enjoy the necessities, conveniences, and comforts which our manufacturers supply. There is no other source of adequate supply for many such commodities except American manufacturers, so that the American manufacturer is more indispensable to the American people than the American people is to the manufacturer.

While American labor is more efficient and more productive than labor elsewhere, it yet remains incontestably true that there are thousands of commodities which can not be made by our artisans in competition with low-priced labor elsewhere. If the laborers here are to consume this class of manufactured goods, the industries which produce them must be shielded from destructive competition or the producer must live in some other country. If he lives here he must either make them or go without them; he can not buy them, for the reason that there is no "something else" he can do by which he can earn the purchase money for the foreign article. Nobody but an economic idiot would now contend that the protective duty adds a "sou marque" to the cost of the commodity. Its only effect is to give the market to the American producer. The free trader may beat about the bush with his speculation, dogmatism, sophistries, and insolence, but the root of the matter lies within the compass of the foregoing proposition of facts.

By David H. Mason, of Chicago.

All the prosperity enjoyed by the American people—absolutely all the prosperity, without any reservation whatever—from the foundation of the United States Government down to the present time, has been under the reign of protective principles; and all the hard times suffered by the American people in the same period have been preceded either by a heavy reduction of duties on imports or by insufficient protection, thus refuting all free-trade theories on the subject. As I desire my native land to be on the apex of prosperity, rather than under the heel of hard times, I am a protectionist.

By George M. Steele, D. D., principal Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass.

I am in favor of the protective policy:

First. Because it furnishes a steady and uniform market to our producers at a cost which is insignificant in comparison with the benefits it confers.

Second. Because it tends to multiply the industries to which our country is well fitted, and this is a vast advantage to our workingmen.

Third. Because, by the multiplication of industries in a nation where they would not otherwise exist, there is an increase of competition and thus a diminution in the price of commodities, making thereby an advantage to all consumers.

"I AM A PROTECTIONIST BECAUSE I LOVE MY OWN COUNTRY BETTER THAN FOREIGN COUNTRIES."

Extracts from American Economist, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904, as appendix to remarks of Hon. J. T. McCleary.

By H. K. Thurber.

I am a protectionist because thrift follows the enactment of wise laws.

Because I love my own country better than I do foreign countries.

Because protection builds up our towns into cities and enhances the value of our houses and lands.

Because every dollar sent abroad to purchase goods that we can produce at home makes us a dollar the poorer.

Because protection in this country gives labor better wages than free trade.

Because it is better for this country to feed, clothe, and house our own labor in this country than to support foreign labor in other countries with our money.

Because it is true, as Peter Cooper well said: "No goods purchased abroad are cheap that take the place of our own labor and our own raw material."

By Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, Treasurer of the United States.

In my judgment the purpose in raising revenue should be first to promote production, from which spring a nation's wealth and power. Consumption will follow.

In home production the whole cost of the commodity is kept here to buy materials and to pay wages.

With agriculture and manufactures developed by stable protection a surplus will be produced to seek external markets by ships made by American mechanics from our native products.

Home markets are best for our own producers, and their development is the condition of a foreign trade large and varied enough to endure and expand.

By Hon. P. C. Cheney, ex-Governor of New Hampshire.

I believe in the inherent right of self-preservation, both for man and government. My observation and experience, both in this and foreign countries, assure me that a "free-trade" policy for America inures only to the benefit of those abroad. All foreign nations know this, and hence urge us to adopt it. Our loss would be their gain. Only by protection are we enabled to pay the highest for labor and sell the lowest to the workman.

This condition makes the United States conspicuously prosperous.

Our Government should be as exacting from foreigners as from Americans. Make them pay duty while we pay taxes.

By James M. Swank, general manager of the American Iron and Steel Association.

I am a protectionist because I am an American. The free admission of foreign commodities, or their admission at rates of duty which are levied for purely revenue purposes, may suit the economic conditions and meet the financial needs of other countries, but history teaches that the prosperity of our own country is best promoted by a tariff which is levied for protection as well as for revenue. Many of our great industries, including the silk industry, the pottery industry, the carpet industry, and the steel-rail industry, had only a nominal existence until adequately protective duties were imposed on competing foreign products.

All other considerations aside, older manufacturing countries could command lower wages for labor than this country, and protective duties were therefore needed to equalize the labor cost of production. Our tin-plate industry is to-day an infant industry because we have not had a protective duty on foreign tin plates. We shall always need protective duties as long as our people insist upon a higher standard of wages and scale of living than prevail abroad. If they were now willing to accept the same wages and the same social conditions which the people of other countries are compelled to accept, our protective policy could be greatly modified, if not wholly dispensed with. Whatever it may have been in the past, this policy is therefore to-day chiefly a question of wages.

By Hon. William W. Bates, former Commissioner of Navigation.

1. Because instinct and reason teach the right and duty of self-defense for individuals, families, society, and the State.

2. Because protection assures peace, without which human life has no true object, intellectual and moral improvement no prospect, and the general good no existence.

3. Because I believe in human freedom, in the improvement of man, and the happiness of mankind. To this end everyone should direct his course, each government intelligently guide its people, securing to each employment and to all a due reward for toil.

4. Because I prefer my own country to every other; and to develop its resources, increase its wealth, augment its power, and improve its people, before any other, is the bounden duty of loyal citizens.

5. Because without protection all these things are left to chance—to doom and disappointment—the poor to live in ignorance and vice, the weak to fall before the strong, and the good to serve the bad. As wisdom leaves nothing to chance, so good government cares for every useful pursuit, that it may rear its pillars on solid ground.

"PROTECTION DIVERSIFIES EMPLOYMENT AND RELIEVES WAGE-EARNERS FROM FOREIGN COMPETITION."

From remarks of Hon. J. T. McCleary, of Minnesota, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Some years ago the publishers of the American Economist called upon a large number of leading Americans for a brief statement of their reasons for being protectionists. Some of the best answers are given below:

By Hon. B. F. Jones, of Pittsburg.

I am a protectionist because our country has prospered with protection and languished without it.

Because revenue can more easily, more surely, and with less objection be raised by judicious protective tariff laws than otherwise.

Because protection diversifies employment and largely relieves wage-earners from foreign competition, thereby enabling them to be liberal consumers as well as producers.

Because, as has been demonstrated, the effect of protection is the cheapening of products.

Because defense against injurious importations is as necessary and justifiable as is an army and navy.

Because the theory of free trade between nations is as fallacious, impracticable, and utterly absurd as is that of free love between families.

Because protection steadily enlarges the home market for farm products.

England buys the world's surplus wheat. She demands "a big loaf for tuppence." Accordingly, she gluts her markets from every source and usually is able to dictate unprofitable prices for American grain.

When our exportable surplus is large, prices are rarely good; when small, always; so that, strangely, a deficient yield is sometimes good luck for the farmer.

Well-paid wage-earners are generous consumers.

Protection alone insures American labor against European pauper wages.

When, under protection, American industries shall employ bread eaters sufficient to nearly consume American cereals, then the farmer will no longer sell his grain at cost of production or less. He will escape the competition of the ryot and the serf. His industry will be profitable, his calling honored and truly independent.

By Hon. Thomas H. Dudley, of New Jersey.

Because protection promotes the prosperity and welfare of the country by giving employment to labor and developing the resources of the nation. The more general the employment of the people, the larger the production, and the greater the production the cheaper the price of the commodities produced will be to the consumers who use them. Protection or self-preservation is a principle implanted by God upon all animated matter, and it is better, not only for the nation itself, but for the people of the whole world, that such protection should be given to labor in each nation as will produce the same results in production in each separate country.

By Hon. J. P. Dolliver, United States Senator from Iowa.

I believe in the doctrine of protection because the facts of our national experience thoroughly exemplify its truth. No great American statesman, except the half-forgotten leaders of the slave power, have disowned the protective system. The importers' trust and the slave trust have been alone in their hostility to that system, each for obvious reasons peculiar to itself. If the doctrine of protection is not true, our people have blindly followed a blind leadership. If the policy of protection is not wise, it indicates that the human race, outside of England, has not sense enough to take care of itself. I will not thus disparage the average common sense of our own country, nor thus discredit the average common sense of mankind.

By David Hall Rice, of Boston.

Between nations but two systems have ever existed, the free-trade-tariff system and the protective-tariff system.

The fruit of the free-trade-tariff system is, in the words of the British Royal Commission, intermittent and consequently dear production and absence of reliable profits; in the words of General Booth, over 3,000,000 of helpless and starving British workmen, begging for work to earn the bare bread of daily existence; in the words of Cardinal Manning, "the capital that stagnates" and "the starvation wages of the [British] labor market."

The fruit of the protective-tariff system is—by reserving the sure home market to the competition of American producers—continuous and consequently economical and profitable production, giving cheap prices to the ultimate consumer, fair returns on invested capital, and the highest wages in the world to labor. Under it neither capital stagnates nor labor starves, but both do their work together.

That is why I am a protectionist.

"THE PRINCIPLE WHICH UNDERLIES PROTECTION IS THE SECURING AT ALL TIMES TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE MARKETS OF AMERICA."

Extract from article by Hon. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

The proposed treatment of corporations, even if something ought to be done, is a fine example of how easily men mistake their wishes for their reasons. It is proposed to repeal such portions of the tariff act as have made these corporations prosperous. Of course, this is not intended to attack the tariff. All we are trying to do is to sap the prosperity of institutions which have grown so large as to frighten us. Why do they frighten us? Because they are great and strong and wealthy. Of course, then, their greatness and strength and wealth are fundamental facts beyond dispute. No tariff law, of course, can be made which does not apply to all. Hence, if the tariff is so reformed that the big, strong, and wealthy corporations go to destruction, how are small ones to be saved? Really, to the calm and judicious mind this seems like free trade for its own sweet sake.

Protection in some lands may be the subject of discussion and debate. How it can be that in this country, and at this time, passes all understanding. In the United States the policy of protection has had a century and a quarter of alternate triumph and defeat. The triumph has always been followed by prosperity, the defeat by hard times. The last decade has been of striking example. We saw fit to try tariff reform in an act called the "Wilson Act." So prompt were the evidences of failure to meet the hopes of its framers that the country rose as one man, repealed the act, and substituted therefor the Dingley Act, which was the result of care and skill; and immediately there followed a demonstration of the advantages of protection the like of which was never seen, even in this country. Owing to a combination of circumstances we found other countries ready to take our surplus, and, owing to the fact that we had not fairly started our demands on our own workshops, we had a surplus to send abroad.

This large export trade was misunderstood. It only indicated that, with strong prices abroad, with England paralyzed by a strike, and with our own demand only just awakening, we could send many things abroad. It did not mean that we could always do this. It meant that the primacy was in sight, but not yet gained. When our own demand reached its proper increase we found we could not supply it. On the contrary, we used up not only what we made, but in the article of iron and steel alone we have imported in the last year a million tons. Unfortunately, our exports came at a time when we were expanding, and everybody's mind was filled with the idea that we could supply the world. The free traders seized upon this state of the public mind and declared that we needed protection no longer and that the tariff must be abandoned. This idea that protection is in the nature of medicine, to be dropped as soon as possible, is an idea we had better examine. What if it is food? The medicine notion comes from the early arguments for the selection of infant industries to be fostered and cherished.

Time and experience have enlarged that notion of protection. They have shown that protection is not a privilege but a system. A privilege might be robbery. A system must justify itself by results. The principle which underlies protection is the securing at all times to the American people the markets of America. It means that the work of this nation shall be done by the people of this nation. All wealth comes from the marrying of labor to the raw material. In a country like ours, extending over such vast regions, there can be no lack of materials. Any system which enables our people to do our own work is the system which can give, and has given, the best results. The enemy have all along sneered at the idea that taxes can make us rich. But this is simply to beguile by words. Would it be any less absurd to say that taxes gave us good currency? And yet they did. We tax State currency. We do not raise one cent by the tax; it simply bars out the State currency.

We used the tax as a way of accomplishing a result, as means to an end. In like manner we used the taxing power to create a barrier behind which we could do our own work. All the theorists, the men who thought there was nothing in the world they could not think of, declared that we would be ruined. We have not been ruined, but we are to-day a very lively example of a people who do their own work. What would you say was the ideal industrial condition of a nation? Everybody at work. Just now we have everybody at work. And yet we think we want something else. If we keep on fussing we shall get it. With all the world, except England, including her own colonies, of our opinion, with success embroidered on all our banners, we are invited to surrender our views and give place to a beaten world.

Why? Simply because of that human unrest which is part of the history of the race. We, being also of limited knowledge, are much given to be beguiled by generalities. Here is one line of generalities. "Is the Dingley tariff bill the end of wisdom? If not, then it can be improved. A tariff bill could be framed, we think, which would be free from all the errors of that celebrated bill and retain its virtues." Where would you enact such a bill? Why, in your own mind, of course. Unfortunately, a bill enacted in the mind has no extraterritorial force. A bill enacted by Congress, like the progress of the world, is the result of a fierce conflict of opposing human interests, and must be so. When men talk carelessly of tariff revision they talk of a tariff never yet established and one that never can be. They dream of a tariff which exactly suits them individually, while a real tariff bill is one which measurably satisfies the country as a whole.

But can we not have, sitting in perpetual session, a body of men nonpartisan, judicious, wise, and incorruptible? Yes, in your mind. You can have anything in your mind. Imagination is unlimited, and it is very delightful to wander round among possible impossibilities. Just think of a nonpartisan free trader sitting on a tariff tax! Of course, he would be above any prejudice except his own. I saw one tariff commission sit in 1882, and its report was not enacted into law. All its mistakes were, and the result was satisfactory to nobody.

We ought to let the tariff alone; we ought to defend it against all comers for the good of the nation. We are doing more than well and need not hunt for disaster. That will come in due time.

THE TRUSTS."—"TARIFF REVISION."—THE PRESIDENT AT MINNEAPOLIS.

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN F. LACEY of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, January 25, 1904.

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT. THE TRUSTS.

I wish leave in this connection, as some controversy seems to exist as to the views of the President upon the tariff revision, to insert an extract from a speech delivered by him on April 4 last at Minneapolis.

The extract is as follows:

* * * One point we must steadily keep in mind. The question of tariff revision, speaking broadly, stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the trusts. *No change in tariff duties can have any substantial effect in solving the so-called trust problem.*

Certain great trusts or great corporations are wholly unaffected by the tariff. Practically all the others that are of any importance have, as a matter of fact, numbers of smaller American competitors, and of course a change in the tariff which would work injury to the large corporation would work not merely injury, but destruction, to its smaller competitors; and equally, of course, such a change would mean disaster to all the wage-workers connected with either the large or the small corporations. From the standpoint of those interested in the solution of the trust problem, such a change would, therefore, merely mean that the trust was relieved of the competition of its weaker American competitors and thrown only into competition with foreign competitors, and that the first effort to meet this new competition would be made by cutting down wages, and would therefore be primarily at the cost of labor.

In the case of some of our greatest trusts such a change might confer upon them a positive benefit. Speaking broadly, it is evident that the changes in the tariff will affect the trusts for weal or for woe simply as they affect the whole country. The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests, large or small, profitable, and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also.

To sum up, then, we must as a people approach a matter of such prime economic importance as the tariff from the standpoint of our business needs.

We cannot afford to become fossilized or to fail to recognize the fact that as the needs of the country change it may be necessary to meet these new needs by changing certain features of our tariff laws. Still less can we afford to fail to recognize the further fact that these changes must not be made until the need for them outweighs the disadvantages which may result, and when it becomes necessary to make them they should be made with full recognition of the need of stability in our economic system and of keeping unchanged the principle of that system, which has now become a settled policy in our national life. We have prospered marvelously at home. As a nation we stand in the very forefront in the giant international industrial competition of the day. We can not afford by any freak or folly to forfeit the position to which we have thus triumphantly attained. * * *

TARIFF CHANGES.

A nation like ours could not long stand the ruinous policy of readjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals, especially when, as now, owing to the immense extent and variety of our products, the tariff schedules carry rates of duty on thousands of different articles.

Sweeping and violent changes in such a tariff, touching so vitally the interests of all of us, embracing agriculture, labor, manufactures, and commerce, would be disastrous in any event, and they would be fatal to our present well-being if approached on the theory that the principle of the protective tariff was to be abandoned.

The business world—that is, the entire American world—can not afford, if it has any regard for its own welfare, even to consider the advisability of abandoning the present system.

Yet, on the other hand, where the industrial conditions so frequently change, as with us must of necessity be the case, it is a matter of prime importance that we should be able from time to time to adapt our economic policy to the changed conditions.

Our aim should be to preserve the policy of a protective tariff, in which the nation as a whole has acquiesced, and yet wherever and whenever necessary to change the duties in particular paragraphs or schedules, as matters of legislative detail, if such a change is demanded by the interests of the nation as a whole.

In making any readjustment there are certain important considerations which can not be disregarded. If a tariff law has on the whole worked well, and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it may be better to endure some inconvenience and inequalities for a time than by making changes to risk causing disturbance and, perhaps, paralysis in the industries and business of the country. The fact that the change in a given rate of duty may be thought desirable does not settle the question whether it is advisable to make the change immediately. Every tariff deals with duties on thousands of articles arranged in hundreds of paragraphs and in many schedules.

These duties affect a vast number of interests which are often conflicting. If necessary for our welfare, then of course Congress must consider the question of changing the law as a whole or changing any given rates of duty, but we must remember that whenever even a single schedule is considered some interests will appear to demand a change in almost every schedule in the law; and when it comes to upsetting the schedules generally the effect upon the business interests of the country would be ruinous.

"DISASTER HAS ALWAYS FOLLOWED THE ENACTMENT OF A TARIFF WHICH FAILED TO FURNISH ADEQUATE PROTECTION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Some fruits of protection.—From 1861 to the present day, save and except the four mournful years from 1893 to 1897, this country has had the policy of adequate protection to American industries. At the close of the period of inadequate protection the nation had a bankrupt Treasury; to-day the Treasury is overflowing. At the close of the period of inadequate protection the Government, which, as usual under that kind of legislation, had been running into debt, had so lost its credit among men that it found itself unable to borrow money in sufficient quantities to meet its needs, though it offered 8, 10, yea 12 per cent for the money; to-day it can borrow all the money that it wants at the rate of 2 per cent, and its bonds issued at that rate stand at a premium in the market places of the world.

Under a protective policy this nation fought the greatest war in the history of the world, a war which left the Southern section of the country prostrate and bankrupt, a war which took from the productive industries of the Northern section of the country more than a million of its sturdiest sons and devoted four years of their time to destruction instead of construction; a war which used up all of the enormous income of the Government for four years, amounting to more than a thousand millions of dollars, and yet left us with a debt of nearly three thousand millions of dollars. Upon that debt we have paid more than eighteen hundred millions of dollars of the principal and nearly three thousand millions of dollars of interest. As an expression of our gratitude to those who saved the Union we have paid out in pensions more than three thousand millions of dollars, and are now paying about a hundred and forty million dollars a year.

But, notwithstanding these enormous losses in population and in wealth caused by this war, our population has increased from a little over thirty millions in 1860 to more than eighty millions at the present hour. Our wealth has increased from sixteen billions in 1860 to more than ninety-four billions in 1900, or from an average of \$513 per capita in 1860 to \$1,235 per capita in 1900. That is, our wealth has increased more than twice as fast as our population. Our savings-bank deposits have increased from \$149,277,504 in 1860 to \$2,935,204,875, or from an average of \$4.75 per capita in 1860 to \$36.52 per capita in 1903. That is, our savings-bank deposits (the best index of the condition of workingmen) have increased nearly nine times as fast as our population.

1. That disaster has always followed the enactment of a tariff which failed to furnish adequate protection. Such a tariff has neither furnished protection to our industries nor raised sufficient revenue for the Government. The so-called "moderate" protection has always proved a delusion and a snare. It is less worthy of respect than frank and open "free trade," for so-called "moderate" protection always "keeps the word of promise to the ear but breaks it to the hope." Its advocacy by a well-informed man may generally be rated as cowardly evasion.

2. From the disaster resulting from such tariff legislation our country has never in a single instance recovered except through the enactment of a tariff law giving adequate protection.

3. With one possible exception, that of 1873, we have never had a panic or widespread business depression under a tariff act giving adequate protection to home industries. Even the collapse of certain speculative enterprises of large capitalization during the last two years has simply gone to show that "protection is panic proof."

4. The business depression of 1873 was not due to the tariff, but occurred in spite of the tariff. It came from two sources chiefly—first, it was a part of the reaction from over-speculation during and following the civil war; and second, it was part of the "sobering up" in our currency matters, when we were painfully getting back from greenback fiatism to the solid basis of the gold standard.

5. But even in the case of 1873 the suffering was mainly among the speculative classes and was not specially felt among the people generally. The country during that period advanced greatly in wealth, and the recovery came under a protective tariff.

6. Never in our history have we had general and long-continued business depression when we have had both of the Republican twin bases of prosperity—a protective tariff and a sound currency.

OUR INCREASE IN IMPORTS MOSTLY ARTICLES CONSUMED BY MANUFACTURERS."

Extract from speech of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in the United States Senate, June 25, 1902.

FOREIGN COMMERCE.

I have given glimpses of our domestic trade under the Dingley tariff and the wonderful advances we have made under protection. How about our foreign trade—the sale of our surplus abroad? In order that we may consider the matter intelligently, I present a table showing our exports and imports since 1890, taking my figures from the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department.

Imports and Exports of Merchandise, 1890-1901.

Year ending June 30—	Imports.	Exports.	Total im- ports and exports.	Excess.	
				Imports.	Exports.
1890.....	\$780,810,400	\$857,828,684	\$1,647,139,098		\$68,518,275
1891.....	844,916,196	884,480,810	1,729,397,006		39,564,614
1892.....	827,402,462	1,030,278,148	1,857,680,610		202,875,686
1893.....	866,400,922	847,665,194	1,714,066,116	\$18,735,728	
1894.....	654,994,622	892,140,572	1,547,135,194		237,145,950
1895.....	731,969,965	807,538,165	1,539,508,130		75,568,200
1896.....	779,724,674	882,606,938	1,662,331,612		102,882,264
1897.....	764,730,412	1,050,993,556	1,815,723,968		286,263,144
1898.....	616,049,654	1,231,482,330	1,847,531,984		615,432,676
1899.....	697,148,489	1,227,023,302	1,924,171,791		529,874,813
1900.....	849,714,329	1,394,479,214	2,244,193,543		544,764,835
1901.....	823,171,165	1,487,764,991	2,310,937,156		664,592,826

The figures for the fiscal year 1902, while they will show a falling off in exports (owing to our short corn crop of last year and the great home consumption of manufactures) and an increase of imports, will compare favorably with recent years. Under the operation of the Dingley tariff we have become the leading export nation of the world, passing Great Britain, with her wonderful prestige of centuries. It will be seen that our balance of trade differs very much now from the years 1893 to 1897. In 1893 the balance was against us, and for the five years from 1893 to 1897, inclusive, the average was only \$175,000,000, while during the past five years the average has been about \$600,000,000, making a total favorable balance under the five years of the Dingley law of \$3,000,000,000.

We are changing under this trade balance from a debtor nation to a creditor nation, if, indeed, we have not already done so. We have an immense freight bill to pay annually, large interest disbursements, and exchanges on account of tourists' expenses abroad, so that with much less than our favorable balance we would have to ship abroad in large quantities to pay our bill, as we have had to do in low-tariff times. It will be seen from the table that our exports are nearly double those of 1895. Nearly \$1,000,000,000, or two-thirds, are agricultural products, which Europe must have regardless of tariffs, and yet it is in exports of manufactures that we have made the largest relative gain.

We are exporting double the amount of manufactured articles that we were under the Wilson-Gorman law, and we are gaining markets in every quarter of the globe for every product of our mills and factories, and still the free trader keeps up the cry for "free raw material," in order that we may capture the markets of the world, ignorant or forgetful of the fact that we have already 99 per cent free raw material for all that enters into exports or manufactures.

Right here I want to call attention to our great increase in imports, this increase consisting mostly of crude or partly manufactured articles which are consumed by our manufacturers in turning out their finished product. Thus we see the perfect workings of the Dingley law in our exports and imports. It is safe to say that in another half decade, if our present tariff law is undisturbed, our exports will exceed \$2,000,000,000 annually, which, while but a small amount as compared with our domestic trade, is still a remarkable exhibition of American progress.

"WE ARE PRACTICALLY INDEPENDENT OF THE REST OF THE EARTH."

Extract from speech of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in the United States Senate, June 25, 1902.

HOW WE COMPARE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD

Our progress under the Dingley tariff has been such that we no longer compare the United States with other nations, but with all the rest of the world combined. With less than 5 per cent. of the population and only 7 per cent. of the area, we are, nevertheless, about equal industrially to half the remainder of mankind.

We equal or surpass all the rest of the world in corn, cotton, eggs, petroleum, leather products, copper, and forest products.

Of the following we produce two-thirds as much as the rest of the world: Coal, pig iron, steel, and three-fifths of the total food and agricultural products and manufactures.

We produce one-half as much as the rest of the world in silver, iron ore, fish; one-third as much in gold, wheat, oats, hay, butter, and cheese; one-fourth as much in hops and beer; one-fifth to one-tenth as much in barley and wool.

We consume, reckoned in value, twice as much corn as all the rest of the world combined, one-fifth as much wheat, one-third as much oats, one-third as much cotton, one-fifth as much wool, one-third as much sugar, one-half as much fish, nearly as much coffee, one-fourth as much tea, about three-fifths as much meat—all food and agricultural products.

We have one-third as much wealth as all the rest of the world, one-third as much gold, one-fifth as much silver, one-tenth as many sheep, one-third as many cows, as much forest area, two-thirds the railroad mileage, or, counting total track, about as much as all the rest of the world combined. We have twice as much life insurance in force, one-half as much savings-bank deposits, we spend two-thirds as much for education, we have one-fourth the spindles in operation, nearly one-fourth as much shipping, one-fourth as many exports, about one-tenth as much revenue and expenditures, and less than one-thirtieth as much debt.

Taking everything into consideration we produce and consume about half as much as the rest of the world combined. Remember, the comparison is not with the world, but with all the rest of the world besides ourselves.

There is not much better index to a country's condition than the freight carried. According to the junior Senator from New York (Mr. Depew), who should be an unquestioned authority on railroad business, the freight carried on the railroads of the United States equals the freight carried on all the other railroads of the earth and by all the ocean shipping. To this should be added our immense lake and coast trade.

Ex-Speaker Reed estimated that the people of the United States, when our population was about 70,000,000, were equal as consumers—as a market for our own and the world's production—compared with the rest of the world, to 700,000,000. The same comparison seems to hold good to-day, and our 77,000,000 people are equal to 770,000,000, or one-half the rest of the world. That is, every man, woman, and child in the United States is equal to ten persons outside of the United States, particularly as consumers of our own and the world's products of agriculture, mining, and manufacture.

As regards power of production, Mulhall has shown that a farm hand in the United States does as much as two in the United Kingdom, three in Germany, five in Austria, and seven in Russia. The farm laborers of Europe do nine times the work to get double the result of the farm laborers in the United States. That is, it takes four and one-half Europeans to equal one American. Extend the comparison to Asia and Africa and we find that the average United States producer is equal to ten the world over, outside of our own country. This comparison is emphasized by our coal consumption and steam power, and finally by our products of manufacture.

We are to-day practically independent of the rest of the earth. In a few years we shall raise our own sugar and fibers, manufacture our own silk, and, in fact, we shall produce almost everything used by mankind.

The conclusion, then, is warranted that in another generation, if the present system of protection is continued, the people of the United States and Territories will equal or surpass in production, consumption, and wealth the peoples of the rest of the world combined.

"A PHENOMENAL INCREASE IN OUR MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, June 13, 1900.

GROWTH OF MANUFACTURES, 1890 TO 1900.

There are three methods by which it is practicable to measure in some degree the growth of domestic manufactures in the decade just ending, and for which there are as yet no census figures. One of these is to study the increase in the importation of the classes of raw material which manufacturers must use. While our manufacturers naturally utilize home materials as far as practicable in their industries, there are certain materials which they require which are not produced at home, while in others the supply from home production is not sufficient to meet their requirements. In crude rubber and silk, for instance, all of the materials utilized must be imported, while in the vegetable fibers, such as hemp, flax, and certain high grades of cotton, hides and skins, and other articles of this class, they are compelled to draw a part of their supplies from abroad. By following the course of importation of these "manufacturers' materials," or, to use the technical term of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, "articles in a crude condition, which enter into the various processes of domestic industry," it is practicable to measure in some degree the activities of our manufacturers since 1890.

Manufacturers' materials imported in 1890 amounted to \$178,435,512, or 23 per cent. of the total importations, while in the fiscal year 1900 the importations of this same class amounted to \$310,000,000 and formed 35.8 per cent. of the total importations. It is thus apparent that our manufacturers are to-day drawing from abroad fully twice as much material for use in manufacturing as they did a decade ago, since the actual value is nearly double that of 1890, while it is a well known fact that prices of manufacturers' materials are now much less than those of a decade ago and that a given number of dollars now represents a larger quantity than at that time. It is also gratifying to note that this class of material, that required by manufacturers, now forms nearly 36 per cent. of the total imports, against 23 per cent. in 1890.

INCREASED EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES.

Still another evidence of the activity of manufacturers is found where the values of manufactures exported is shown. In the fiscal year 1890 exports of domestic manufactures amounted to but \$151,000,000, and in the fiscal year 1900 to \$425,000,000—an increase of nearly 200 per cent.

DECREASED IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURES.

Meantime, importation of manufactures has been greatly reduced, having been, in 1890, \$346,678,654, and forming 44.8 per cent. of the total imports, while in 1899 it was but \$259,862,721 and formed but 37.9 per cent. of the total imports.

Thus, in the study of imports of manufacturers' materials and the imports and exports of manufactured goods all the available data show a phenomenal increase in our manufacturing industries during the decade 1890-1900, in which we must depend chiefly upon these data in determining the growth of manufactures. A study of the period shows, first, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. in imports of manufacturers' materials; second, an increase of nearly 200 per cent. in the exports of manufactured goods, and third, a decrease of 25 per cent in the imports of manufactured goods; while manufacturers' materials form every year a larger proportion of the total imports, and manufactured goods form every year a larger proportion of the total exports.

Despite the claim of the supporters of the Wilson law, that their measure would especially benefit manufacturers by giving them free raw material, the importation of raw material in the years ending June 30, 1895, 1896, 1897, all of which were under the low tariff, averaged less than those of the fiscal year 1893, all of which was under the McKinley protective tariff and most of it under President Harrison, and that the years ending June 30, 1899 and 1900, under the Dingley law, show a larger importation than that of any year under the Wilson low tariff, the importation of raw material in the year 1900 being 50 per cent. greater than the annual average importation of raw material under the Wilson law, and the share which raw material formed of the total imports was, in the year 1900, 36 per cent., against an average of 26 per cent. during the entire period that the Wilson law was in operation.

"FREE TRADE WOULD LEAVE US UTTERLY UNPREPARED FOR WAR."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Even protectionists sometimes say that while they do not believe in free trade as a practical policy they are willing to admit that it seems good in theory. The saving word in that statement is the word "seems." In fact, free trade is not good even in theory. *Prima facie*, no theory is good that does not "work." Without the demonstration it is at best simply a hypothesis. The late Hon. W. D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, well described free trade as "the science of assumptions."

The first and fundamental fallacy of free trade as a theory is its *lack of patriotism*. It professes to entertain a broad humanitarianism. It prides itself on having as much consideration for people at the uttermost ends of the earth as it entertains for the people of its own country. Mr. Chairman, I would feel like doubting both the virtue and the good sense of any man who considered, or professed to consider, everyone as much entitled to his solicitude as the members of his own family. By law, both human and divine, a nation is a great family whose interests are directly interdependent. Protectionists take as the basis of their policy the Scriptural precept: "He that careth not for his own hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

The first duty of a nation is to be prepared at all times to defend its existence. Free trade, both as a theory and as a policy, would leave us utterly unprepared for war. Surely the people of the South should, through bitter experience, have thoroughly learned this lesson. Wedded to slavery, they looked down on labor. They were "consumers;" they had only contempt for "producers," hence they thought only of getting manufactured goods cheaply.

They had no desire to accept or enjoy the legitimate fruits of protection. Indeed, for nearly a generation before the breaking out of the civil war, except the four years from 1842 to 1846, this country had been dominated by the Southern idea of aversion to a protective tariff. When the Southern Confederacy was established it perpetuated its free-trade ideas by embodying in the Confederate constitution this provision:

Nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or to foster any branch of industry.

On the other hand, just before the breaking out of the war the National Government had enacted the Morrill tariff law, which gave adequate protection to our industries. So that here we had a test of the two theories as to their relative usefulness in war.

In this connection I quote the eloquent words of former Senator John P. Jones of Nevada, in his great speech in the United States Senate in 1890—one of the greatest speeches on the tariff ever delivered—entitled "Shall the Republic do its own work?"

The most instructive lesson of American history—indeed, the most impressive economic lesson of all history—is that afforded in a great crisis by the industrial impotence of our Southern States, resulting from their persistent neglect of the mechanical arts and of diversified industries.

When the South declared war it was found that its people could create nothing of practical utility. Their orators and stump speakers, who led them into the war, could spin "yarns," but not of cotton; they could weave sentences, but not woollens. They could make speeches, but could not make engines. They could make verses, but not vestments. They could talk learnedly of the rights of man, but could not supply the wants of man. They could write flaming essays on courage, but could not make a gun or canister of powder. They could organize armies, but not industries. They could inspire their troops with enthusiasm, but could not supply them with blankets.

With all their cotton, they could not make a handkerchief. With quantities of sheep and all natural facilities for producing wool and turning it into cloth, they could not make a coat. With every opportunity for the establishment of manufactures, they could not make a needle, a knife, a bayonet or a button. With ample natural resources, and with opportunities equal to those of the North, the people of the South, *looking only to the moment and never to the morrow*, permitted iron, coal, and other valuable minerals in illimitable quantities to lie inert and useless in their fields.

They could produce nothing but the raw materials of agriculture, and but little variety even of those. Theirs was a civilization that "disdained to be useful, and was content to be stationary."

When, therefore, in the hour of their utmost need they wanted clothing, arms, munitions, and means of transportation, they were without factories, foundries, mills, machine shops, railroads, tools, and skilled workmen. Had it not been for their slaves they would have been without food. Their soldiers suffered for want of proper clothing, some of them even dying of cold, and many, especially toward the close of the war, wearing uniforms made from rag carpet. *Like helpless aborigines, they were obliged to look to their enemy for every resource of warfare.*

"THE DINGLEY LAW—EVERYTHING PROMISED IN ITS NAME HAS COME TO PASS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

In 1897, after an experience with a Democratic tariff—an experience still vivid in the memory of even young men—the Republican party was returned to power, the foremost champion of a protective tariff, William McKinley, having been elected President. Shortly after his inauguration President McKinley called Congress together in extra session for the purpose of revising the tariff. The result was the Dingley law. Its operation has been such as to compel words of praise even from those who opposed its enactment. It has justified itself a hundred times over.

Everything that was promised in its name has come to pass. American industries that had been languishing have revived and are flourishing. New ventures have taken root and are prospering. Work is plentiful and wages are good. Farmers, except those who had been "buying more land," have almost forgotten what a mortgage looks like.

All this is admitted. And yet there are those who would endanger all this for a theory; a theory, too, whose un wisdom has repeatedly been shown by experience here and elsewhere.

Are tariff schedules sacred? No; but the welfare of our people should be sacred to those whose actions may greatly promote or greatly retard it. Should our tariff laws never be revised? Certainly they should. When? *Whenever it becomes evident that there is more to be gained than lost by the people of the United States through such revision.*

How shall we know when the time for revision has arrived? That question will certainly not be determined by vague talk about "changed conditions" since the enactment of the existing law. It will be necessary for those demanding tariff revision on such grounds to specify *just how* "conditions have changed," and *just what* it is therefore wise to do. We shall certainly not allow ourselves to be "beguiled by generalities."

Nor should we be moved by the veiled threat that if we don't revise the tariff—whether such action seem wise or unwise—the chance to revise it will be given to the Democrats.

Mr. Chairman, I have an abiding faith in the might of right and in the common sense of the common people. So far as I am concerned, I shall unhesitatingly choose the path of duty to my country and let results to myself take care of themselves. To such of my friends as may differ with me I can only say that I am not at liberty to sacrifice their interests to my ambitions. If the time should ever come when I fail to prefer their good even to their good will, greatly as I prize that good will, at that moment I should cease to be worthy of being their representative.

During the forty-three years since the Republican party first came into power that party has four times made a general revision of the tariff. Two of these revisions, those of 1861 and 1897, were revisions of Democratic schedules. Two of the revisions, those of 1883 and 1890, were revisions of Republican schedules.

Of course it goes without saying that whenever the proper time comes for the revision of the present tariff act the revision should be made by the friends and not by the enemies of adequate protection to American industries.

In this connection, however, it must not be forgotten, Mr. Chairman, that *a dose of poison is just as fatal if administered by a friend as by a foe.* For example, in 1883, under a demand for tariff revision, such a revision was made by the Republican party. Under popular demand, or what was thought to be popular demand, the wool schedule was made too low. The fact that this act was passed by a Republican Congress and was signed by a Republican President did not save the sheep industry of the United States, for immediately thereafter that industry was reduced by millions of head. The wool schedule of the act of 1883 was a staggering blow to the sheep industry of this country, one from which it never recovered until the passage of the McKinley law, which gave adequate protection to wool.

The Republican party is not committed to any particular schedule, but it is committed to a great principle governing the construction of all schedules. It is not dominated by stubbornness or by pride of opinion; but it does recognize its responsibility relative to the well-being of the people of the United States, and it has business sense enough to know the importance of stability of conditions as related to business prosperity.

"WE OUGHT TO LET THE TARIFF ALONE—WE OUGHT TO DEFEND IT AGAINST ALL COMERS, FOR THE GOOD OF THE NATION."—THOMAS B. REED ON TARIFF REVISION.

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

One of the greatest men whom it was ever my privilege to know personally was the late Thomas B. Reed of Maine, for twenty years a Member of this House and its Speaker through three Congresses. He passed from earth in December, 1902. Almost on the day of his death—in the North American Review for December, 1902—appeared the last article that he ever wrote on public questions.

It comes to us as the counsel of a man of superior intellect and absolute honesty; as the matured judgment of one who was thoroughly informed on the fiscal history of this and other countries. It comes to us as the garnered wisdom of more than three-score years. It comes from one who had voluntarily retired from public life at a time when he was occupying the exalted position of Speaker of this House, a position in our country aptly described by himself as "having but one superior and no peer," a position to which he knew he would be unanimously reelected. It comes as the sage advice of one who had no other purpose to serve than to contribute to the well-being of his country.

I esteem it an honor to append that entire article to these remarks. I do so with the consent of the publishers of the North American Review, who own the copyright to it. To be entirely candid about the matter, I do this in order that, being thus made frankable, it may be circulated in all parts of the United States during the coming campaign. I do this as a high service to the American people. To have read that article carefully and thus studied out its full significance is to have received a college education on the questions of the day.

In that article Mr. Reed discussed with the spirit of a philosopher and the sagacity of a statesman this question of tariff revision. Here are some of the things that he said:

What would you say was the ideal industrial condition of a nation? Everybody at work. Just now we have everybody at work. And yet we think we want something else. *If we keep on fussing we shall get it.* With all the world, except England, including her own colonies, of our opinion with success embroidered on all our banners, we are invited to surrender our views and give place to a beaten world.

Why? *Simply because of that human unrest which is part of the history of the race.* We, being also of limited knowledge, are much given to be *guilted by generalities.* Here is one line of generalities: "Is the Dingley tariff bill the end of wisdom? If not, then it can be improved. A tariff bill could be framed, we think, which would be free from all the errors of that celebrated bill and retain its virtues." Where would you enact such a bill? Why, *in your own mind,* of course. Unfortunately, a bill enacted in the mind has no extraterritorial force. A bill enacted by Congress, like the progress of the world, is the result of a fierce conflict of opposing human interests and must do so. *When men talk carelessly of tariff revision they talk of a tariff never yet established and one that never can be. They dream of a tariff which exactly suits them individually, while a real tariff bill is one which measurably satisfies the country as a whole.*

We have a tariff carefully drawn, which has served us well. That tariff is only five years old. It has brought us away up on the hillside of success. It has no connection with great corporations, except what it has with small corporations and individuals. *No attack by repealing the Dingley Act can hurt one without hurting all.* Any disturbance of that kind would disturb trade in ways with which we are all too familiar.

A tariff bill at any time is not and can not be the creature of one mind. It means the result of a contest by all interests and all minds. Hence whenever any man thinks of a tariff he would make, he always thinks of a tariff bill which will never be enacted.

There was once a President of the United States of great power and influence. For four years he had no Congress behind him, and he dreamed of such a tariff-reform law as would suit him. By and by he had a Congress of his own party, and he started in to make such a law as would please both gods and men. There are those who remember the dismal looks of the Members of the House when they yielded to the Senate, and the averted looks of the President as he let the bill pass by, unsigned and friendless. To those men it became apparent, as it should be to the whole world, that *the tariff enacted is always different from the act in your mind.*

What we had better do is to remember where we are and what our dangers are. Enterprises of business are not entered upon by helter-skelter. They are the result of calculation. One of the first inquiries of the promoter or maker is, how many of our present conditions are to remain? If there are to be uncertainties in the future he will not dare to act. What can you imagine that would dampen a business man's ardor more than to be called on to guess what a new tariff bill would be! The prophetic instinct in the human creature is there beyond its limit.

We ought to let the tariff alone; we ought to defend it against all comers for the good of the nation. We are doing more than well and need no hunt for disaster. That will come in due time.

"WHY DEMOCRATIC PROMISES CANNOT BE TRUSTED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

As I said at the beginning of these remarks, while this question of the tariff is primarily a question of business it is in this country also a question of politics. It is proper, therefore, that the probable political aspect of the question in the coming campaign be clearly stated.

The Democratic party to-day owes whatever hopes it may entertain of success in the coming campaign to the existence of what is known as "the solid South." It is important that we get, if possible, a just conception of the significance of that fact.

The Democratic party knows in advance that it can with absolute certainty count on the electoral votes of the States of the South. Hence in a convention it is not necessary to seriously consider the wishes of the South, either as to a candidate or as to a platform.

The problem of the Democratic managers will be to get the remaining electoral votes necessary to an election. *These must be secured in the North.* A large city offers the best field for certain Northern Democratic methods, so the Democratic managers pick out New York State, with its great metropolitan city, and Illinois, with its Chicago, as the best fighting ground. Then it will be necessary to carry, in addition, one or two States of the size of Indiana, New Jersey, and Wisconsin.

In general, then, the problem before the Democratic campaign managers is *how to carry those Northern States.* New York City can be made to supply a generous majority; but in these days of "publicity" there is a limit to such possibilities. The Republicans must be kept from "coming down to the Harlem" with an overwhelming majority, so a candidate must be selected and a platform must be framed that will appeal to the people "up State."

But the platform must be such as to help in carrying those two States and also the remaining States required. It must be framed with special reference to carrying the Northern States required. Those Northern States have business interests whose owners must, by the platform, be *soothed into a feeling of security.* Above all things, then, the platform must have the appearance of *conservatism.* Inasmuch as the issue this year will be the tariff, the Democratic platform will, for several reasons, probably not be as frank and outspoken as it was in 1892. It will probably contain some "glittering generality" about "tariff revision along conservative lines."

But there is a very plain and easily understood reason why Democratic platform promises can not be relied on.

It all hinges on the existence of that "solid South." At election the "solid South" can be absolutely depended upon to give every one of its electoral votes to the Democratic nominee, so that in the convention, which frames the platform, the wishes of the solid South can be safely treated with indifference. *But when it comes to passing a tariff act in Congress, after the election, the South will largely control the situation,* because the South will furnish the bulk of the votes necessary to pass the bill. In other words, *the platform must be made to please certain States in the North, but the bill must be made to please the States of the South,* who entertain different opinions. The promises will be dictated by the Northern States, the performances by the Southern States. Hence Democratic performances can not reasonably be expected to square with Democratic promises. The people of the South regardless of views about the abstract beauties of "free trade," will take mighty good care to see that the things in which *his* people are interested shall have *full and adequate protection.*

Mr. Chairman, they are "free traders" as to everyone's products except their own.

This was illustrated in both of the bills framed under Democratic auspices in the last forty years—the Mills bill of 1888 and the Wilson-Gorman law of 1894. For example, in the Mills bill, which passed the Democratic House, but was defeated in the Republican Senate, a high rate of duty was placed on rice, a southern product, and an entirely inadequate rate on barley, a Northern product. The Mills bill put a high rate of duty on the cane sugar of the South, but put on the free list the peas, beans, vegetables, tomatoes, milk, meats, and poultry of the North. The central feature of the Mills bill was the removal of all duty on wool, one of the chief products of Northern farms; the same general policy prevailed in the Wilson bill.

Mr. Chairman, a Democratic tariff bill is always sectional—never national—in its spirit.

**"A NATION LIKE OURS COULD NOT LONG STAND
THE RUINOUS POLICY OF READJUSTING ITS
BUSINESS TO RADICAL CHANGES IN THE
TARIFF AT SHORT INTERVALS."—
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.**

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON TARIFF REVISION.

In his Life of Benton, page 224, President Roosevelt says:

Now, whether a protective tariff is right or wrong may be open to question; but if it exists at all, it should work as simply and with as much certainty and exactitude as possible; if its interpretation varies, or if it is continually meddled with by Congress, great damage ensues. It is in reality of far less importance that a law should be ideally right than that it should be certain and steady in its workings. *Even supposing that a high tariff is all wrong, it would work infinitely better for the country than would a series of changes between high and low duties.*

In a speech at Providence, R. I., on August 23, 1902, President Roosevelt said:

The upshot of all this is that it is peculiarly incumbent upon us in a time of such material well-being, both collectively as a nation and individually as citizens, to show, each on his own account, that we possess the qualities of prudence, self-knowledge, and self-restraint. *In our Government we need above all things, stability, fixity of economic policy.*

At Minneapolis, Minn., on April 4, 1903, President Roosevelt delivered an address which exhibited a statesmanlike grasp of this great question and a judicial temper in considering it. From this noteworthy speech I submit here some extracts that are pertinent to the matter now under consideration, and print the entire speech as part of the appendix to these remarks.

The present phenomenal prosperity has been under a tariff which was made in accordance with certain fixed and definite principles, the most important of which is an avowed determination to protect the interests of the American producer, business man, wage-worker, and farmer alike. The general tariff policy, to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country is irrevocably committed, is fundamentally based upon *ample recognition* of the difference between the cost of production—that is, the cost of labor—here and abroad, and of the need to see to it that our laws shall in no event afford advantage in our own market to foreign industries over American industries, to foreign capital over American capital, to foreign labor over our own labor. This country has and this country needs better paid, better educated, better fed, and better clothed workingmen, of a higher type than are to be found in any foreign country. It has and it needs a higher, more vigorous, and more prosperous type of tillers of the soil than is possessed by any other country.

It is, of course, a mere truism that we want to use everything in our power to foster the welfare of our entire body politic. In other words, we need to treat the tariff as a business proposition, from the standpoint of the interest of the country as a whole, and not with reference to the temporary needs of any political party. *It is almost as necessary that our policy should be stable as that it should be wise. A nation like ours could not long stand the ruinous policy of readjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals,* especially when, as now, owing to the immense extent and variety of our products, the tariff schedules carry rates of duty on thousands of different articles.

If a tariff law has on the whole worked well, and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it may be better to endure some inconveniences and inequalities for a time than, by making changes, to risk causing disturbance and perhaps paralysis in the industries and business of the country. *The fact that the change in a given rate of duty may be thought desirable does not settle the question whether it is advisable to make the change immediately.* Every tariff deals with duties on thousands of articles arranged in hundreds of paragraphs and in many schedules.

These duties affect a vast number of interests which are often conflicting. If necessary for our welfare, then, of course, Congress must consider the question of changing the law as a whole or changing any given rates of duty. But we must remember that whenever even a single schedule is considered some interests will appear to demand a change in almost every schedule in the law, and when it comes to upsetting the schedules generally the effect upon the business interests of the country would be ruinous.

To sum up, then, we must as a people approach a matter of such prime economic importance as the tariff from the standpoint of our business needs. We can not afford to become fossilized or fail to recognize the fact that as the needs of the country change it may be necessary to meet these new needs by changing certain features of our tariff laws. *Still less can we afford to fail to recognize the further fact that these changes must not be made until the need for them outweighs the disadvantages which may result.* We have prospered marvelously at home. As a nation we stand in the very fore front of the giant international competition of the day. We can not afford by any freak or folly to forfeit the position to which we have thus triumphantly attained.

"FREE TRADE BETWEEN COUNTRIES COMPELS EVENTUAL EQUALIZATION IN CON- DITIONS OF THE PEOPLE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. JONES, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Sept. 10, 1890, and printed in the Congressional Record.

The only thing that now restrains a tendency to equalization between this country and the countries of Europe is the tariff wall which we have erected. Were it not for this the cheap products of foreign factories would flood our markets, would destroy our workshops—those greatest of all, our schools. We expend millions of dollars annually for the elementary education of our young men—an education that merely prepares them to enter these great schools of life, in which they continue their studies. No one doubts that we should provide liberally for our public schools. The great workshops of the country, filled with deft, thoughtful, and studious young men, are in the true sense an extension of the public schools—they constitute advanced grades—in which the students not only pay for their own tuition, but pay back to the country much more than was expended on their elementary education.

Without these workshops and workmen we should soon find ourselves reduced to the necessity of exchanging a large amount of the raw material of our soil for a very small quantity of the finished product of foreign factories. It would be discovered when too late that the work of supplying the wants of our own people, a people that earns more and spends more than any other people on earth, had been bartered away for the poor privilege of supplying the wants of the squalid and poorly paid inhabitants of other continents.

England very well understands this principle of equalization. When she looks toward France and Germany she wants "fair trade," which means protection, because she knows that in dealing with those countries her people would have to equalize downward. When she looks toward the United States she wants "free" trade, because she knows that in dealing with us they would be equalizing upward.

I maintain and repeat that free trade between countries compels eventual equalization in the conditions of the people of those countries. To accomplish this may take a longer or shorter time, according to the circumstances of each case, but the process begins at once.

If it be desirable that the aspiring workmen of this country shall maintain their present grade of living, and shall not be pressed down to the condition of the ill-fed and ill-paid workmen of other lands, then all idea of a low-tariff policy and of a policy of international free trade must be abandoned, and the tariff wall must be maintained sufficiently high to exclude all articles whose manufacture or production here would require no greater expenditure of mental or physical force than must be expended in their production elsewhere.

If we have high wages and high civilization for the masses in this country, then in order to keep wages and civilization on a high plane a tariff is indispensable. If we are to permit the product of the labor of the foreign workman, underpaid and underfed as he is, to compete in our home market with the product of our own workmen, shall we permit that competition to take place without exacting any return for the privilege? Shall our people, who consume twice as much food per head as the people of Europe, expend six times as much per head for education, cheerfully contribute of their earnings in many other directions to support the civilization of this country, and stand ready to defend it if need be with their lives—shall they permit foreign manufacturers from a distance of thousands of miles to carry on business in all the towns and cities of the United States without contributing in any way whatever to the support of our institutions or Government?

Shall we permit them to compete in our own market with our own people on perfectly even terms? If so, the consequences will not be slow to make themselves felt. The competition for the present may be only with the English, the French, or the Germans, but it is a progressive competition. What is to make it stop with the competition of Europe? If cheapness is the desideratum it can not stop there. Reaching beyond the Englishman, the Frenchman, and the German, our competition will soon be with the half-clothed Hindoo, and, beyond him, with the naked inhabitant of the Congo. Is this to be the measure of the ultimate civilization of the United States?

"THE TARIFF A NATURAL, NOT AN ARTIFICIAL WALL"

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. JONES, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Sept. 10, 1890, and printed in the Congressional Record.

THE NATURAL WAGE.

A tariff upon imports, instead of being an artificial creation, is, in my judgment, the natural and proper thing for a nation. Free foreign trade is the artificial thing. A nation must be regarded as a family, all of whose members should stand together. As between the members of that family, undoubtedly, unrestricted trade is the natural condition, because equalization between them is the condition suggested by nature and by the mutual interests of the members of the national family. Any advantage given to one member of that family over another would be unnatural and intolerable, but to deny to strangers benefits that we might confer on members of our own family would not be unnatural. On the contrary, it would be in strict conformity with nature. The same law should govern the national family.

One of the highest duties of government is the adoption of such economic policy as may encourage and develop every industry to which the soil and climate of the country are adapted, and, when established, to preserve and protect such industries from destructive foreign competition. Industries which, owing to climatic or other insuperable barriers, it would be manifestly impossible to develop should not be attempted, or, if foolishly attempted, should not be encouraged or protected. I should not think of raising bananas under glass, nor encourage an attempt to plant in this country the India-rubber tree, nor to develop a tea or coffee plantation—at least not with our present information regarding the probabilities of success in the growth of tea and coffee in the United States. But I lay this down as the correct and fundamental idea of a tariff: That whenever a given degree of mental and physical force exerted in this country will accomplish results equal to those accomplished by an equal degree of such force exerted in any other country, our tariff charge can not be too high.

With that principle in practical operation, the compensation for labor would be regulated, not by competition between our workmen and those of lower forms of civilization, but by the natural and unrestricted competition among workmen wholly within the borders of our own country, who are partakers of and contributors to the same civilization, who are the support and defense of our institutions and are prepared to sustain with their lives the perpetuity of our Government.

I maintain that the natural wage of every man—the amount to which he is fairly entitled—is the amount he can earn in free and unrestricted competition in his own country with men who are subject to the same laws and responsibilities, accustomed to the same manner and standard of living.

To subject men to any keener competition than this or to exact a lower standard of wages than would result from the operation of that principle would be substantially to declare the ultimate and fundamental standard of wages for the world at large to be that rate at which the least skilled workmen of the lowest civilization will consent to work and procreate. The American workman will never accept such a standard, and he never should do so. He will not consent to be pressed down into the penury and squalor to which the laborers of other lands are subjected and with which, in the main, they are contented.

It is much better to do justice at the outset—to concede that the nation is one great family, and that no member of that family has a moral right to supply his wants with a cheaper workman than his own country affords. A country that will employ cheap labor will find that it reacts on those who employ it, and that, in the long run, instead of a profit, they will experience a loss by the operation. Our workmen are entitled to the control of our markets for the product of their industry. They pay the taxes; they constitute the people. It is right that they should refuse to be subjected to the barbarous competition of people who are living under the shadow of standing armies, and who, through ages of oppression, have become accustomed to a grade of existence that to our people would make life not worth living.

There is no reason whatever why every man in the United States should not be willing to pay such rates of wages as shall obtain by the free and unrestricted competition of all workmen in his own country. The compensation which he receives for his own services in whatever occupation he may be employed—and there are few of our people who do not work—is based on the average wages of his own community. He is not entitled to get other men's labor at any cheaper rate, in proportion to value of service, than he charges for his own; and this is what an adequate tariff justly prevents him from doing.

Under such tariff we are sustaining the conditions of life to which our people are accustomed. At the same time we are creating new comforts and inventing new devices by which human wants may be supplied with less of human sacrifice. Nor under it can we be in any danger of losing the benefit of such inventions as may be made in other lands. Science and invention are great travelers, and with the maintenance of such economic policy as may keep at a high level the conditions of all our people our country will always attract men of choicest skill in every department of the arts.

The condition of our people being universally acknowledged to be superior to that of any other people on the globe, the tariff wall is necessary to protect them from the squalor and misery prevailing elsewhere. If this be a Chinese wall it is only so because it walls out the poverty of less favored countries and walls in the prosperity of the United States of America.

THE SYMPATHIES OF THE FREE TRADER GOES TO THE PURCHASER OF GOODS; HE HAS NO SYMPATHY WITH THE PRODUCER OF THEM."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. JONES, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Sept. 10, 1890, and printed in the Congressional Record.

THE "NECESSARIES OF LIFE."

The sympathies of the free trader go out in unstinted measure to the purchaser of goods; he has no sympathy with the producer of them. He wishes the duty taken from the "necessaries of life." In behalf of whom? Not the producer of those necessities, but the purchaser. He ignores the fact that it is in the production of those very necessities that nine-tenths of our people are engaged. If the tariff charges are to be taken from "necessaries of life," there will be no need of a protective tariff; there will be nobody to be protected. Under the pretense of benefiting the purchaser the Democratic party would destroy both the producer and the industry.

If we examine the list of productive pursuits followed in this country, we shall find almost all of them dealing with "necessaries of life." Protection should be given to all pursuits, so that the largest variety of industries may be encouraged. The fact that only a few persons are engaged in a particular industry is no reason why that industry should be destroyed, our country deprived of the art, and other industries overcrowded with the displaced labor.

In the idea, therefore, that all tariff charges should be taken off the "necessaries of life," there is nothing but an appeal to "consumers," in the hope that the producers of the country, being also consumers, may be deceived by mere names.

Before the great protective system was inaugurated by the Republican party a very large number of articles now deemed by our people to be "necessaries" were luxuries of life. The daily living of the masses of this country has in thirty years, under protection, come more and more to consist of things that prior to that time were beyond their reach. With the protective principle thoroughly understood and universally applied, there is hardly an article in the present category of luxuries that would not, as time passed, become part of the daily life and daily needs of the masses of the American people.

It will be generally admitted that worsted shawls come fairly within the designation of "necessaries of life" in this country. Suppose the duty on worsted shawls to be high and the duty on camel-hair shawls low. Our free-trade friends would characterize this as a gross wrong. Let us see. There are thousands of people in this country engaged in the manufacture of worsted shawls. With one accord they assert that if the tariff charge should be taken from those articles it would either destroy the industry in this country or relegate all those engaged in it to a grade of living inconsistent with citizenship of this free Republic. They therefore unite in a request that the duty be not taken from imported worsted shawls.

So, also, the American sheep-raisers who supply the wool for those shawls, living in isolation and self-denial, entreat us not to subject them to a competition with the cheap labor of South America and Australia. It is manifest, if we are to have a protective policy at all, that the policy should extend to every industry existing in the country; otherwise it would be a partial and unjust policy. By a duty on wool and on worsted shawls we protect the people engaged in the manufacture of those articles from the competition of European labor. But in examining the subject, to see against whom a discrimination would operate in case we put only a comparatively light duty on camel-hair shawls, I fail to find American labor engaged in raising camels. I have seen no camel ranches in this country, nor have I heard of anybody in the United States being engaged in the manufacture of camel-hair shawls.

Whom, therefore, should we protect by an extraordinarily high tariff charge on camel-hair shawls? An industrial policy, to be worthy of a great nation like this, should enable its people to do all their own work, untouched by competition from the squalid labor of other lands.

By the protective feature of the tariff we secure all the revenue needed by the Government, and whether luxuries are highly taxed or not, it would be absolutely destructive of the interests of our laboring men to take the tariff charge from foreign importations of articles that may be called "necessaries of life." By taking the duty off "necessaries of life" we should subject our producers to a competition that would deprive them of work, that work being the production of those very "necessaries." As I have said elsewhere, it is the producer to whom the highest consideration is due. All except the aged and infirm should be producers, and even these are provided for by the protection which the tariff affords to those whom nature has appointed to care for them. Industrial policies can not be planned in the interest of those who produce nothing, who contribute nothing to the commonwealth. States can live without them.

**"THE QUESTION IS NOT BETWEEN FREE TRADE AND
TARIFF—THE QUESTION IS SHALL TARIFF BE SO
LAID AS TO PRODUCE REVENUE ONLY, OR
THAT IT SHALL ALSO ENCOURAGE AND
PROTECT AMERICAN INDUSTRIES."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in
the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Con-
gressional Record, June 20, 1904.*

Not long ago I received a letter from an intelligent constituent of mine, asking how much of the money paid by the people of his county to the county treasurer goes to the support of the United States. He said there had been quite a dispute in his neighborhood over the matter. Of course the answer to the question is that *not one cent* of the money paid to the county or city or town treasurer, or whoever may be collector of local taxes, goes into the Treasury of the United States. It all goes to the State and to the institutions conducted under authority of the State. It goes to support the local schools, to build the local highways, to construct the local bridges, to support the local poor, to meet the expenses of the school district, the town, the village, the city, the county, and the State. *Not one penny of it goes to the Treasury of the United States.*

Under our Constitution, it is the State and not the Nation which protects its inhabitants in their persons and in their property; and so the State and not the Nation has the moral and constitutional right to tax their persons and their properties. On the other hand, it is the Nation and not the State which provides for the common defense—which raises and maintains armies and navies. *It is the Nation and not the State which regulates international commerce.* What more natural, then, than that the Nation should derive the income for its support primarily from the field in which it does its work and thus derives its moral right to levy taxes at all? *That is, having for its field of service the regulation and protection of our entire international commerce, the General Government naturally derives its revenue from taxes levied on our foreign commerce.* But our Constitution forbids taxation of exports, so the United States can tax only imports.

It is for this reason that the United States always has derived, derives to-day, and always will derive its principal income from taxes levied on goods imported into this country. In the language of the Democratic national platform of 1884, "From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be."

From what I have said it must be clear that the tariff question is *not* "Shall there or shall there not be a tariff on imported goods?" When the Government was founded that question was settled for all time and settled in the affirmative.

To provide for the common defense and do all the other incidental things that our Constitution authorizes and requires the General Government to do necessitates the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars a year. As I have shown, that money must be raised in large part from duties on imports, no matter what party is in power.

The tariff question, then, is not one between free trade, properly so called, and tariff taxation. *It is between two methods of tariff taxation.* The question is not "Shall there be a tariff on imported goods?" but "How shall that tariff be levied?" The question is, "Shall that tariff be so laid as to produce revenue *only*, or shall it be so laid that while producing the necessary revenue it shall *also* encourage and protect American industries?" That is the question of the tariff, all others being incidental and subsidiary.

"IS THE TARIFF A ROBBERY?"

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. JONES, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Sept. 10, 1890, and printed in the Congressional Record.

The free traders and revenue reformers assert that tariff is a "robbery."

Can it be a "robbery" of any one to secure to the people of this country the opportunity to supply our national wants by the hands of our own countrymen? That is all that the highest conceivable tariff can secure.

In times of armed conflict our citizens are required to leave their homes and families to take up arms, and at the risk of their lives defend the country against armed invasion. Why should not the country in time of peace protect the labor of those men from an industrial invasion no less destructive?

If the tariff be a "robbery," it is first to be observed that all classes of people, the robbed as well as the robbing, are better fed, better clothed, and better housed than the people of any other country in the world. That is the crucial test of economical policies.

It is undeniable that the most perfect suiting of occupations to the various aptitudes of all the members of the community will be produced by the carrying on of the largest variety of industries.

Is it not then the duty of a country to maintain such industrial policy as will secure the greatest possible extent and variety of production, leaving to the natural competition between individuals the function of preventing undue profits on the part of any? There are 23,000,000 of active workers in this country. Among that large number the contests and competition of those engaged in the same business may be relied on to adjust prices so that none can make a profit greater than the average profit of the community.

But let us see whether there is any robbery effected by a tariff.

As to such portion of the money collected as is paid to the Government, that goes into the public treasury and aids in defraying the expenses of the nation. Inasmuch as all the people share in its benefits, that portion can not be considered "robbery."

It will hardly do to assert that the foreign manufacturer is "robbed" by our requiring him to deposit in our Treasury a sum of money in the nature of a license-fee for the privilege of selling his wares in this country.

The "rob" therefore must consist of the difference between a reasonable price and the price now charged by the manufacturer. If such difference exists, it must constitute a margin so ample as to become a strong incentive to the people of any section claiming to be robbed by it to organize for themselves competing establishments and thus wholly protect themselves against the exaction of the robber. The tariff protects them against the foreigner, and all that is needed to protect them against the native robber is for themselves to do the work—to produce the article. Why do they not produce it? If they have not the skill, they can employ it. There is ample skill in this country ready to go wherever sufficient inducement is offered.

The law operating equally and impartially on all sections of the Union, the people of any section claiming to be robbed, yet refusing or neglecting to set up establishments for the manufacture of the article through which the robbery is effected, confess, by such refusal or negligence, that, notwithstanding their complaint, they get the article for less than they are willing to produce it for themselves. If through the adoption of sinister policies the domestic manufacturers should be driven out of business, then both they and those who now complain of robbery would be equally helpless against the exactions of the foreign manufacturer, who, the field being all his own, would continue, and, at will, enlarge upon the "robbery." If the "rob" is not sufficient to induce competition on the part of those who claim to suffer by it, it can not be very great—it can not exist at all except in the imaginations of those who believe that the exigencies of a political party are more to be consulted than the interests of the country.

Under keen competition in all industries, how can any one be robbed? In order that we may arrive at some idea of the possibility of robbery by our manufacturers, let us inquire as to the character of the competition existing.

As the census figures for this year are not yet available, the figures at command apply to a population not of 65,000,000, but 50,000,000. I do not doubt that they are 40 per cent. greater now than in 1880, but I will take them as they then stood.

According to the census of 1880 there were 17,972 boot and shoe factories in the United States. Has anybody in this country, then, a monopoly in the making of boots and shoes? With the keen competition maintained by nearly eighteen thousand establishments, it is likely that purchasers of boots and shoes can be "robbed?" It is probable the number of establishments is now twenty-five thousand. No one of these establishments, if it would get trade and keep it, can charge more for boots and shoes than its competitors charge.

The census of 1880 also shows that we had 3,841 carriage and wagon factories. Is not that number enough to afford the purchaser of carriages and wagons ample protection against over-charge, against "robbery?"

We had 1,943 manufactories of agricultural implements. This is an average of fifty such factories for each State in the Union. Is it at all probable that with active competition for business among so many establishments any one of them could succeed for any length of time in "robbing" its customers?

We had 1,005 cotton factories, working 230,223 looms and 10,921,147 spindles. Is that number not enough to maintain sufficient competition in the manufacture of cotton goods?

We had 4,958 machine shops. Is not this number enough to keep up a fair competition in the production and price of machinery?

We had 6,008 factories of furniture and upholstery. Surely that number of competitors should make it impossible for any one of these factories to make more than a fair average profit in the making of furniture.

We had 1,005 separate establishments for the making of iron and steel. Considering the intensity of the competition in that business and the large amount of capital employed (which in 1880 was \$230,000,000), the efforts of each establishment to get business, as against its competitors, render it certain that the profits of the business must bear a normal ratio to the general range of profits throughout the country.

Where competition is free among so vast a population as ours there can be no robbery in a tariff, no matter how high.

"GREAT BRITAIN IS LOSING HER GRASP WHILE THE PROTECTED NATIONS ARE GROWING STRONG."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

SOME SUGGESTIVE COMPARISONS.

It may not be very important where a nation happens to be at a given moment, but it is supremely important the direction in which he or it is headed. Condition may be unimportant; tendency is vastly important. By means of some brief tabular statements I propose now to show the tendency of Great Britain, and side by side with her the tendency of France, Germany, and the United States, all of which have a protective tariff of greater or less efficiency. (These figures are taken verbatim from an official English source—based on the reports of the British National Board of Trade—and the money values are expressed in pounds sterling as in the original.)

British imports from competitive nations, 1875 and 1902.

[From Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, United States.]

	1875.	1902.
Raw material, food, etc.....	£117,700,000	£156,100,000
Manufactures	50,100,000	116,500,000
Total.....	£167,800,000	£272,600,000

British exports to competitive nations.

[To Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, United States.]

	1875.	1902.
Raw material, etc.....	£8,100,000	£21,400,000
Manufactures	71,500,000	57,600,000
Total.....	£79,400,000	£79,000,000

It will be noted that the total volume of British *exports* to her five chief competitors was *actually less in 1902 than 1875*. Moreover, the composition of those exports had undergone a most portentous change. It will be noted that British exports of raw material had nearly trebled, while her exports of manufactured goods had fallen off about 20 per cent.

On the other hand, looking at the *imports* of Great Britain, it will be noted that her rivals had *more than doubled* the sale of their manufactured goods in British markets.

Now let us examine the movement from the other side of the line. Here are some very suggestive tables:

FRANCE.

Manufactures exported to England:	Manufactures imported from England:
1875.....£20,000,000	1875.....£12,300,000
1902.....36,700,000	1902.....9,600,000
Increase over 23 per cent.	Decrease, 22 per cent.

BELGIUM.

Manufactures exported to England:	Manufactures imported from England:
1875.....£8,600,000	1875.....£5,200,000
1902.....19,000,000	1902.....6,400,000
Increase, 120 per cent.	Increase, 23 per cent.

GERMANY AND HOLLAND.

Manufactures exported to England:	Manufactures imported from England:
1875.....£10,500,000	1875.....£33,500,000
1902.....46,900,000	1902.....22,000,000
Increase over 340 per cent.	Decrease over 30 per cent.

UNITED STATES.

Manufactures exported to England:	Manufactures imported from England:
1875.....£2,000,000	1875.....£20,000,000
1902.....13,700,000	1902.....19,500,000
Increase, 585 per cent.	Decrease, 5 per cent.

The above tables reveal a tendency making an unanswerable argument in favor of a protective-tariff system. *Great Britain, once the workshop of the world, is evidently losing her grasp, while the protected nations are growing strong.*

**"WATCH SPRINGS—THE FREE LIST?"—"THE DUTI-
ABLE LIST?"**

**"THE TWO POLICIES ARE LOGICALLY THE OPPOSITE
OF EACH OTHER"—"WE HAVE THE WORK-
MEN SKILLED IN THAT CRAFT."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in
the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Con-
gressional Record, June 20, 1904.*

Let us assume that the Democratic party has declared for a tariff for revenue only and has carried the election. Let us assume that the party has resolved to carry out to the letter the promises made to the people and prepare a tariff bill in strict accordance with the principle of "a tariff for revenue *only*."

Let us watch the committee making up its tariff bill.

Thousands of items are to be considered, but the principle is never to be lost sight of. They come to the item of watch springs. The test question is, "Do we in this country possess the raw material out of which watch springs are made, and do we possess—or can we acquire—the workmen through whose labor and skill watch springs can be made economically and in sufficient quantities to meet the demands for watch springs on the part of the people of the United States." The answer to that question is "Yes. In the United States are numberless mines producing the best of iron. We have the men, and the men have the skill to take that iron and work it up from its crude state, process after process, until finally is made that wonderful product, a watch spring, worth more than its weight in gold."

Where, then, would our Democratic brethren place watch springs in their tariff bill? Would they put them on the free list or on the dutiable list? A tariff on watch springs would not only produce a revenue to the Government on all watch springs that might be imported, but would also provide protection to an American industry, existing or economically possible. But Democrats believe in "a tariff for revenue *only*." So the only logical thing for the Democrats to do would be to put watch springs on the free list.

Now, let us suppose the Republican party in power and making a tariff bill. They come to the item of watch springs. What would the Republican party do? The course of reasoning would be this: "The making of watch springs economically and in sufficient quantities to meet the demand for watch springs in the United States is an industry either existing or entirely practicable in this country. We have the raw material. We have the workmen skilled in that craft. Watch springs are or can be produced economically in the United States. They can and should be produced in quantities to supply the demand of the people of the United States who desire watch springs of American make. Therefore, a duty on watch springs would raise revenue for the Government and at the same time would afford protection to an American industry. Therefore watch springs should be put upon the dutiable list." Look at the Dingley Act and you will find them there.

Thus we see that while the purpose of each party is and must be to raise revenue required for the support of the Government and to raise it through duties on imports, the two policies are logically the very opposite of each other in specifying the items upon which the duty should be laid. Each party would have a "dutiable list," or list of articles upon which a duty should be laid, and each would have a "free list," or list of articles upon which no duty should be laid. But each would logically put on the dutiable list the things which the other would put upon the free list.

"HOW GERMANY IS PROGRESSING—LET US TAKE A GLIMPSE AT HER HISTORY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

We are accustomed to think of Frederick the Great only as a mighty military genius. But a large part of his real greatness consists in what he did to develop the industrial capacities of his people and his country. His most eminent biographer, Carlyle, says of him:

In improving the industries and husbandries among his people, his success, though less noised of in foreign parts, was to the near observer still more remarkable.

Under Frederick's successors, "who intensified all the faults and neglected all the good points of his system," "free trade" became the recognized policy in Prussia. After various experiences, in 1833 a number of the German States united to form a zollverein—that is, a customs union or tariff league, having a protective tariff against the rest of the world, but practical free trade among the 26,000,000 people living within the territory of the zollverein.

The report of Doctor Bowring, who was sent by the British Government in 1841 to examine and report upon the Zollverein, shows the following:

1. That protection had vastly increased the power of the German people to command the services of other people, as shown by the fact that the importations had risen steadily in amount and quality, instead of decreasing, as had been predicted by the opponents of the Zollverein.

2. The wages of labor had been largely raised for both farm hands and factory hands. Not only was more money paid for a day's work, but so much more was paid as enabled the workingman to command a much larger amount of material comfort.

3. The farmer had not lost what the manufacturer had gained, but had gained equally with him, the prices of raw materials and of manufactured goods having steadily approximated each other as the factory was brought nearer the farm.

4. The total consumption of articles of prime necessity had increased in a ratio far exceeding the growth of the population.

5. The enormous difference between rich and poor had been diminished, and the middle class of prosperous and intelligent people had gained greatly in number.

6. The German people, formerly dissevered by the frontiers of petty principalities, had been drawn into national and political unity by the industrial policy that had recognized the identity of the material interests of the severed parts.

It was this Zollverein that made the ideal of German unity popular. It was the memory of this Zollverein and its remarkable industrial successes which made United Germany, under the leadership of Bismarck, possible of accomplishment.

But with all their strength of character, with all the demonstration of the success of their Zollverein, like the people of the United States some fifty years ago, they yielded to the seductive argument for "free trade," gradually reducing their tariff rates below the point where they afforded adequate protection, and suffered the same consequences that were suffered in the United States. And it was not until 1879, under the leadership of the sagacious Bismarck, that a reunited Germany returned to the policy under which the earlier Zollverein had prospered so enormously.

During the course of his speech on the tariff in 1879, when Bismarck was pointing out to the German parliament the reasons why Germany should return to the protective policy, he said:

The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern times. The American nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history but immediately afterwards disbanded its Army, found work for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, gives labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they arrive within the territory, and all by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States. * * * I base my opinion on the practical experience of the times we live in. I see that the protective countries are prospering and the free-trade countries decaying. Mighty England, like a powerful athlete strode out into the open market when she had strengthened her sinews and said, "Who will measure with me? I am ready for all." But England herself is slowly returning to the protective tariff, and some years hence she will adopt it in order to keep at least her home market.

THE TARIFF IS THE PRICE WHICH FOREIGN MANUFACTURERS PAY FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF SELLING IN OUR MARKET."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

As an illustration of the fact that our tariff compels foreign producers coming into our markets to accept smaller profits here than elsewhere, I take from the report of the United States Industrial Commission the following from the testimony of Mr. John Pitcairn, president of the Pittsburg Glass Company, relative to the operations of European makers of plate glass:

Various manufacturing powers in Europe have combined into one strong international syndicate in order to regulate and divide among themselves the world's markets. Only the United States is left out of this protecting combination. This market (the United States) is therefore a desirable dumping ground for the surplus of European production, and exceptionally low prices are being made by the foreign manufacturers for glass intended for the United States. For example, the present European price for polished plate glass cut to size is, for the United States, 40 per cent. and 5 per cent. discount from a certain price list; for England, 10 per cent. discount from the same price list, which means a difference in price of 58 per cent. European discounts for stock sizes of polished plate glass are, for the United States, 30 per cent. off the list; for England, 5 per cent. off the same list, which shows a difference of 36 per cent.

In other words, the tariff is the price which foreign manufacturers pay for the privilege of selling the products of foreign labor in our market. The Democratic party says that we should charge them less for this privilege. The Republican party declares that, if anything, we should charge them more.

And why shouldn't the foreign producer pay *and pay well* for entering our market? He does not live among us. He is not subject to service in time of war. He gives no employment to our people. He pays nothing otherwise toward the expenses of the Government, local or general, yet he gets the benefit of the protection guaranteed by our Government. It is perfectly right in every way that he should be required to help pay the expenses of the Government which furnishes him with protection to his property and enables him to pursue his business in peace and safety.

The beauty of it is that, under a protective tariff, whatever part of the tariff is paid by our citizens is paid by those who are both able and willing to pay it—by the rich, who feel that they must have "imported" goods.

On this point Abraham Lincoln, discussing the protective tariff in an address to the people of Illinois issued March 4, 1843, said:

By this system the man who contents himself to live upon the products of his own country *pays nothing at all*; and surely that country is extensive enough and its products abundant enough to answer all the real wants of its people. In short, by this system the burden of revenue falls almost entirely on the wealthy and luxurious few, while the substantial and laboring many, who live at home and upon home products, go entirely free.

And in discussing the Mills bill on the floor of this House on May 8, 1888, William McKinley, then a Representative in Congress, said in relation to the protective tariff:

What is a protective tariff? It is a tariff upon foreign imports so adjusted as to secure the necessary revenue, and judiciously imposed upon those foreign products the like of which are produced at home, or the like of which we are capable of producing at home. It imposes the duty on the foreign competing product. It makes it bear the burden or duty, and, as far as possible, luxuries only excepted, permits the noncompeting foreign product to come in free of duty. Articles of common use, comfort, and necessity which we can not produce here it sends to the people untaxed and free from custom-house exaction. Tea, coffee, spices, and drugs are such articles, and under our system are upon the free list. It says to our foreign competitor, "You want to bring your merchandise here, your farm products here, your coal and iron ore, your wool, your salt, your pottery, your glass, your cottons and woollens, and sell alongside of our producers in our market, we will make your product bear a duty—in effect, pay for the privilege of doing it. Our kind of tariff makes the competing foreign article carry the burden, draw the lead, supply the revenue; and in performing this essential office it encourages at the same time our own industries and protects our own people in their chosen employments. That is the mission and purpose of a protective tariff."

"LINCOLN ON THE TARIFF."

"MR. LINCOLN'S SUGGESTION MADE FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS AGO HAS BEEN FULLY JUSTIFIED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

LINCOLN'S VIEWS ON THE TARIFF.

In 1846 Abraham Lincoln was elected to Congress from Illinois. In the campaign of 1846 the tariff question had been quite prominent. For years before that campaign Mr. Lincoln had been making a study of the subject with the view of determining the wise policy for this country. After the election he made further study of it with the view of discharging properly his duties as a Member of Congress. So earnest was he in the matter that he made careful memoranda of his studies and his conclusions. In one of the memoranda then made he said:

I suppose the true effect of duties upon prices to be as follows: If a certain duty be levied upon an article which by nature can not be produced in this country—say, 3 cents a pound upon coffee—the effect will be that the consumer will pay 1 cent more per pound than before, the producer will take 1 cent less, and the merchant 1 cent less in his profits. But if a duty amounting to full protection be levied upon an article which can be produced here with as little labor as elsewhere, as iron, that article will ultimately and at no distant day, in consequence of such duty, be sold to our people cheaper than before.

In another memorandum on the tariff question, written just before taking his seat in Congress in 1847, Mr. Lincoln said:

To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly so as possible, is a worthy object of any good government. Will the protective tariff principle advance or retard this object?

The habits of our whole species fall into three great classes—useful labor, useless labor, and idleness. It appears to me that the labor done in carrying articles to the place of consumption which could be produced in sufficient abundance and with as little labor at the place of consumption is useless labor. Iron and everything made of iron can be produced in sufficient abundance and with as little labor in the United States as anywhere else in the world; therefore all labor done in bringing in iron and its fabrics from a foreign country to the United States is a useless labor. The same precisely may be said of cotton and wool and of their fabrics. The raw cotton grows in our country, is carried by land and water to England, is there spun, woven, dyed, stamped, etc., and then carried back again and worn in the very country where it grows, and partly by the very persons who grew it. Why should it not be spun, woven, etc., in the very neighborhood where it grows and is consumed, and the carrying be thereby dispensed with.

Mr. Lincoln's suggestion, made fifty-seven years ago, that the protective-tariff principle should be applied to the development of our iron and cotton industries, has been fully justified by events. In 1847, when the suggestion was made, the pig-iron production of the United States amounted to 800,000 tons. From 1847 till 1861 we had a tariff that furnished inadequate protection, and the production of iron was practically stationary. In 1861 was passed a protective-tariff act, and the protective-tariff system has been largely operative ever since. In 1870, ten years after the election of the first Republican President, pig-iron production has reached 1,665,000 tons; in 1880 it was over 4,000,000 tons; in 1890, over 9,000,000; in 1900, over 13,000,000, and in 1903, over 18,000,000 tons, and the price has fallen from \$30.25 in 1847 to \$15 a ton in 1904.

Equally justified has been his suggestion and prediction relative to cotton manufactures. In 1847 the cotton mills of the United States took 1,858,000 bales of domestic cotton for manufacture. By 1902 the consumption of our cotton mills had grown to over 4,000,000 bales; and the price of standard prints, a staple article of cotton manufacture, has fallen from 10 cents per yard in 1847 to 5 cents per yard or less in 1903, as shown by the official figures of the Bureau of Statistics.

On another occasion Lincoln is reported to have used this characteristic illustration: "If my wife buys a dress in England for \$20, we have the dress and England has the \$20. If she buys that dress in the United States we have both the dress and the \$20."

"THE FOREIGN PRODUCER MUST PAY ALL OR NEARLY ALL OF THE TARIFF ON THE GOODS WHICH HE SENDS HERE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

WHO PAYS THE DUTIES?

The question is sometimes asked, Who actually pays the money that the Government collects through the custom-house? Former President Cleveland is on record as having said at one time something to the effect that "the tariff is a tax, the amount of which is added to the price of the article, and is paid by the consumer."

Even if this were wholly true it would not be a valid argument in favor of free trade, so called. The revenues are collected for the support of the Government, and it would not be asking too much to ask each citizen to pay his fair share toward that support. Moreover, the tariff, whichever policy it is levied under, is laid upon goods coming from foreign countries into this. So, even under the definition of Mr. Cleveland, each person can, in some measure, determine for himself how large a tax he shall pay.

But with a tariff for revenue only—that is, a tariff levied on goods the like of which we do not produce in this country—the policy advocated by our Democratic brethren, two things are noteworthy:

First. Under this system of tariff for revenue *only*, Mr. Cleveland's proposition about the tariff being paid by the consumer would be practically correct. That is, there being no similar articles produced in the United States, the importers would not have to meet American competition. Being subject only to competition among themselves, they might add most of the amount of the tariff to the cost of the article, thus passing it on to be paid by the consumer as a part of the cost of the article.

Second. The articles upon which the tariff would be laid are articles of very general consumption, such as tea, coffee, spices, and drugs. These articles are used by everybody, used by the poor quite as largely as by the rich, so that such a tax necessarily falls upon the poor very much more heavily than upon the rich in proportion to their ability to pay.

Now, let us consider the question as related to a tariff levied not for revenue only, but for revenue plus protection.

When the tariff is first laid upon an article not produced in the United States but capable of being produced here economically and in sufficient quantities to meet, or nearly meet, the demands of the American people, the *first* effect of the tariff may be to increase the cost to the people of the article upon which the tariff is laid. (We are assuming that there is no industry in this country of the kind on which the tariff under consideration was laid, but that the tariff was laid for the purpose of establishing such an industry.) The foreign producers, having at first no competition here, control the market and determine the price. On bringing the goods into this country they must, of course, pay the duty at the custom-house; but, having no domestic competition to encounter here, they can largely fix the price at which the article shall be sold, and they may add to the import price the amount that they paid in the way of tariff.

Thus, even under a protective tariff Mr. Cleveland's proposition may be applicable—at *first*. But even at first the price would probably be temporarily lowered from what it had been before the tariff was laid, by reason of the effort of foreign producers in possession of the market to *prevent the establishment of such industries in this country*, the object being to defeat the purposes of the law and thus open the way for its repeal.

But the protection from destructive competition from foreign capital and underpaid labor, if the protection be adequate and stable, soon brings American capital into the business of supplying the article. As one factory after another is established, competition here at home begins to reduce the price of the article to our people. Then the foreign producer finds that he is not able to get back *all* that he has paid as duties, and he must be satisfied with a smaller profit than before. And as the American factories increase in number and their operators increase in skill the prices become lower and lower, and the foreign producer selling in this market is able to get back from the consumer less and less of the money which he paid for the privilege of coming into this market; so that he pays more and more of the tariff and must be satisfied with smaller and smaller profits.

Briefly, then, when a protective tariff is first levied the foreign producer may be able to add the tariff to the price, and the consumer may temporarily have to pay all the tariff as a part of the cost of the article. But as the industry grows and thrives in the United States prices fall, the consumer pays less and less of the tax even on the imported goods which he buys, and the foreign producer pays more and more of that tax till the point is reached where, with the American factories producing abundantly, the foreign producer, desirous of selling goods in this country, must of necessity pay all or nearly all of the tariff on the goods which he sends here, regarding it as part of the cost of getting them into this market and taking for himself a smaller profit.

"DEMOCRATIC CHEAPNESS A CHEAPNESS OF MEN— REPUBLICAN CHEAPNESS A CHEAPNESS OF METHODS."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, printed in the
daily Congressional Record of April 4, 1904.*

The cheapness that our Democratic free-trade friends are seeking means an ultimate cheapness of men, an inferiority of citizenship, a cheapness that submits men to squalor of living. This form of cheapness is odious and repulsive. In order to get cheaper goods for the moment they would cheapen our institutions. The aspiration of the Republican party is not for that form of cheapness, but for the cheapness developed by science and promoted by art, the cheapness that results from improved methods of production.

I maintain that the first duty of the government of a republic is to adopt and maintain such economic policies as shall protect its citizens from a degrading competition with "cheap" people, with those who have no alternative but to take what is offered or starve, men who are obliged to accept in return for their labor the smallest amount that will sustain animal life.

With the free trader the dream of life is "cheapness." He uses this word as if it were a fixed and immutable quantity and not a mere expression of temporary relation. He says we ought to have "cheap" clothing without regard to the method by which the cheapness is effected. If we have to keep the wool grower, the wool spinner, and the cotton weaver in squalor in order that we may have cheap clothes; if we are to keep the shoemaker on the edge of starvation in order that we may have cheap shoes, every man in the community will find in "cheapness" a two-edged blade, one edge cutting the man from whom he buys, the other cutting himself.

ONE CHEAP MAN BEGETS ANOTHER.

All industries being interdependent, the prosperity of all depends on the prosperity of each. One "cheap" man begets another. If the hatter must have "cheap" shoes, the shoemaker must have "cheap" hats. If both must have "cheap" clothes, there must be "cheap" men to raise the wool, "cheap" spinners to spin it, "cheap" weavers to weave it, "cheap" sewing-women and "cheap" tailors to make it into clothing. To supply "cheap" machinery for the shoemaker and the hatter, we must have "cheap" machinists; to supply the needs of existence for all these, there must be "cheap" agriculturists, and "cheap" grocers; to repair their houses must be "cheap" carpenters and painters.

So there must be cheap railway cars, cheap locomotives, cheap engineers and conductors—and so on throughout the entire body of labor. This form of cheapness would be the destruction of civilization. The way to cheapen things is not to cheapen the price without regard to the effort involved in production—not to cheapen the men who make them, but to cheapen the processes by which they are made—to reduce the amount of human sacrifice that enters into their making; in other words, to compel the forces of nature to do the work of man.

Whoever buys "cheap" must sell "cheap." This rule is inexorable. It has but one exception. If a man has a monopoly of a product he may sell "dear" and buy "cheap;" but where no monopoly exists, where, from the nature of the business, it is impossible to have a monopoly, then cheapness on the one side will involve cheapness on the other. Cheapness in buying will involve cheapness in selling.

TRUE CHEAPNESS IS EFFECTED WHEN LESS SACRIFICE PRODUCES THE ARTICLE.

The true cheapening of an article takes place when its production demands less sacrifice from him who produces it, not when its purchase demands less sacrifice from him who purchases it. The gauge of cheapness is the sacrifice incurred by the producer, not that incurred by the consumer. There is no producer who is not also a consumer; there are consumers who are not producers. With the exception of the aged and the infirm, men are entitled to regard only in so far as they are producers. It is the man who works, not him who idles, that is entitled to consideration. The producers are the strength and buttress of the State. The willing idlers, whether rich or poor, and the majority are rich, are its weakness. No mistake can be made by consulting the interest of men in their capacity of producers. By consulting the interests of men as "consumers" merely we undertake to protect the interests of the idle rich—the non-producers—at the expense of the producers.

To get cheap shoes the free trader would either buy the product of foreign labor, which he would admit free of duty, to enter into competition with the product of our shoemakers, or if he bought the home-made article it would be at the low price of the European shoe. So he would condemn all our artisans, in turn, to the lowest grade of compensation because he could buy at less outlay in dollars and cents the products of European labor. The truth is that no class of people in this country are entitled to goods any cheaper than the other classes of our own people can make them at wages that comport with the requirements of American civilization.

Our people not being able under present conditions to compete with the foreign manufacturer in the production of the various articles demanded by our civilization, a larger proportion are driven into agriculture than the needs of our own country require, and more than is consistent with a proper adjustment of industry. The consequence is that large numbers of men find their life-work uncongenial or repulsive.

VARIETY OF INDUSTRIES NECESSARY TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE."

Excerpt from remarks of Hon. J. P. JONES, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Sept. 10, 1890, and printed in the Congressional Record.

How, in an inventive age, is the "common defense" to be provided for? Shall we accumulate enormous supplies of cannon and military stores of the kind now most approved? They would be worthless in a few years. Shall we build great fleets of armored vessels which no gun of to-day may penetrate? Their armor would be as tin-foil to the cannon of the future. And if we buy guns and ships of the most modern pattern, how many shall we have? For how long a war and how great a war shall we prepare?

Is it not manifest that the most powerful of all means for promoting the common defense is the development and maintenance of the highest and most varied mechanical and inventive skill among our people? Had we a sufficient number of weapons of the latest design wherewith to arm every able-bodied man in the United States, these weapons, in the absence of skilled workmen and of large manufacturing establishments constantly at work would, in a short time, be comparatively worthless. While this country might possess the article other countries would possess the art. They would possess not only great and indispensable plants, but the brainy and ingenious workman who, as occasion arose, as our own experience has shown, would invent new weapons of destructive power infinitely surpassing the old. The possession of skilled workmen who can make guns is of far greater consequence than the possession of the guns themselves.

But apart from the manufacture of arms, what more effective instrumentalities can a nation have of providing for the "common defense" than citizens who can make structural iron, erect bridges, construct steam engines, and build ships of all kinds, including armor-clad vessels of the highest class, and not alone who can construct all these, but who can invent new and improved designs in every department?

And if the makers of iron are necessary for the "common defense," why not, equally, weavers of cloth, artificers in leather, in brass, in copper, in steel, in tin, and in all the other materials of art and industry?

The larger the nation the more indispensable such artisans are to its safety and independence. They can not be had in large numbers without the existence of extensive manufacturing establishments, and even with these, they can not rely upon constant employment—the indispensable prerequisite of skill, and consequently of invention—without the encouragement and material support arising from the supplying of all the wants of their own country. The workmen of the country are entitled to the assurance of that support. With that assurance and that support we shall have no lack of skilled artisans upon whom, in these days, fully as much as upon soldiers in the field, depends the existence of nations. That assurance and support can not be extended except by the adoption permanently of the policy of protection.

GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE MECHANIC AS A FACTOR IN WARFARE.

More and more as time passes will the workman in his shop become of greater importance than the soldier in the field. Less and less as invention develops will success in war depend on the man who holds the weapon; more and more on the weapon itself and on the man who invents and constructs it. Time was when war consisted of the wielding of clubs, and success depended wholly on the physical energy expended in their handling. But "times change and men change with them." The strength of the arm has been transferred to the finger, and the bullet outdoes the bludgeon. Power has been shifted from the field to the factory; from muscle alone to the combination of muscle and mind. The armies that have not artisans at their back, that have not the latest product of the ever-teeming brain and untiring hand of the alert and aspiring mechanic, may look well on paper and on dress-parade, but they will not win battles.

In order, then, that we may have, and constantly maintain in the highest degree of efficient training, a numerous body of men skilled in the mechanical arts, we must encourage the growth and development of extensive plants, not in one direction or department alone, not in one section of the Union merely, but in all directions and departments of the arts, and in all sections of our common country. Such enterprises are not the spontaneous offerings of nature; they will not grow while we sleep, nor will they come with waiting. Neither, for emergencies, can they be had by act of Congress.

A large manufacturing plant is not a ready-made article which, like a piece of real estate, may be secured on the instant by the expenditure of sufficient money. A great mechanical organization is a growth, a development, a result of evolution. In all new fields of industry, and in most of the old, it finds its birth in the shop of the single machine, to which, as business increases there is added a second and a third. Thus, as the human being arrives at maturity by the natural growth of each added day, so the workshop grows, from the smallest to the largest proportions, by almost imperceptible stages. But as men can not by taking thought add a cubit to their stature, neither can they by resolution effect at once that which time alone and the intelligent adaptation of means to ends can accomplish.

Even assuming that great plants could, on emergency, be obtained abroad, we should be without the skilled workmen to utilize them, and without the talent to organize or intelligently direct the work.

"RATES OF DUTY IN GREAT BRITAIN ARE GREATLY HIGHER THAN THOSE IN THE UNITED STATES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Since 1846 Great Britain has collected her duties on imports under the policy advocated by the Democratic party. Let us see how the policy is operated there and what the results are:

For the information of those who may not have convenient access to the Statesman's Year-Book, I submit the following table showing the sources of revenue of the Government of Great Britain for national purposes for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1903, the latest for which data can be had. (In the Year-Book the amounts are expressed in pounds sterling. A pound sterling is worth a few cents less than \$5. For convenience of computation I have called it exactly \$5 in translating the English money into American money for the purposes of this table.)

Customs duties:	
Duties on exports—coal	\$9,958,835
Duties on imports:	
Tobacco	62,257,365
Tea	29,877,410
Sugar, glucose, etc.	22,393,533
Grain, etc.	11,733,980
Rum	11,149,365
Wine	7,619,280
Brandy	6,405,575
Other spirits	6,143,965
Raisins	1,024,555
Coffee	893,149
Cocoa	774,605
Currants	577,620
Other articles	1,495,120
Total revenue from customs duties.....	\$172,304,350

Excises:	
Spirits	90,821,795
Beer	66,319,450
Other sources	3,598,115
Total revenue from excises.....	\$160,739,360

Estate, etc., duties:	
Estate duties	48,501,810
Legacy duty	15,008,965
Succession duty	4,828,365
Corporation duty	219,235
Total revenue from estate duties, etc.....	\$68,558,375

Stamps (excluding fee stamps, etc.):	
Deeds	\$19,499,915
Receipts	7,642,315
Bills of exchange	3,498,545
Companies' capital duty	3,123,785
Patent medicines	1,666,855
Insurances	1,437,745
Bonds to bearer	1,051,145
Licenses, etc.	858,685
Other sources	2,319,015
Total revenue from stamp taxes.....	\$41,093,015

Land tax	\$3,808,770
House duty	9,168,855
Property and income tax	193,229,230
Total revenue from taxes.....	\$648,966,455

Considering only national taxation proper (omitting direct payments to the Government for direct services, like the postal revenues and such things), the total national revenues of Great Britain amounted last year in round numbers to \$648,000,000, or about \$16 per capita, while in the United States they amounted to \$284,479,582 from customs, \$230,810,124 from excises, and about \$3,000,000 from other sources—in all to about \$518,000,000, or less than \$6.50 per capita. That is, with twice as many people we collected for national purposes \$130,000,000 less than did Great Britain. In other words, our taxation for national purposes is considerably less than half as heavy in proportion to population as that of "free-trade" England.

In these indisputable facts there is very little comfort for those who have a sort of vague notion that free trade as illustrated in Great Britain would in some way mean freedom from taxation for national purposes. As a matter of fact, investigation shows that the cost per capita for the support of our National Government is smaller than that of any other civilized country in the world.

In the second place, the customs duties in Great Britain, including the export duty collected on coal, amount to about \$4.39 per capita, while in this country the total amount of customs duties amounts to only about \$3.50 per capita.

In the third place, the table above reveals how few are the articles going into Great Britain upon which the tariff duties are collected; that is, how few are the articles the like of which they do not produce in Great Britain, and consequently the enormous amount that must be produced on each of those few items. As a result, the rates of duty in Great Britain are very greatly higher than those in the United States.

In the fourth place, many of these articles on which these enormously high rates of duty are laid are what may be regarded as necessities of the poor man's table—tea, sugar, raisins, coffee, cocoa, currants, etc. So that it is evident that the poor man feels every day as a great burden the British policy of "a tariff for revenue only."

As a matter of fact, our people simply would not tolerate in times of peace such burdensome taxation on the necessities of life.

"DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PRICES OF MANUFACTURES—OF EVERY \$100 WORTH OF MANUFACTURED GOODS LESS THAN THIRTY CENTS' WORTH SOLD ABROAD LOWER THAN AT HOME."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC PRICES OF GOODS.

In the effort to undermine the confidence of the American people in the operations of the Dingley Act much will be said in the coming campaign to the effect that goods are sold by American manufacturers in foreign markets cheaper than at home. Much will, of course, be made of the little amount of truth contained in this assertion. Let us examine this matter and see how much weight should be attached to it.

According to the census of 1900 the total value of the goods manufactured in the United States in that year was a little over \$13,000,000,000. In the year 1900 we exported from the United States \$433,851,756 worth of manufactured goods; that is, Mr. Chairman, we exported 3 per cent. of what we produced. The stupendous fact, Mr. Chairman, the fact which we must not lose sight of nor fail to estimate the importance of, is the fact that out of the entire \$13,000,000,000 worth of goods manufactured in the United States *our own people have been able to use or keep 97 per cent.* Why, Mr. Chairman, rather than let go of the conditions under which such a mighty result has been accomplished we could well afford, if necessary, to throw the other 3 per cent. into the ocean!

But we have not thrown it into the ocean. The goods have been sold in foreign lands. Even if they had all been given away or sold for less than the selling price at home, that fact would be of small relative importance. But instead of being sold at smaller prices than at home, more than 90 per cent. of them were sold as high or higher in foreign lands than in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, careful statistics have been gathered on this subject of the prices of American manufactured goods abroad and at home. These statistics show that of the stupendous amount of manufactured goods produced in the United States, 97 per cent. is consumed in the United States. They show also that of the 3 per cent. sold abroad, more than 90 per cent. is sold as high or higher than at home, and that less than 10 per cent. of that which is shipped abroad is sold for a lower price than at home.

In order that we may see the point more clearly, let us think of it in another way. Of every \$100 worth of manufactured goods produced in the United States we consume at home \$97 worth. Of the \$3 worth shipped abroad more than 90 per cent. is sold as high or higher than at home. That accounts for \$2.70 worth more, or \$99.70 worth of the goods in all. That leaves less than 30 cents' worth sold abroad lower than at home. *Democratic statesmanship invites us to let go of the \$99.70 worth in order to get a chance at a part of the 30 cents' worth!*

Mr. Chairman, let us now look for a moment at this little 30-cent business, of which our Democratic brethren will undoubtedly try to make much.

The sale of a portion of our products abroad at a reduced price is *not at all a question of the tariff. It is a mere question of business.* Great Britain, with her so-called "free trade," always has practiced that policy and does to-day. Some of these sales are for the purpose of getting rid of out-of-date goods; some of them are for the sake of getting rid of a temporary surplus, so that the factories may not be closed down; some of them are due to the fact that the sales are cash sales and in considerable quantities; some of them are due to the struggle for a new market—that is, *every one of these sales is made for a purely business reason, wholly disconnected from our having or not having a protective tariff.*

But, Mr. Chairman, whatever may be said on this subject, let us not forget that the whole thing is relatively only a "thirty cent" matter, and that in whatever consideration we may give it we must not lose sight of the fact that under our protective system our people have grown so enormously in their power to consume, they are so well housed, so well clothed, so well fed, and have and enjoy so many of the comforts of life, that *we use here at home 97 per cent. of our entire manufactured product.*

According to Mulhall's (English) Dictionary of Statistics, the people of the United States manufactured about one-third of all the goods manufactured in the world. It can readily be seen, therefore, how valuable a thing our home market is and therefore how exceedingly careful we should be to protect and defend it in the interests of our own people. Those who would have us chase after foreign markets at the risk of losing our own, forget, if they ever knew, that *the internal commerce of the United States amounts to more than twice as much each year as the international commerce of all the rest of the world put together!* Let us not be beguiled, Mr. Chairman, into forgetting this fact, the most important fact connected with this whole question.

Our market, Mr. Chairman, is the cream of the earth. You can't enrich cream by adding skim milk to it!

"THIS IS THE TESTIMONY OF PRACTICAL MEN, RECOGNIZED LEADERS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE CRAFTS IN GREAT BRITAIN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

In October, November, and December of 1902, a commission headed by Mr. Alfred Moseley, a prominent capitalist and manufacturer of England, visited all the great manufacturing centers of the United States and investigated the various classes of industries in which the members of the commission were interested. The commission consisted of twenty-three men, the leading officers of the trades unions of the principal industries of Great Britain. Among the associations represented were bookbinders, compositors, printers, bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, cotton spinners, cutlery operatives, engineers, iron and steel workers, boot and shoe makers, tailors, paper makers, lithographers, leather workers, shipwrights, and weavers.

The men who came were recognized as experts in their line, each having had a long training and having achieved recognized success. Each investigated the kind of industry with which he was most familiar and each made a written report of his impressions and discoveries. On the return of the commission to England the reports were printed under the title, "Reports of the Moseley Industrial Commission to the United States of America, October-December, 1902." On the opening page of the volume Mr. Moseley himself says:

"* * * The United States has advanced by leaps and bounds. At the present time the home market is so fully occupied with its own developments that the export trade has as yet been comparatively little thought of; but as time goes on and the numerous factories come into full bearing, America is bound to become the keenest of competitors in the markets of the world. * * * That the American workman earns higher wages is beyond question. He is infinitely better paid, therefore better housed, fed, clothed, and, moreover, is much more sober."

"* * * In the United States one hears a great deal about 'trusts' (as they are known, or what we term 'large corporations'), but personally I am rather inclined to welcome these concerns, because large organizations that employ capital are best able to compete in manufactures on the most economical lines, can fearlessly raise wages within given limits, are in position to combat unhealthy competition, can provide up-to-date machinery ad libitum, can erect sanitary and well-ventilated workshops, and generally study better the comfort and well-being of the workmen than small individual manufacturers struggling against insufficient capital and old machinery. It is in the organization of capital on the one hand and a thorough organization of labor on the other that I believe the solution of industrial problems will be found."

Among the interesting observations of James Cox, representing the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, were the following:

"I would like to indicate three general features of American industries to which I largely attribute their success: (1) The enormous mineral deposits, waterways, and cheap transit. (2) The control or ownership by the manufacturer, through combination or direct purchase, of the raw materials—ore, lime, coal, and coke. (3) The marvelous engineering ingenuity and initiative, remarkable through every phase of manufacture in its reduction of manual labor combined with great productiveness. * * * In the matter of wages, the American workman is far better off than in this country. * * * The question may be asked, Is it possible for British producers to compete in the American market? I confess I think not so long as the present tariff exists."

Mr. P. Walls, of the National Federation of Blast Furnace Men, said, among other things:

"After a careful investigation I come to the conclusion that, comparing wages and the cost of living, there is an average of at least 25 per cent. in favor of the American workman. A careful, sober man can undoubtedly save more money than in England. The encouragement given to invention has, no doubt, contributed to the Americans having more modern machinery, but there is, above and beyond all other causes, the tariff. If we take it for granted that the cost of production is equal in both countries and that in an open market equal profits could be made, what an enormous advantage the tariff gives to the American manufacturer, who has an almost unlimited home market."

Mr. T. Jones, representing the Midland Counties Trades Federation, expressed the following opinion:

"As to how America is able to pay higher wages and yet successfully compete with us in the markets of the world, I believe it is due to the vast natural resources she has in mines and minerals, improved methods in mining, the utilization of her vast waterways, and the superior railways she possesses, combined with the low rates charged for transportation of all kinds of products, to which must be added the more modern and ever-changing machinery, the adoption of every improvement, no matter how often introduced, and their safety from foreign competition in consequence of their protective tariff."

And in closing the general discussion of the prosperity so obvious to American manufacturers, the report says:

"Before concluding, it may be as well to suggest, briefly, the causes that have contributed to the enormous expansion of manufacturing industries in the United States. This is not the place to discuss in detail the causes which may be credited as political. That a certain proportion of the growth of the manufacturing industries of the United States is attributable to the direct action of government, and especially to the operation of the tariff, is obvious."

Testimony of the same tenor is found all through the report. Let us remember that this is the testimony of practical men—the recognized leaders in their respective crafts in Great Britain—men who came here with all the prejudices and national pride for which Englishmen are noted the world over.

HON. BENJAMIN HARRISON.
**"I BELIEVE THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM A MIGHTY
INSTRUMENT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR
NATIONAL WEALTH AND A POWERFUL
AGENCY IN PROTECTING THE HOMES
OF OUR WORKINGMEN."**

Extract from message to Congress by PRESIDENT HARRISON, December 6, 1892, printed in Congressional Record.

I believe that the protective system, which has now for something more than thirty years continuously prevailed in our legislation, has been a mighty instrument for the development of our national wealth and a most powerful agency in protecting the homes of our workingmen from the invasion of want. * * *

The result of the recent election must be accepted as having introduced a new policy. We must assume that the present tariff, constructed upon the lines of protection, is to be repealed and that there is to be substituted for it a tariff law constructed solely with reference to revenue; that no duty is to be higher because the increase will keep open an American mill or keep up the wages of an American workman, but that in every case such a rate of duty is to be imposed as will bring to the Treasury of the United States the largest returns of revenue. * * *

It is a matter of regret that this work must be delayed for at least three months, for the threat of great tariff changes introduces so much uncertainty that an amount, not easily estimated, of business inaction and of diminished production, will necessarily result. Those who have advocated a protective tariff can well afford to have their disastrous forecasts of a change of policy disappointed. If a system of customs duties can be framed that will set the idle wheels and looms of Europe in motion and crowd our warehouses with foreign-made goods, and at the same time keep our own mills busy; that will give us an increased participation in the "markets of the world" of greater value than the home market we surrender; that will give increased work to foreign workmen upon products to be consumed by our people without diminishing the amount of work to be done here, * * * the authors and promoters of it will be entitled to the highest praise. We have had in our history several experiences of the contrasted effects of a revenue and of a protective tariff, but this generation has not felt them, and the experience of one generation is not highly instructive to the next. The friends of the protective system with undiminished confidence in the principles they have advocated will await the results of the new experiment.

**"GROVER CLEVELAND WAS ELECTED."—"BANK-
RUPTCY BECAME AN EPIDEMIC."**

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES B. LANDIS of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, January 27, 1904.

In 1892 Grover Cleveland was elected. That was the greatest mistake the Democratic party ever made. They found themselves facing the people of the country in the midst of a domestic prosperity never before equaled. They were pledged to improve it. Capital was employed; they promised to employ it better. Wages were high; they promised to make them higher. Labor! There was not an idle man in the United States of America unless he was idle from choice; and you are acquainted with the result.

Scarce three months passed until the idle men commenced roaming over the country. *Bankruptcy became an epidemic. Idleness got to be a profession, and hard-times festivals became popular social functions. You did that, gentlemen. You brought about that condition of affairs—you prophets, you promisers, you arraigners. You packed the side tracks of the railroads of this country with empty cars. You sent the price of corn so low it was burned as fuel. The farmer fed 30-cent wheat to 2-cent hogs, and horses were not worth wintering, and sheep shivered and died on the range because they were not worth sheltering, and as many as 100 idle men were found on single trains roaming this country in search of work.*

At the end of four years everybody in the United States admitted that everything was wrong and that it was simply a question as to the best policy to bring us back where we were when Benjamin Harrison was President of the United States.

"POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE CANNOT BECOME ENTIRELY SECURE WITHOUT INDUSTRIAL INDEPENDENCE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

A fundamental fallacy of free trade is its inability to comprehend the truth that *political independence can not become entirely secure without industrial independence.*

To maintain our political independence it may be necessary at any time to defend ourselves against hostile armies and navies. We are now so powerful and so far removed from other great nations, that there would seem to be little danger of our getting into war. But no one can guarantee us continued peace. In 1898 or 1897 who would have dared to predict that within a year or two we would be engaged in a foreign war? It came in 1898 like a thunderclap from a clear sky.

How shall we prepare for such a possibility? Shall we go on heedless of what may come? Shall we depend on buying from foreign countries in the hour of need our munitions of war? What if the country from which we expect to buy should prove to be our antagonist? Shall we buy in advance and store the things we may need? If so, how much shall we buy, and how long will it be before our purchases have become obsolete? Or would it be wiser to develop our own resources and train our own people in making what we need? If so, why not develop also those resources and train those faculties needed in times of peace?

"Free trade" would have us satisfied to acquire the article; protection demands that we acquire the art.

As a matter of fact, in 1898 we were very poorly prepared for war; but with our great resources of material and skilled mechanics we soon got ready. We do not need a large standing army so long as we keep up the high standard among our workingmen. They and their skill to "do things" constitute our best "reserves."

This suggests another fundamental fallacy of "free trade" both as a theory and as a policy, namely, that it *overestimates the worth of things and underestimates the worth of men*; it reaches for the article but spurns the artisan. Protection, on the other hand, cares, first of all, for the artisan, knowing that with him the country will get both the art in its highest form and the article on the most favorable terms.

In the eloquent words of Senator Jones, in the speech before referred to:

Free trade would banish those establishments and would exchange skilled mechanics for cheap doorknobs or cheap cutlery. It would reject the knowledge of useful arts in order to save for the moment a few cents a yard on woolen cloth or cotton ties or a few cents a pound on tin plates. *Protection secures the arts and protects the artists.* It transforms ignorance into knowledge, indifference into zeal, inertia into activity, impotence into power.

In none of this work would free trade aid or encourage us. On the contrary, its motto is to buy wherever it may buy cheapest to-day, without regard to the future or to the country in which it buys. *It is distinctly founded on individual selfishness. It looks only to the temporary advantage of the individual, and takes no thought for the future or for the community. The protective policy is founded on a higher form of selfishness, the selfishness of the nation, which is but another name for patriotism.*

Free trade brings the watch, protection brings the watchmaker; free trade brings the machine, protection brings the machinist; free trade brings the engine, protection brings the engineer. Given the men, we can not lack the machines. Having the art, we shall not want for the article. Possessing the producer, we shall not want for the product. Between them, who shall hesitate as to which is the more valuable to the country? Men found communities, machines do not; men constitute a society, machines do not.

The instinctive attitude of the free trader brands his theory as having had its origin in a state of society where producers were looked down upon as not worth considering.

The theory had its origin in a state of society founded on class distinctions, where some were born to rule and others to toil; where the industrial end aimed at was cheap goods to the rulers—the "consumers"—and to that end to the toiler low wages—or none at all. What more natural, then, that free traders should be more than willing that our "producers" should have to meet in "free" competition on absolutely equal terms, the lowest-paid workers in the world?

HON. JAMES A. GARFIELD—"THE TARIFF."

**"WERE WE TO NEGLECT THESE GREAT INTERESTS AND
DEPEND UPON OTHER NATIONS, IN WHAT A
CONDITION OF HELPLESSNESS SHOULD WE
FIND OURSELVES."**

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. JAMES A. GARFIELD in the
House of Representatives, June 4, 1878, on the Wood tariff bill,
printed in the Congressional Record.*

If all the kingdoms of the world should become the kingdom of the Prince of Peace, then I admit that universal free trade ought to prevail. But that blessed era is yet too remote to be made the basis of the practical legislation of to-day. We are not yet members of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." For the present, the world is divided into separate nationalities; and that other divine command still applies to our situation; "If any provide not for his own and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel" and, until that better era arrives patriotism must supply the place of universal brotherhood. For the present Gortschakoff can do most good to the world by taking care of Russia. The great Bismarck can accomplish most for his era by being, as he is, German to the core and promoting the welfare of the German Empire. Let Beaconsfield take care of England, and MacMahon of France, and let Americans devote themselves to the welfare of America. When each does his best for his own nation to promote prosperity, justice and peace, all will have done more for the world than if all had attempted to be cosmopolitan.

Too much of our tariff discussion has been warped by narrow and sectional considerations. But when we base our action upon the conceded national importance of our great industries, when we recognize the fact that artisans and their products are essential to the wellbeing of our country, it follows that there is no dweller in the humblest cottage on our remotest frontier who has not a deep personal interest in the legislation that shall promote these great national industries. Those arts that enable our nation to rise in the scale of civilization bring their blessings to all and patriotic citizens will cheerfully bear a fair share of the burden necessary to make their country great and self-sustaining. I will defend a tariff that is national in its aims, that protects and sustains those interests without which the nation cannot become such.

So important, in my view, is the ability of the nation to manufacture all those articles necessary to arm, equip and clothe our people that if it could not be secured in any other way I would vote to pay money out of the Federal treasury to maintain government iron and steel, woolen and cotton mills at whatever cost. Were we to neglect those great interests and depend upon other nations, in what a condition of helplessness should we find ourselves when we were again involved in war with the very nations on whom we were depending to furnish these supplies. The system adopted by our fathers is wiser, for it so encourages the great national industries as to make it possible at all times for our people to so equip themselves for war, and at the same time so increases their intelligence and skill as to make them better fitted for all the duties of citizenship both in war and in peace. We provide for the common defense by a system which promotes the general welfare. * * * *

Let it be remembered that 22 per cent. of all the laboring people of the country are artisans engaged in manufactures. Their culture has been fostered by our tariff laws. It is their pursuits and the skill that they have developed that produced the glories of our Centennial Exposition. To them the country owes the splendor of the position it holds before the world more than to any other equal number of our citizens. If this bill becomes a law it strikes down their occupation and throws into the keenest distress the brightest and best elements of our population. I implore this House not to permit us to be thrown into greater confusion either by letting this bill become a law or by letting it hang over the country as a menace. I hope we shall sit here to-night until the second reading of the bill is commenced, when I shall propose to strike out the enacting clause. If the Committee will do that we can kill the bill to-day. It is not simply a stalking horse upon which gentlemen can leap to show their horsemanship in debate; it is not an innocent lay figure upon which gentlemen may spread the gaudy wares of their rhetoric without harm; but it is a great, dangerous monster, a very Polyphemus which stalks through the land.

**"Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademtum."
Let us cut off its head, and end the agony!**

"ENGLAND IS BEING STIRRED"—"BALFOUR ON ADVANTAGES OF PROTECTION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

BALFOUR ON SOME ADVANTAGES OF PROTECTION.

With remarkable courage and sterling patriotism Chamberlain is now pointing out to his countrymen the path of national wisdom, and England is being greatly stirred by his arguments,

Here in my hand I hold the famous pamphlet entitled "Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade," by the Right Honorable Arthur James Balfour, M. P., recently issued. Mr. Balfour, as everyone knows, is the prime minister of England. It will be well worth while for us to note some of the things that he says on this subject.

Mr. Balfour opens his argument as follows:

In the following paper I propose to discuss some of the more fundamental economic questions which, as I think, require consideration on the part of those who desire to arrive at a sober and unprejudiced estimate of our fiscal policy. * * *

It may be as well to premise that I approach the subject from the free-trade point of view, though the free trade is, perhaps, not always that which passes for orthodox in the House of Commons or on the platform. There is indeed a real danger of the controversy degenerating into an unprofitable battle of watchwords, behind which there is nothing deserving to be called independent reflection at all.

Toward the close of the pamphlet we find the conclusions of Mr. Balfour's argument. Among other things he says this:

Now, there are three things that it is peculiarly difficult for a manufacturer or combination of manufacturers to do, and at the same time peculiarly desirable.

The first is to *run their works evenly*—that is to say, without undue pressure at one period, without dismissing workmen and leaving the plant unused at another.

The second is to *design their works on the scale which shall secure the greatest economy of production*, which, in the language of political economy, shall take the utmost advantage of the "law of increasing returns."

The third is to *secure a footing in foreign markets which are already occupied*.

Now, in the attainment of these objects any manufacturer or combination of manufacturers who have, *with the help of protection*, obtained a command of their home markets, are at an immense advantage compared with their rivals in a free-trade country.

Remember, Mr. Chairman, that this is the prime minister of England who is talking thus; and, as he himself says, he is talking from the free-trade point of view. Mr. Balfour proceeds thus:

The unprotected manufacturer is compelled either to restrict his plant to a point well within what may sometimes be required of it or in ordinary times to leave it partially idle. Even a small excess of supply may lower the price of his goods out of all proportion; and if it does, he not only loses heavily in respect to this small margin of overproduction, but in respect of his whole output.

Now, there is no reason to expect that the plant erected to meet an average demand would reach the exact size most conducive to economy of manufacture. Should it prove to do so it could only be by accident. *Neither is it practicable to arrange that the plant shall always be kept working full time.* If it is, there must evidently be recurring periods, during which overproduction, with the consequent evils just described, must inevitably take place.

Such is the ordinary position of the manufacturer under free trade. *Compare it with the position of his protected rival, who controls his home markets.* He is not haunted by the fear of overproduction. If the home demand slackens, compelling him, if he desires to maintain prices, to limit home supply, he is not driven, like his less favored brother, to attain this result by also limiting output. *He is not obliged to close part of his works, or to dismiss some of his hands, or to run his machinery on half time.* On the contrary, so long as other countries are good enough to offer him open markets he can dispose of his surplus abroad. * * *

I was told the other day of a shipbuilder who was able to obtain contracts solely because he had secured a consignment of German steel at a price lower than it could possibly have cost either a British or German ironmaster. Why should we refuse to our shipping trade a bounty which the Germans are so generously anxious to confer? * * *

In the first place, *it disorganizes industry.* The manufacturing capitalist, when investing his money in costly plants has, in any case, many risks to run—new discoveries, new inventions, new fashions. Add to these his loss, actual or anticipated, through the operation of foreign protection, and his burden becomes insensibly increased. But add yet again the further uncertainty and the further loss due to the system I have just been describing, and he is overweighted indeed. Will the hostile combination keep together long enough to ruin him? Can his credit stand the strain? *Is it worth while holding on in the face of certain loss and possible ruin?* These are questions which the leaders of the threatened industry can not but ask. And surely the mere fact that they have to be asked must shatter that buoyant energy which is the very soul of successful enterprise.

Mr. Balfour concludes his pamphlet with these words:

It can not be right for a country with free-trade ideals to enter into competition with protectionist rivals, self-deprived of the only instrument by which their policy can conceivably be modified. The first and most essential object of our rational efforts should be to *get rid of the bonds in which we have gratuitously entangled ourselves.* The precise manner in which we should use our regained liberty is an important, yet after all only a secondary, issue. What is fundamental is that *our liberty should be regained.*

"THE HARMFUL RESULTS OF PLACING PROTECTION TARIFF RATES TOO LOW."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

The history of our own and other countries is invariable in recording the harmful results of placing protective tariff rates too low; but history does not record a single instance where harm has followed making the rates high enough to furnish an ample margin of protection—*ample for all emergencies.*

This is one of the most important facts in this controversy, a fact that *must* be understood if one would reach a true and correct conclusion on this subject of the tariff.

Democrats will rely on the not unnatural feeling in the minds of people who have not had time or opportunity to study this matter thoroughly that high tariff rates necessarily mean high prices for manufactured goods.

As a matter of fact, the opposite is true. That is, our whole history shows that *the greatest reductions in prices of manufactured goods have been in those products in which the tariff rate has been the highest and the longest continued.* For example, in 1870 the price of steel rails in the United States was \$100 a ton in gold. In that year Congress laid a specific duty of \$28 a ton on steel rails. Within a few years steel rails were selling in the United States for about a third of their price when we had to buy them from England. So with carpets, tin plate, and scores of things that could be mentioned.

If the rate of alleged "protection" be *inadequate*, the foreign manufacturer, already established in business and determined to destroy American competition, can overwhelm an American who may be assembling men and materials to make a start in the manufacture of a like product. This done, the foreign manufacturer *will naturally raise prices higher than ever* in order to recoup his losses.

If the rate of protection is *just barely adequate under normal conditions*, only a few of the most venturesome of our citizens will dare to take the risk of beginning the work of manufacture. Even they dare not build, to use the language of Balfour, elsewhere quoted, "on the scale that shall secure the greatest economy of production." And, not knowing how long even the barely adequate protection will be vouchsafed them, they must endeavor to make a large temporary profit rather than undertake to establish a permanent market through a close margin of profit. So they simply *can not* produce in such manner as to reduce prices.

But suppose that a *definite policy of amply adequate* protection be inaugurated, based upon the intelligent conviction in the minds of our people that such a policy should be *definitely adopted as the permanent policy of the country.* Then there will be many men of capital who will enter into manufacturing—not simply the venturesome, but also the conservative and steady going—who from enlightened self-interest will prefer fair profits with a large growing market to large profits on small sales.

Then, with our market secure from foreign invasion but open to equal competition among our own people, we shall have lower and more uniform prices for manufactured goods than if we leave ourselves subject to the chances and moods of foreign conditions of production. Then, too, with a definite policy of amply adequate protection our trade will be more steady and more along legitimate business lines and less along speculative lines, rendering business less hazardous and making it possible of being done on narrower margins, hence giving the people more stable and lower prices on manufactured goods.

In 1806 Thomas Jefferson said:

The prohibiting duties we lay on all articles of foreign manufacture, which prudence requires us to establish at home, with the patriotic determination of every good citizen to use no foreign article which can be made within ourselves, without regard to difference of price, secures us against a relapse into foreign dependency.

And in the memoranda just quoted Abraham Lincoln said:

But if a duty amounting to full protection be levied upon an article which can be produced here with as little labor as elsewhere, as iron, that article will ultimately and at no distant day, in consequence of such duty, be sold to our people cheaper than before.

President Roosevelt, in a speech in New York on November 11, 1901, said:

The general tariff policy to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country to be irrevocably committed is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference in labor cost here and abroad.

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY STANDS BY THE OLD ORIGINAL DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

THE TWO TARIFF VIEWS.

Our last great national contest on the tariff question was in the Presidential election of 1892. In their platforms of that year the two contending parties stated their views with admirable clearness. Stripped of all extraneous matter, the gist of the Democratic position was squarely stated in the following sentence from section 3 of the Democratic national platform:

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only.

That was a clear and courageous statement of Democratic faith. It declared what, ever since 1832, has been the real position of a large majority of the Democratic party, though the party has not always had the frankness to state its position thus plainly and unequivocally.

With equal candor and courage the Republican party made its declaration in the following language:

We believe that all articles which can not be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, both parties realize that this is a great country—vast in area, in population and in wealth. Both parties realize that, therefore, even with all proper and reasonable care and prudence in the management of national expenditures—and in proportion to population ours is the least expensive government in the world—the income of the General Government must necessarily run up into the hundreds of millions of dollars every year. Moreover, both parties realize that, whichever party may be in power, about one-half of the required revenue must, under our system of government, be raised through duties on goods imported from foreign countries.

And until 1832 all parties agreed that in levying these duties the policy should be, while raising the necessary revenues for the support of the Government, to give "encouragement and protection" to American industries. In 1832, for the first time in our history, was enunciated the doctrine that the Government should levy duties "for revenue only" and should not, even incidentally, afford "encouragement and protection" to the products of our farms and our factories. How this new doctrine came into being will be told in due season.

The Republican party stands by the old original doctrine of the fathers, the doctrine of those who framed the Constitution and put it into operation, guiding the nation wisely and safely through the dangerous days of its early career—the doctrine advocated by every President from Washington to Jackson, that is, by George Washington, by John Adams, by Thomas Jefferson, by James Madison, by James Monroe, by John Quincy Adams, and by Andrew Jackson. During those early days the way in which protection could best be given through duties on imports was not as well understood as it is to-day after a century of experience, but the purpose of the fathers was clearly defined and repeatedly enunciated.

The Republican party has always stood for *adequate protection* to the industrial interests of the *entire country*. It stands for a policy that is national, not sectional, in its scope and operation.

The Republican party was born to present organized opposition to the extension of human slavery; so, as was to be expected, there was no mention of the tariff in its first national platform—that of 1856. But in the Republican national platform of 1860, the platform on which Abraham Lincoln was first elected President, was the following "plank;"

Resolved, That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties on imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Thus it will be seen that the first Republican platform and the last Republican platform on this subject are entirely consistent with each other, and examination will show that all the intervening national Republican platforms are similarly consistent.

**"PROTECTION OUR PROPER, PERMANENT POLICY—
WE OWE IT NOT ONLY TO OURSELVES, BUT TO
THE REST OF THE WORLD. NOT TO PERMIT
ANY LOWERING OF OUR STANDARD
OF LIFE AND PURPOSE."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in
the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Con-
gressional Record, June 20, 1904.*

PROTECTION OUR PROPER PERMANENT POLICY.

Protection, on the other hand, is based on the fundamental American idea of opposition to class distinctions. Protection is founded on the idea of the real and inherent dignity of labor directed with intelligence to a worthy end. Protection recognizes *usefulness* as the supreme badge of *nobleness*.

President Roosevelt struck the keynote of the whole matter when he said at Minneapolis on April 4, 1903:

This country has and this country needs better paid, better educated, better fed, and better clothed workmen, of a higher type than are to be found in any foreign country. It has and it needs a higher, more vigorous, and more prosperous type of tillers of the soil than is possessed by any other country.

Protection takes into consideration the entire sweep of history. It sees man in his beginnings in Asia, under the oriental idea of master and slave—few masters and many slaves. Protection recalls the movement of man toward the west, into Europe. For "the people" the movement was "westward and upward," until, on some islands just off the west coast of the continent of Europe, popular sovereignty, after various struggles with the throne, established human liberty and intrenched it in wisely ordained principles of law.

Mr. Chairman, from my boyhood up history and the problems of government have been my favorite studies. They have been to me a lifelong labor of love. And it does seem to me, sir, that a careful student of history can scarcely fail to be impressed with the idea that He who holds the fate of nations in the hollow of His hand has, from the beginning of human life on this globe, had a special purpose to serve by and through this beloved country of ours.

Think of our location and the territory that we occupy! Here we are in the North Temperate Zone, the zone of the highest possibilities of civilization, removed alike from the heat of the Torrid Zone, which undermines ambition, and the cold of the Frigid Zone, which renders it fruitless. Here we are with national limits inclosing the most fertile of lands, the greatest of forests, the richest of mines—with natural resources practically boundless.

Then look at our people. Who are they? In the main, our people are those from other lands, or their descendants, most characterized by loftiness of aim and sturdiness of purpose. In the main, the people who have come to our shores have belonged neither to the class enervated by wealth and station nor to the opposite class whose spirits have been broken by want. Our country has been the land of promise to those who have determined to establish a home and who have had the courage to break away from old associations—sacred though they be—and make the dangerous voyage across the sea to accomplish their purpose.

Think, Mr. Chairman, how old humanity was before this nation was permitted to be established! Think how much of training the world was required to pass through before this experiment in government was permitted to be tried!

Why, Mr. Chairman, this country and its institutions are the fruitage of the ages. Here, in a country separated from all other great nations by the broad waters of the oceans, it has been ordained shall be wrought out the highest and noblest problems of human existence. We owe it not only to ourselves, but to the rest of the world—yea, to Him who has given us this opportunity—we owe it to every consideration that can move men to lofty aim and earnest endeavor *not to permit any lowering of our standard of life and of purpose.*

So, Mr. Chairman, for the sake of the people of other lands as well as of our own, we must at all hazards preserve and continue to exalt our high standard of living—material, mental, and moral. From whatever standpoint we look at the matter and by whatever standard we determine our path of national duty, we find it best to remain true to the proposition that "the work of America must be done by the sons and daughters of America." *And to that end we should definitely fix as our proper permanent policy that of amply adequate protection to American industry.*

"GREAT BRITAIN RAISES MORE MONEY EVERY YEAR THROUGH TARIFF TAXATION THAN DOES THE UNITED STATES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

It is evident that there is quite a general impression that Great Britain has "free trade" in the sense of having no tariff taxation or duties on imports. But the simple fact is, Mr. Chairman, that in proportion to her population *Great Britain raises more money through tariff taxation or duties on imports than does the United States.*

Here in my hand I hold the latest edition of the Statesman's Year-book—that for 1904. Here on page 48 is a table showing the receipts of the British Government for its fiscal year ending March 31, 1903. The total receipts from duties on imports (that is, from tariff taxation, not counting nearly \$10,000,000 of duties on exports) were £32,469,103, or, in round numbers, \$162,000,000. As the population of Great Britain is about 40,000,000, *the duties on imports in that country amounted to over \$4 per capita—that is, \$4 of duties on imports, on the average, for every man, woman, and child in Great Britain.* In the United States we collected for our fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, from duties on imports, \$284,479,582. Our population being about 80,000,000, we raised from duties on imports about \$3.50 per capita, *or 50 cents less per capita than is raised from the same source in Great Britain.*

CUSTOMS REVENUES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Aggregate duties collected.		Per capita.	
	Great Britain.	United States.	Great Britain.	United States.
1894	\$98,493,490	\$131,818,530	\$2.50	\$1.95
1895	100,694,940	152,158,617	2.56	2.20
1896	103,812,065	160,021,752	2.60	2.28
1897	106,330,655	176,554,127	2.71	2.47
1898	108,961,250	149,575,062	2.78	2.05
1899	107,791,135	206,128,482	2.73	2.77
1900	115,217,360	233,164,871	2.92	3.06
1901	131,354,795	238,585,456	3.33	3.07
1902	161,787,875	254,444,708	4.05	3.22
1903	172,304,350	284,479,582	4.30	3.54

a Including comparatively small sums collected as export duties.

THE TWO TARIFF VIEWS ILLUSTRATED.

Inasmuch as Great Britain raises, in proportion to her population, more money annually from tariff taxation than does the United States, it certainly seems absurd to speak of Great Britain as having free trade.

It is time that we were all getting it through our heads that *our Democratic brethren have no purpose of trying to make international trade free* in the sense of removing all tariff taxation. It can hardly be repeated too often that no matter what party is in power in the United States, hundreds of millions of dollars must be raised annually for the support of the General Government and that, no matter what party is in power, about half of all that vast sum must be raised from duties on imports. The only question in debate, then, is, Under what policy shall the tariff be levied?

Since 1832 the majority of the Democratic party has generally been headed toward the position described by the words "a tariff for revenue *only*." But, for reasons that will be given later, the majority does not always rule in making the platform declarations of the Democratic party, and that party has not held steadily to one position, its platform declarations running all the way from free trade, or tariff for revenue *only*, over to what it adroitly suggested might be "moderate" or "incidental" protection, as party exigencies seemed to require. But uniformly since 1832 its attitude has been *against adequate protection* to American industries. The historic position of the Republican party, the position from which it has never wavered, either in its platform promises or in its legislative performances, has been and is "a tariff for revenue, *plus adequate protection to American industries*."

That is, Democratic policy aims to accomplish only one thing; Republican policy aims to accomplish two things—"to kill two birds with one stone," as it were.

Reciprocity

B

"REPUBLICAN RECIPROCITY KEEPS ALWAYS IN VIEW THE PRESERVATION OF THE HOME MARKET AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE WAGE-EARNER."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOHN DALZELL of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record of March 1, 1904.

Republican reciprocity is reciprocity in noncompeting articles and in nothing else. [Applause on the Republican side.] I know of no better definition of it than that given by ex-Postmaster-General Charles Emory Smith. He says:

When rightly understood the principle is axiomatic. Brazil grows coffee, but makes no machinery. We make machinery, but grow no coffee. She needs the fabrics of our factories and forges, and we need the fruits of her tropical soil. We agree to concessions for her coffee; she agrees to concessions for our machinery. That is reciprocity.

And I know of no better definition of its purpose than that given by President McKinley in his inaugural address:

The end in view—

He says—

always to be the opening up of new markets for the products of our country by granting concessions to the products of other lands that we need and can not produce ourselves and which do not involve any loss of labor to our own people, but tend to increase their employment.

In other words, Republican reciprocity, like protection, keeps always in view the preservation of the home market, the primacy of our manufacturers, and the well-being of the wage-earner.

If the committee will bear with me, I propose very hastily and as briefly as possible to review some of our national experiences with respect to this subject. I deal with reciprocity with Canada, because arguments have been made upon the Democratic side of this Chamber looking toward a renewal of reciprocal trade arrangements with Canada, and because arguments have been made elsewhere with like purpose of a sensational character by men whom we cannot regard otherwise than as covert enemies of protection, although they appeal to Republican hearers.

Our reciprocity treaty with Canada was made in 1854 and abrogated in 1866. As to the effect of the treaty, let me quote Senator Morrill, of Vermont, who was thoroughly familiar with the subject. He says:

Our exports to Canada in 1855 were \$20,828,676, but under the operation of reciprocity, then commenced, they dwindled in twelve years down to \$15,243,834, while the exports of Canada to the United States increased from \$12,000,000 and odd to \$46,000,000 and odd. When the treaty began the balance of trade had been \$8,000,000 annually in our favor and that paid in specie, but at the end the balance against us to be paid in specie in a single year was \$30,000,000. Here was a positive yearly loss of over \$5,000,000 of our export trade and a loss of \$38,000,000 specie, all going to enrich the Canadians at our expense.

So that the reciprocity of Arthur and Harrison and Blaine and Dingley and McKinley is still the reciprocity of the Republican party.

I know that certain gentlemen, enemies of protection, have contended that President McKinley in his last speech at Buffalo, on the eve of his tragic end, abandoned the doctrine whose advocacy throughout his long life had made him famous. I think they do him an injustice. There are detached sentences in that speech that, taken by themselves, may be construed to mean almost anything; but taken as a whole the speech was a McKinley speech. It was a speech, I grant you, in advocacy of foreign trade, but at the same time its keynote sounded the supreme and commanding importance of the home market and was a protest against any curtailment thereof or of any industry therein or of any harm to its wage-earners. Note what he says:

By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt home production we shall extend the outlets of our increasing surplus.

And then again:

We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor.

And all through that speech, in which he glorifies our prosperity, he attributes its existence to the policy of protection. Whether that be so or not, the faith of the Republican party to-day on this subject remains as declared in 1900 at Philadelphia:

We favor the associate policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in exchange for free foreign markets.

Now, why change this policy at all? Why not cling to the policy of reciprocal relations with respect simply to noncompeting articles, and so preserve our home interests? Oh, they say, because we want to get foreign trade. Well, what is the matter with our foreign trade? There certainly is nothing of criticism to be said about its present status, and I do not indulge in the fears that some gentlemen express as to its future. I apprehend that in the adjustment of world conditions it will take care of itself in the future, as it has in the past. Why, during the last thirty years our foreign trade has grown more than that of Great Britain; it has grown more than that of Germany; it has grown more than that of France; it has grown more than that of Russia; it has grown more than that of any nation in the world.

"REPUBLICAN RECIPROCITY."—"AN EXCHANGE OF NON-COMPETITIVE COMMODITIES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

The Republican party and Republican leaders have been and are still in favor of reciprocity. They do not talk of "real" reciprocity or "genuine" reciprocity, because the simple word itself carries with it the full meaning of the policy. There has never been in any Republican platform an allusion to reciprocity which has not meant an exchange of non-competitive commodities, to the disadvantage of no part of our country or portion of our people. There has never been a single utterance, not one, of any Republican statesman at variance with this definition of the word reciprocity, which means equality of exchange.

If we can enter into a treaty of non-competing products that would give an advantage to our country equal to that which we give to the other, then the Republican party is ready to enter into such a treaty.

An example of reciprocity that reciprocated is found in the growth of our trade with Cuba under the reciprocity clause of the McKinley tariff act, and with Hawaii under the treaty of 1876. Those countries had articles that we could not produce, which they exchanged for our products which they could not produce. That is reciprocity of the proper kind. The result was that our exports to Cuba in 1889 amounted to \$1,500,000, and in 1893 they had increased to \$24,157,000. Our imports from Cuba in 1889 were \$52,000,000, and in 1893 they had increased to \$78,706,000. Our exports to Hawaii in 1876, the year in which the reciprocity treaty became operative, were \$779,257, and in 1900, the year in which Hawaii was annexed to the United States, they had increased to \$13,509,000. Our imports from Hawaii in 1876 were \$1,227,000, and in 1900 they had increased to \$20,707,000. It will thus be seen that our imports and exports increased in about the same ratio, and when it is remembered that the exchange was in non-competitive products the wisdom of a reciprocity treaty of that kind is self-evident. No such reciprocal trade relations could possibly be established between this country and Canada, the products of both countries being substantially the same.

In order to show the result of our former experience under so-called reciprocity with Canada, I give the following table of our trade with that country, including the two years preceding and the two years following the operation of the treaty which existed from September 11, 1854, to March 17, 1866:

Fiscal years.	Imports into United States from Canada.	Exports from United States to Canada.
1852.....	\$5,469,445	\$10,229,608
1853.....	6,527,559	12,432,597
1854.....	8,784,412	24,073,408
1855.....	15,118,289	27,741,808
1856.....	21,276,614	29,025,349
1857.....	22,108,916	24,138,482
1858.....	15,784,836	23,604,522
1859.....	19,287,565	28,109,496
1860.....	23,572,796	22,695,924
1861.....	23,724,489	22,676,518
1862.....	18,511,025	20,573,073
1863.....	17,484,786	27,619,810
1864.....	29,608,736	26,574,624
1865.....	33,264,403	28,829,404
1866a.....	48,528,628	24,828,880
1867.....	25,044,005	21,020,302
1868.....	26,261,379	24,080,777

a Nine months of year under reciprocity.

Before the treaty we were selling the Canadians twice as much as we bought from them, while long before the termination of the treaty they were selling us much more than we sold them, and during the last year of the treaty their sales to us were double ours to them. That may be free-trade reciprocity or Democratic reciprocity or "genuine" reciprocity, but it is not Republican reciprocity. Now, look at our commerce with that country under the Dingley tariff law:

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE INTO AND FROM THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

Fiscal year.	Imports.	Exports.
1897.....	\$40,809,371	\$64,928,821
1898.....	31,870,486	83,714,086
1899.....	31,220,967	87,974,961
1900.....	39,369,074	95,319,970
1901.....	42,482,163	105,789,214
1902.....	48,076,124	109,642,993
1903.....	54,660,410	123,472,416

It seems to me that we are doing very well with Canada in spite of her preferential tariff of 33 1-3 per cent. in favor of goods from the United Kingdom.

"REPUBLICAN RECIPROCITY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 9, 1904.

"Genuine reciprocity!" What is that I will tell you what we on this side say genuine reciprocity is. I will give it to you in my own language, and I will give it in the language of the great champion of protection in this country, William McKinley. Republican reciprocity is such an adjustment of the tariff schedules with relation to the products of our country and the countries with whom we make treaties as that the products of foreign countries, the like of which we do not produce, shall come into this country at such a low rate of tariff, if duties are exacted at all, as that it will compensate the foreign country to give special benefits in their tariff legislation to the products of our country. That is Republican reciprocity, and based upon a substantial adherence to these principles that is as far as I am willing to go.

Mr. CLARK. And where did Mr. McKinley ever use that language, anyhow?

Mr. GROSVENOR. He said it in his Buffalo exposition speech. No man has ever been so misrepresented. After having attacked McKinley's position upon the tariff question as long as he lived, in the usual course of the Democratic party they seized upon him and tortured his language and garbled his speech in order to show that he was in favor of a reduction of the rates in the Dingley bill. He sent a tariff message to the Congress. Did he ever say anything, or did he ever think any such thing as that? On the contrary he stood always upon the proposition that never, never would he consent to the reduction of the tariff upon articles of our production so as to endanger the home market by introduction of articles from a foreign country, and that is where the Republican party stands to-day.

Said President McKinley in his Buffalo speech, so often quoted:

"Isolation is no longer possible or desirable."

That is very true, and we are certainly no longer isolated, as is shown by the tremendous advances we are making in the world's trade the world over. Again he said:

"What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and production, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor."

That is the true test, in buying where the buying and legislate where the legislating will not cut down the value of home labor and the demand for home labor by unjust competition from abroad. Then he said:

"The period of exclusiveness is past."

Look at our foreign trade and see if he were not right.

"The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem."

That is true, and the more we get the better.

"Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not."

Then comes the language over which our Democratic friends have stumbled and fallen so often:

"If perchance some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?"

There is the whole business. There it is, "If some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home," then why should they not be used as subjects of reciprocity? So said William McKinley. So say I. So say all the Republicans whom I know anything about.

Then he said that we have an inadequate steamship service, and he spoke strongly for the encouragement by legislation of our merchant marine. He said:

"We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense, they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go."

And yet since the opening of this Congress no opportunity has been allowed to slip which has not been availed of by some Democrat to denounce every possible measure, every possible scheme, looking in the smallest degree to the upbuilding of the American merchant marine. Here is a brief quotation which is the whole spirit, in the light of a fair construction, of McKinley's Buffalo speech:

"We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor."

So say we all. When we get ready to make a revision of the tariff or a reduction of rates, we will not send for the gentleman from Missouri, but will go ahead and do it ourselves, without any suggestion from him or of anybody opposed to our views on the tariff and who favors free trade or revenue tariff.

"RECIPROCITY IN COMPETITIVE GOODS IS SIMPLY FREE TRADE."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD, of
Minnesota, in daily Congressional Record, February 8, 1904.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I desire to make a few remarks upon a subject that appears to interest the Northwest particularly. In a speech delivered some time ago by my distinguished friend from Minneapolis [Mr. LIND] he took occasion to commend free trade with Canada, and more particularly to urge upon this House the importance of the free importation of wheat. I regret that I can not agree with my friend.

Minneapolis and Detroit are the two great exponents of Canadian free trade, and see in Canada great possibilities for the future. In almost the same language they condemn the tariff and argue that trade is naturally along lines of longitude north and south instead of east and west. They seem to think that we are violating nature's law and committing a crime against its decrees. This is one of those generalities which has in it enough of truth to be deceptive. Trade must of necessity be between sections of country that have products for exchange. The people who produce and consume nearly all of the exchangeable commodities live in the temperate zones, which extend east and west around the world, and trade as a consequence is naturally east and west.

The market for the surplus agricultural products of the United States and Canada have got to go east to Europe or west to the Orient. As a wholesale or jobbing center Minneapolis can not expect to retain Canadian business. As soon as Canadian business in the Northwest assumes any large proportions distributing centers will be established there against which Minneapolis can not compete, for they will have the advantage of cheaper rates. The factory for building farm machinery will do there just as it has done here. It will find a location in some of their wheat fields. The loss in the home market would be infinitely greater than the gain from the Canadian market.

In view of the attitude of Chamberlain in reference to a protective tariff against the importation of our wheat into England, it would seem the height of folly to open up our markets for the importation of Canadian products. Should the policy succeed, we may have to depend very largely upon our own market to afford the farmers a living profit. * * *

*This is not a question of Canadian reciprocity, though I find it is called such by persons who are anxious to conceal the real issue. It is an effort on the part of local interests to hide under the name of reciprocity their demand for free trade for certain Canadian products. * * ** No one objects to have Canadian grain come through the American market or to have it ground there, provided it is exported to foreign countries for consumption, but we do strenuously object to have it brought here for home consumption in competition with the home products of our own people, and it is not fair to mislead the public as to the real issue. * * * *No one can point out how the agricultural element of the United States can be benefited by having free trade with Canada. They can not obtain from Canada agricultural implements nor manufactured products to any extent, as Canada does not supply its own markets, but is dependent upon the United States and England to supply them. * * ** If we can do anything toward building up trade with Canada without doing more harm to ourselves than good, I shall be glad to see it done. I believe in the reciprocity of Blaine and McKinley, reciprocity in non-competitive goods, but not in reciprocity in competitive goods, which is simply free trade. I believe in the beneficent policy of Republican protection under which this country has prospered so marvelously, and under which the farm has secured this immense home market, but I do not want that market traded away for the benefit of the milling and jobbing interests of a few cities on the border. To take from the farmer this market without giving him anything in return, as is proposed, is absolutely unfair and unjust.

"SENSIBLE NATIONS DO NOT TRADE MARKETS TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. E. L. HAMILTON, of Michigan,
in daily Congressional Record, April 14, 1904.*

RECIPROCITY.

When the golden rule becomes international law and other nations open their markets to us without duty; when other nations come up to our standard, not when we go down to theirs—then will be time enough for us to think about opening our ports to other nations without duty; not till then.

That would be the reciprocity of international free trade.

But obviously, free trade, which gives away our markets in advance and leaves us nothing to exchange, is not reciprocity.

In his last speech at Buffalo, which is to be read and construed in connection with his whole political career, William McKinley said:

Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times. If some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?

Certainly; why not? "If some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home," why not?

The Blaine theory of reciprocity was reciprocity in things the like of which we do not grow or produce.

Reciprocity is an exchange of markets. Neither men nor nations trade things or markets without the hope of gain by the exchange.

When men trade horses they do not knowingly trade clean limbs for spavins, and sensible nations do not trade markets to the disadvantage of their own people.

The American market belongs to American capital and American labor, American producers and American consumers, American buyers and American sellers; and a government of all the people has no right to displace American industries, giving employment to American capital and American labor, furnishing markets for American farmers, and building up American homes, and substitute therefor foreign industries, employing foreign labor and foreign capital and withdrawing American capital from the channels of American trade.

Therefore William McKinley said, in his Buffalo speech:

"By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets of our increasing surplus."

And therefore the Republican party said in its national platform of 1900: "*We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.*"

"DOUBTFUL ABOUT RECIPROCITY WITH CANADA."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN F. LACEY of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 21, 1904.

Republicans are heartily in favor of reciprocity, but they want it of the kind that will reciprocate.

The difficulty about reciprocity with the people of the Dominion of Canada is that they are producers of the same things that we are. They are our rivals and competitors.

From 1855 to 1866 we had a treaty providing for free trade between the United States and Canada in the "natural resources of both countries."

This treaty was ratified with much gratification and in the hopes that it would be of great mutual advantage. When we consider the schedule of "natural products" we can readily see the inequality of such a bargain. The articles admitted free were "breadstuffs, meats, fish, raw cotton, vegetables, fruits, poultry, eggs, hides, furs, skins, stone, dairy products, ores, fertilizers, lumber, wood, flax, hemp, tow, and unmanufactured tobacco."

As Canada could raise neither cotton nor tobacco, the raw material necessary to her cotton and tobacco factories was a matter of necessity to her, and the other articles were competing products in which she had the advantage.

The civil war intervened and made it somewhat difficult to determine the merits of the agreement, but in the last year and nine months of that treaty, in 1865 and 1866, we remitted duties to Canada amounting to \$70,152,163, and the balance of trade was against us in the same year and nine months in the sum of \$28,134,749.

The Canadians are a thrifty people and in possession of a vast domain. They have by pelagic sealing killed off nearly all the great seal herd which we supposed we had obtained by our purchase of Alaska. They ruthlessly slaughtered the mothers of this herd out at sea, allowing their helpless offspring to starve in the rookeries on the American islands.

Any treaty that we make with them hereafter should provide means to save the remaining seals from utter extermination.

Their preposterous claims to the ownership of Skagway, Dyea, and the Lynn Canal in Alaska were asserted with such apparent earnestness that an arbitration was required to clear up a title which had never been disputed as against either Russia or the United States until the discovery of the Klondike gold caused the necessity for an elastic boundary sufficient to include a Canadian seaport. Some ill feeling is manifested by our neighbors over the defeat of this wholly unfounded claim by the high court of arbitration. Flimsy as their claims were, the Canadian arbitrators insisted upon their pretensions until the last.

This proceeding is so recent as to make it doubtful about obtaining any reasonable treaty of reciprocity with Canada in the present state of mind of the Dominion government.

At this juncture it is proposed to solve the question by the simple method of free and unrestricted trade with Canada. We have about 80,000,000 of people, she has about 5,500,000. It is proposed to furnish Canada 80,000,000 of the best customers in the world in free and equal exchange for the trade of 5,500,000 of people.

There are fifteen persons in the United States to one in Canada. The people make the markets.

Therefore the reciprocal treaty we are asked to undertake is not exactly the ratio of 16 to 1, but 15 to 1. *We are asked to trade the certainty of fifteen good customers for the chances of one—one certainly no better, if as good. Besides, that one customer produces nothing that we can not produce ourselves.* Such an agreement would no doubt put our neighbors in a better humor than they are at present. *The Wilson law was popular in Canada.*

In the last Canadian fiscal year ending August 31, 1903, Canada sold us goods to the amount of \$71,209,969. During the same period we sold Canada, including raw cotton, unmanufactured tobacco, and other raw materials for manufacture, to the amount of \$144,764,375.

Under reciprocity in natural products the balance of trade was against us over \$20,000,000 a year at the close of the period when that treaty was in operation. Under present conditions, with a tariff in both countries, our balance of trade is more than \$70,000,000 in our favor. *To renew the old arrangement of free trade in natural products, we would again give our neighbor our vast market in equal exchange for a much smaller one at the expense of the American farmers.*

"RECIPROCITY." — "McKINLEY." — "THE DINGLEY BILL."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio, in
daily Congressional Record, Nov. 27, 1903.

Whoever has said at any time that William McKinley, anywhere on earth, wanted to strip the protection from an American industry by reciprocity, that anybody has misread the declaration of William McKinley [applause on the Republican side], for behind and underneath all his argument was his declaration that he would not take any step or do any act that would cut down or impair the price of American labor. And that is the whole of this question in connection with reciprocity. *Reciprocity upon articles that we do not produce we are entirely willing to go into; but reciprocity that strips any American industry of its protection we are not in favor of.* Did I believe, Mr. Chairman, that in the pending treaty there would be serious injury to any product of American industry I certainly would never vote for it. My position on that subject has been a long time established and placed upon the records of this House.

Now, again, it is said that the Dingley bill—and here I propose to trench on ground that I have not often touched upon—it is persistently said that the duties of the Dingley bill were purposely—with deliberate purpose—made so high in certain schedules for the purpose of using them as a means of reciprocal trade with foreign countries. Now, I can not only answer that proposition, but I can answer the charge made by the gentleman from Missouri, that there was some kind of similarity in the treatment of the Wilson bill in this House when it came from the Senate and the treatment of the Dingley bill when it came here from the Senate. The Dingley bill when it came here with the Senate amendments came before the House of Representatives after a long ten-day session of a conference committee. I had the honor to be a member of that committee. There are now in this House, on the Republican side, three gentlemen who were members of that conference committee. There were five Republicans from the House of Representatives and five from the Senate. Ten of us sat for ten long days in the red-hot weather of July, going over that bill item by item and agreeing at last upon the entire measure—five of us representing the majority of the House of Representatives, all of us from the Ways and Means Committee, and five gentlemen from the Senate representing the Finance Committee of that body. Item by item we took up that bill and perfected it.

Now, then, as to the charge that the increase of duty made in that bill were for a purpose. *I do not claim to have had greater intimacy with Mr. Dingley than anybody else had, but I was with him during all that long struggle. I had known him ever since I came into Congress and long before. I never heard him make an intimation that there was a single item of that tariff bill in which the duty was left, for the purpose of reciprocity, higher than it ought to be, except the single item of sugar; and with reference to that he told me, as he told a great many others, that he consented to what he thought an unnecessarily high duty on sugar because, as he said, it was one of the articles which in the long run we might have to use as a matter of reciprocity.* And it should be borne in mind that that was six years ago, when the beet-sugar industry had not come forward and developed into its proportions of to-day. Therefore it was that beyond doubt he was looking distinctly to the fact that the cane-sugar product of the country was shrinking, that the beet-sugar product was not increasing, and therefore the enormous importations of sugar into the country suggested to him that we might possibly use that part of the tariff schedules for purposes of reciprocity.

THE HOME MARKET IS EQUAL TO THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE OF THE WORLD."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES.

Closely allied with this great prosperity of our farmers, their demand for manufactures and luxuries, and the demand of the consumers of the whole country for the products of the farm, is the great volume of business enjoyed by our transportation companies. With the fall of certain industrial stocks during 1903 we beheld day after day railroad shares tumbling as well, yet these same railroads were carrying on their business limited only by the facilities at their command. Record-breaking figures were shown month after month, and the cessation only came when the elements seemed to conspire to prevent the normal amount of transportation. This, however, was temporary, and with the clearing of the tracks and the advance of spring we shall no doubt again return to the wonderful record which has prevailed year after year since the enactment of the Dingley law.

It seems pertinent, in passing, to show how our great railroad companies have withstood, under a protective tariff, the assaults made upon the values of stocks and bonds during 1903. From the Railway Age, of Chicago, I take the following figures:

Years.	Placed under receiverships			Sold under foreclosure.		
	Number of roads.	Miles.	Stocks and bonds.	Number of roads.	Miles.	Stocks and bonds.
			<i>Dollars.</i>			<i>Dollars.</i>
1893.....	74	29,340	1,781,046,000	25	1,618	79,924,000
1894.....	38	7,025	395,791,000	42	5,643	318,999,000
1895.....	31	4,089	369,075,000	52	12,831	761,791,000
1896.....	34	5,441	275,597,000	58	13,730	1,150,377,000
1897.....	18	1,537	92,909,000	42	6,675	517,680,000
1898.....	18	2,069	138,701,000	47	6,054	252,910,000
1899.....	10	1,019	52,285,000	32	4,294	267,534,000
1900.....	16	1,165	78,234,000	24	3,477	190,374,000
1901.....	4	73	1,627,000	18	1,139	85,808,000
1902.....	5	278	5,885,000	18	693	39,885,000
1903.....	9	229	18,823,000	13	555	15,885,000

This home market of ours, Mr. President has been built up and maintained through our protective tariffs, and particularly during the operation of the law now on our statute books, which is not only the pride of every American citizen, but the envy of every foreign producer. A most conservative estimate of the value of this internal commerce is \$22,000,000,000 annually, equal in value to the combined markets of the world for the purchase of foreign productions. Could we control the sale of all the goods which enter every port on the face of the earth, it would only equal that which we now supply to our own home market, an assured market which is constantly increasing. *This grand home market of ours can not be maintained if we let down our protection bars and adopt low tariffs, or if we enter into reciprocity arrangements in competing articles, which is the same, or at least a long step toward this same free-trade notion.*

The value of our home market has never been more forcibly and clearly presented than by Hon. O. P. Austin, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Department of Commerce and Labor, in a speech delivered in the city of Rochester, N. Y., on Thursday, January 7, 1904, from which I take the following brief extract:

"The internal commerce of the United States was in 1870 seven billions of dollars, and in 1900 it was twenty billions. With this definite basis of twenty billions in 1900 and knowing what rapid development has occurred in all lines during that period, we may safely and conservatively put the internal commerce of the year 1903 at twenty-two billions of dollars—a sum which actually equaled the entire international commerce of the world in that year."

"Think of it, you producers and manufacturers and merchants and traders and bankers and transporters: think of it! *The market of our own country, the home market, in which you can transport your goods from the door of the factory to the door of the consumer without breaking bulk a single time, is equal to the entire international commerce of the world.*"

"Not only is this true that our home market is equal to that offered by the international commerce of the entire world, but it is evidently growing far more rapidly than international commerce, for, as I have said, the internal commerce of the United States has grown from seven billions in 1870 to twenty-two billions in 1903, while the international commerce has grown from eleven billions in 1870 to twenty-two billions in 1903, or, in other words, while the international commerce of the world is now twice as great as in 1870, the internal commerce of the United States is now three times as great as in that year and equals the entire commerce between all nations."

This internal commerce of ours has been made possible only because of our splendid wage system, which has brought about a higher standard of living and a demand by our masses for more than the mere necessities of life.

"REPUBLICAN RECIPROCITY—TO OPEN OUR MARKETS ON FAVORABLE TERMS FOR WHAT WE DO NOT OURSELVES PRODUCE, IN RETURN FOR FREE FOREIGN MARKETS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

What is the Republican position on this matter of reciprocity? It is clearly set forth in the Republican national platform of 1900, as follows:

"We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms *for what we do not ourselves produce*, in return for free foreign markets."

An example of Republican reciprocity was seen in our arrangement with Brazil under the McKinley law. Brazil produces coffee, which we do not and can not produce economically and in sufficient quantities to supply any considerable fraction of the wants of our people. So we said to Brazil: "Admission to the great market of the United States for your chief export is a very valuable thing to you. Grant to our agricultural and other products terms that our President shall deem reciprocally equal or we authorize him to place on your coffee, by Executive proclamation, a duty of 3 cents per pound. Then, *with the coffee of other coffee-producing countries admitted here free*, in accordance with our general policy, your Brazilian coffee producers will not be able, under such competition, to pass the duty on to the consumer, but will have to pay it yourselves, reducing your profits to that extent."

Under such representation Brazil promptly and cheerfully entered into an agreement with this country which promised to be mutually profitable. Under that agreement our wheat and wheat flour, corn and corn meal, rye, rye flour, buckwheat, buckwheat flour, barley, potatoes, beans, pease, hay, oats, pork, and several other things were admitted to Brazil free of duty, while lard, butter, cheese, canned and preserved meats, fruits and vegetables, and many other things were admitted at a reduction of 25 per cent from the regular rates. Under this agreement our people were increasing their sales in Brazil and the outlook was that the arrangement would prove mutually satisfactory to both countries.

Similar arrangements were made with several other countries of Central and South America—the countries that James G. Blaine was so especially anxious to reach with our trade as affording our most promising outlet. In fact, it was under his guidance as Secretary of State that these treaties were entered into.

But in 1893, by a strange whim of the people, the Democratic party came into power and, without even the courtesy of reasonable notice or a word of explanation, *abruptly abrogated all those reciprocity agreements*.

So it will hardly come with good grace from them now to mention reciprocity, "genuine" or otherwise. Their theory is incompatible with it and their practice unfriendly to it.

These agreements illustrate the only kind of reciprocity ever advocated by the Republican party or by any recognized leader of it. They were negotiated under the McKinley law of 1890 and well illustrate what our martyred President meant when, at Buffalo, he said:

"By sensible trade arrangements, *which will not interrupt our home production*, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. * * * We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use *without harm to our industries and labor*. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development *under the domestic policy now firmly established*."

But no Republican national convention ever declared for "reciprocity" in *competing* products, nor did any recognized leader of the party ever seriously advocate such a thing. To do that would be to sacrifice the interests of some of our own people to the interests of others of our own people, which would be entirely out of harmony with the spirit and purpose of a protective tariff.

"DEMOCRATIC TALK ABOUT RECIPROCITY IS SIMPLY A FLANK MOVEMENT AGAINST ADEQUATE PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRIES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Our Democratic brethren seem quite taken just now with what my friend from Missouri, Mr. CLARK, calls "genuine reciprocity." But under the tariff policy advocated by my friend *no such thing as reciprocity is logically possible.*

Under his proposal of seven years ago, when he declared that he would tear down all custom-houses "from turret to foundation stone," of course it is entirely plain that, having no such thing as a tariff at all, it would be impossible to make tariff concessions to the people of any other country.

With the necessity for taxing to the limit the comparatively few noncompeting articles that we import in large quantities in order to raise the required revenues, and with competing articles admitted free of duty—as in England, where Brother CLARK's tariff ideas are in actual operation—what opportunity would there be for reciprocal arrangements with any foreign country? As a matter of fact, sir, *under a system of "tariff for revenue only," reciprocity is both logically and practically impossible!*

This was conceded by Lord Salisbury, then prime minister of England, in a speech at Hastings, England, in May, 1892, when he said:

We live in an age of a war of tariffs. Every nation is trying how it can, by agreement with its neighbor, get the greatest possible protection for its own industries, and at the same time the greatest possible access to the markets of its neighbors. The weapon with which they all fight is admission to their own markets—that is to say, A says to B, "If you will make your duties such that I can sell in your markets I will make my duties such that you can sell in my market."

But we begin by saying we will levy no duties on anybody, and we declare that it would be contrary and disloyal to the glorious and sacred doctrine of free trade to levy any duty on anybody for the sake of what we can get by it. [Cheers.] It may be noble, but it is not business. [Loud cheers.]

But a tariff for revenue with inadequate protection is the same in its results as a tariff for revenue only; that is, the foreign producer in either case, with his lower priced labor and with tools such as we have taught the world to make, can undermine and destroy American competition and dominate the American market. So why should he make any sacrifice to us as to his home market, when with an inadequate tariff in this country, he would already have all that he could ask?

So that from any view point there is logically no place under Democratic policy for reciprocity of any kind, "genuine" or otherwise.

Why, then, do our Democratic brethren talk in favor of reciprocity? The motive is shown in the magazine article of my friend, Mr. WILLIAMS, the Democratic leader on this floor, to which I referred earlier in these remarks. In that article—the one with the significant title "What Democracy now stands for"—he says:

There is also a tariff revision by piecemeal, which is the handmaiden of the other system. It is very important in its place, although it ought never to be permitted to handicap the larger movement by general legislation. This is tariff revision by reciprocal trade agreements with other nations.

So, frankly—and one reason for the regard in which Mr. WILLIAMS is held on both sides of this Chamber is his entire frankness—the leader of Democracy in this House, and practically its leader in the entire country, states that Democratic talk about reciprocity is simply to use what seems at this time a popular demand as a basis for the revision of the present tariff law.

Do Democrats really care for reciprocity? Listen to what was said of it in the official Democratic campaign text-book in 1902:

Reciprocity is based upon the same false theories as is protection, and, like protection, is a sham and a humbug, and to most people has been, and will ever continue to be, a delusion and a snare.

Taking all these things together we get an insight into the entire purpose of our Democratic brethren in talking about reciprocity. *To them it is simply a flank movement against adequate protection to American industries.*

That this is the real animus of the whole business is shown in the following from the magazine article of Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi, before referred to:

The general principle that protectionism is wrong, morally wrong, a prostitution of government to private ends, should never be forgotten. The goal ought not to be lost sight of.

"RECIPROCITY."

GRANT—ARTHUR—HARRISON—McKINLEY.

**"UNABLE TO FIND A REASON THAT WOULD JUSTIFY A
TREATY WITH CANADA IN NATURAL PRODUCTS."
—"PRACTICAL RECIPROCITY: DUTIES REMIT-
TED IN EXCHANGE FOR CONCESSIONS
BY NATIONS WHO SEND US NON-
COMPETITIVE PRODUCTS."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN DALZELL of Pennsylvania, in House
of Representatives Feb. 29, 1904, and printed in Congressional Record.*

I have been unable to find anywhere, and I have given considerable attention to the subject, a single solitary reason that would justify a reciprocity treaty with Canada in natural products.

PRESIDENT GRANT.

In his first annual message to Congress, under date of December 6, 1869, President Grant alluded to the Canada treaty in terms of disapproval on account of its lack of true reciprocity. I quote this extract from his message:

"The question of renewing a treaty for reciprocal trade between the United States and the British provinces on this continent has not been favorably considered by the Administration. The advantages of such a treaty would be wholly in favor of the British producer. Except possibly a few engaged in the trade between the two sections no citizen of the United States would be benefited by reciprocity."

PRESIDENT HARRISON.

I quote now from another distinguished President—President Harrison—from his message of June 20, 1892:

"A reciprocity treaty limited to the exchange of natural products (referring to the case of Canada) would have been such only in form. The benefits of such a treaty would have inured almost wholly to Canada. Previous experiments on this line had been unsatisfactory to this Government. A treaty that should be reciprocal in fact and of mutual advantages must necessarily have embraced an important list of manufactured articles and have secured to the United States a free or favored introduction of these articles into Canada as against the world."

Now, you will observe that in the declaration of the statesmen from whom I have read the principal point made is that natural products are not the proper subjects of reciprocity. During the Arthur Administration the idea of tropical reciprocity seems to have originated. A letter of Secretary Frelinghuysen, contains the following important announcement as to the true principle of reciprocity between nations: "The true plan, it seems to me, is to make a series of reciprocity treaties with the States of Central and South America, taking care that those manufactures and, as far as is practicable, those products which would come into competition with our own manufactures and products should not be admitted to the free list."

PRESIDENT ARTHUR.

Mr. Arthur, in his messages, announced the same principle:

"The need has long been recognized of some arrangement by which the natural market of the large communities lying at our doors should be secured under beneficent terms for the principal productions of the United States. In return for this we grant certain reserved favors, whereby the articles, mainly raw materials or food products, *which this country does not produce*, or produces in inadequate quantity, shall reach their natural market of consumption in this country." And again, on another occasion, he recommended: "A series of reciprocal commercial treaties with the countries of America, which shall foster between us and them an unhampered movement of trade. The conditions of these treaties should be the free admission of *such merchandise as this country does not produce in return for the admission free, or under a favored scheme of duties, of our own products.*"

In 1889 the Pan-American Congress concluded its sittings and recommended a series of reciprocity treaties between the several States constituting that conference and the United States. Mr. Blaine, who was then Secretary of State, made his report, the conference having been called at his suggestion in the first instance, and Mr. Harrison sent that report to Congress with a message. And that was the beginning of practical Republican reciprocity. The plan was that instead of placing our non-competitive articles on the free list they should receive duties, and that those duties should be remitted by the President in exchange for concessions to be made by the nations who sent to us non-competitive products.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

I know that certain gentlemen, enemies of protection, have contended that President McKinley, in his last speech at Buffalo, on the eve of his tragic end, abandoned the doctrine whose advocacy throughout his long life had made him famous. I think they do him an injustice. There are detached sentences in that speech, that taken by themselves, may be construed to mean almost anything; but taken as a whole the speech was a McKinley speech. It was a speech, I grant you, in advocacy of foreign trade, but at the same time its keynote sounded the supreme and commanding importance of the home market and was a protest against any curtailment thereof or of any industry therein or of any harm to its wage-earners. Note what he says:

"By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt home production we shall extend the outlets of our increasing surplus." And then again: "We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor."

And all through that speech, in which he glorifies our prosperity, he attributes its existence to the policy of protection.

Trusts and Tariff

C

"TRUSTS AND THE TARIFF."

Extract from remarks of Hon. GEORGE W. RAY of New York, in daily Congressional Record, June 2, 1900.

On the question of the responsibility of the tariff for trusts and monopolies, I repeat what I said in my report on the constitutional amendment:

THE PROTECTIVE POLICY NOT RESPONSIBLE.

It is asserted by some that these vast combinations and monopolies are the result or natural outgrowth of the protective policy adopted by the Congress of the United States; that protection destroys foreign competition, and therefore enables the industrial enterprises of the United States to combine and monopolize manufacture, etc. Therefore they oppose the vesting of power in Congress to suppress or control these combinations and monopolies. The long and the short of this proposition is that in the interest of foreign manufacturers and producers, and at the expense of our own manufacturing and producing industries of every kind, and consequently at the expense and to the detriment of our own home labor, these opposers would strike down protection in an experimental effort to destroy a monopoly or repress a combination. They would close workshops and factories in the United States, throw millions of our citizens out of employment, destroy home markets, turn the balance of trade against us, and enrich foreign countries rather than let the people of the States grant to Congress this beneficent power.

The remedy proposed by the opponents of this amendment is worse than the disease. But their proposed remedy is no remedy at all. As matter of fact monopolies and illegal combinations, or so-called trusts, are not fostered by or the result of our protective policy. A monopoly, a combination, or a trust in importation and in the sale of imported articles is more easily formed than in the manufacture and sale of the products of American fields and factories. So-called trusts and monopolies never so fattened and flourished as under the act of August 27, 1894, known as the Wilson tariff act. The inability of the masses of our people to engage in importation is so well understood that it need not be dwelt upon, but it is self-evident that when our great manufactories are closed the army of the unemployed will overrun the country; that home markets for the products of the American farm and shop will be crippled or destroyed and prices largely reduced; that money will go abroad; that the people of the United States will be at the mercy of importers of foreign goods, and that the cost of many necessities will then be largely increased.

Monopolies, trusts, and combinations, both at home and abroad, that feed no American laborer, enrich no American town, benefit no American farmer, but that feed foreign labor and build up foreign workshops and enrich foreign countries, would, should protection be abandoned, succeed to those now existing and control most fields of industrial enterprise and grow rich while the people of the United States would grow poor.

Who can deny that monopolies, combinations, and trusts swarm and flourish in free-trade countries? Industries now successfully carried on in this country without the aid and independent and in defiance of trusts, combinations, and monopolies, if deprived of protection, will, through foreign competition, be forced into combinations, trusts, and monopolies, to the detriment of all our people, especially our laborers. Destroy the protective policy of the United States and the foreign monopolies and combinations will substantially control manufacture and the price of merchandise and farm products.

Prior to the enactment of a law protecting the tin-plate industry in the United States, and which has resulted in its establishment and prosperity here, the production of that article was controlled absolutely by a tin-plate monopoly in England, which controlled the price and market. Suppose that a sugar monopoly should control 75 per cent., a paper monopoly 65 per cent., and an iron and steel monopoly 85 per cent., and smaller concerns the balance of the production of sugar and paper and iron and steel, and all tariff protection should be denied them and they compelled to contend with the competition of free-trade countries and their cheap labor, can it be doubted that the smaller plants would be ruined—driven out of the business—while the monopolies themselves, by reason of their vast capital, would survive, and by combining or conspiring with foreign monopolies form one vast and world-wide combination and absolutely control production and prices?

This is but an illustration of what might and would occur should protection be denied our productive industries. This is an answer to those who propose to destroy monopoly in any given direction by denying it the benefits of our tariff laws. The proposition is unwise, impracticable, and would, if adopted, intensify the evils now alleged to exist.

We are not willing to abandon our protective system at the request of free traders and State rights advocates. The American home is too sacred, the prosperity and growing strength of this nation are too dear to every American heart to permit the thought. We are able to protect ourselves at home and abroad, command respect everywhere, and if given legislative power to control, and when necessary suppress, all monopolies, illegal combinations, and so-called trusts, and so maintain home competition without sacrificing any just principle or (as a mere experiment) opening wide the door to foreign competition.

The truth is that the great majority of those who charge up so-called trusts and monopolies to the protective policy are enemies to that system and would see it destroyed. They are not as a rule opposed to trusts, illegal combinations, or monopolies, but sustain them.

**"TRUSTS EXIST IN FREE-TRADE COUNTRIES"—
"WE CAN MANAGE OUR CORPORATIONS,
BUT NOT BY CLOSING ALL
FACTORIES."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES E. FULLER of Illinois,
in daily Congressional Record, March 26, 1904.*

We have all heard the argument—we shall doubtless continue to hear it in the next campaign—that the tariff fosters trusts and great monopolies. No one can deny that such trusts and monopolies exist in free-trade countries as well as in this country; no one can deny that they exist in non-protected as well as in protected industries. But the mere fact—and I admit it is a fact—that they derive benefit from a protected tariff is used as an alleged argument against the entire policy of protection. Would you take away the benefits of protection from all industries, from all the people, because some great corporations are benefited? I would not. The rain falls on the just and on the unjust, yet I have never heard any one argue against the plan of an all-wise Providence in that respect. The wicked as well as the good, the rich as well as the poor, high and low alike enjoy all the blessings and the benefits of sunshine and shower, yet who would deny the actuality of the blessings or the benefits or propose to alter or change the Divine plan in order that the undeserving might be shut out from the enjoyment of such blessings and such benefits?

The protective system benefits all and is for all our people. I would not crush out a small industry to injure a larger industry. I would not think it a blessing or a benefit to deprive a thousand or a hundred thousand or a million of our people of their employment, of their chance to earn a livelihood, even if by so doing the greatest and richest corporation on earth could be driven out of business. If it were to never rain again, if the sun were to never shine again, the righteous would suffer quite as much as the sinners. Strike down your protective tariff system and not the trusts alone would be crippled, but the prosperity of all would be destroyed. We can manage our great corporations; we can control them; we will manage and control them, but not at the expense of all business, of all industries; not by closing all factories and all avenues of production; not by throwing all our laboring people out of employment, but by wise and enlightened supervision and control.

I believe that even with our present tariff laws we are getting quite as much of foreign manufactured goods shipped into this country as we need. If it would shut more of them out I would be willing to increase rather than reduce the tariff rates. The last fiscal year, 1903, our imports increased over the year previous by more than \$100,000,000. The imports of manufactured articles for the year were more than \$412,000,000. That is quite a large enough amount of manufactured goods from abroad to be admitted into this country in a single year to compete with our own manufacturers, especially when we consider that if the same goods had been made here by our own people fully \$300,000,000 of that amount would have gone into the pockets of the laboring men of this country. Does it seem reasonable in the face of these figures that any laboring man would vote to take down the tariff bars and admit unlimited quantities of such foreign manufactured goods?

Can the laboring men of the land be induced to ever vote again for a policy that will close these factories and throw them out of employment? The days of free soup houses, of Coxey's armies, of millions of men out of employment and looking for work, are altogether too recent to be wholly forgotten.

Mr. Chairman, the logic of events has made the one and only issue of the coming campaign. It is the paramount issue, if you please, and the issue that will continue President Roosevelt and a Republican Congress at the helm. It is the issue that will insure the continuance of our wonderful prosperity in every avenue of trade and commerce north, south, east, and west.

There is one issue, and one only, on which the two great political parties of this country are divided to-day, precisely as they have been divided in the past. That is the issue of protection to American industries and American labor. There is no other issue—for this campaign there can be no other issue—upon which every Republican stands on one side and every Democrat upon the other side.

"TRUSTS."—"THEY RISE ABOVE ALL TARIFFS, WHETHER PROTECTIVE OR FOR REVENUE ONLY."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. A. C. THOMPSON of Ohio, page
4319 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

There is a tendency, it is true, to combination on the part of capital through corporative organizations, trusts, and what not, that is antagonistic to the welfare and happiness of the people which, while not growing out of, are made possible by the modern facilities for rapid communication and transportation. These agencies make possible the great combinations of capital which center in New York, London, and other great cities, and thence to reach out to the whole world demanding tribute. They are not confined to any one country; they rise above all tariffs, whether protective or for revenue only, and exist wherever capital is found, and greed of gain and unscrupulousness combine with opportunity. It will not be claimed that a protective tariff gave rise to the Standard Oil combination, nor that a tariff for revenue only is responsible for the great English combinations of capital which exist to-day, nor that the revenue policy of France is responsible for the recent French copper syndicate. The tendency grows out of the peculiar commercial and business conditions of the age and must be met by legislation aimed at them directly, and of a character that will restrain the abuses of which they are guilty, and surely this end can be better attained by a study of the extent and character of their operations and the true and real causes of their existence than by an outcry against the tariff upon the demagogic assumption that it is responsible for them.

**"IF WE ARE TO HAVE MONOPOLY, LET IT BE OUR OWN,
WITHIN OUR REACH, UNDER OUR OWN LAWS."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES N. BRUMM of Penn-
sylvania, page 5220 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress,
1st Session.*

You say, sir, that the protective system fosters monopoly. I point you to coal oil, the telegraph, the railroad; to anthracite coal, to blocktin, to whisky. Which of these interests is protected? Whoever heard of laying an impost duty on a telegraph, railroad, coal-oil, anthracite coal? Show me a monopoly that is more exacting than any other, more powerful, more damnable in its evil effects than any other, and I will show you that it is of a product that is not imported at all, and therefore not subject to any tariff duty.

No, sir! Wall street, with its stock-jobbing; the railroad combines of the country, with their transportation tyrannies; the unlimited franchises and unbridled licenses of corporations, and the internal-revenue monster are the sources of your monopolies. But, sir, if we are to have monopoly, let it be our own, within our reach, under our own laws, and of our own kith and kin, rather than under the merciless heel of the foreigner, beyond our reach, not under our control, not subject to our laws, not interested in our welfare, sharing none of our blessings, bearing none of our burdens, enjoying none of our greatness, fearing our competition, antagonizing our progress, and hating our free institutions. If we must have a devil let it be one that we know and that we may in time subdue, rather than one we do not know and that is entirely beyond our reach and control.

"THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST LAW."—"THE MOST EFFECTIVE ENGINE OF SUPPRESSION OF UNLAWFUL AND INJURIOUS TRUSTS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 9, 1904.

The first thing that Theodore Roosevelt did that I commend him for, was his having so wisely and promptly done his duty at the time of the coal strike. I know that some of you gentlemen from the standpoint of philosophy and strict legal knowledge condemn him, and you say that there was no law for it, and so say I, and that is one of the strongest grounds why I approve of him for doing as he did. He did not think there was any either. You say that there was no warrant in the Constitution. He says there was none, also. But I will tell you what there was. There was a condition in this country on the 1st day of October, 1902, which was more critical and more dangerous to the life of this country and the upholding and perpetuity of its free institutions than at any other period since the time of Appomattox. And I believe there is not an intelligent American citizen on the continent who does not believe exactly what I believe and what I state.

Now, the question comes whether you will put forward some one against a candidate for President who had the courage, the ability, the genius, to extricate this country from the danger that it was in, and that we all felt, who went forward and landed the country upon a position of safety and peace and prosperity, and condemn the President for the act the benefit of which the country had, and all men rejoiced. I have not the time to enlarge upon that at this time. It was not the first great distinguishing act of Theodore Roosevelt after he had promised at Buffalo that he would execute the policy of President McKinley. He accomplished it. He knew what he wanted to do and he knew how to do it, and he went forward and did do it, and next November 250,000 coal miners in the United States will pay the debt that they owe to him for having done what he did in the hour of their extremity. [Applause on the Republican side.] And you may make what you please out of that.

Again, he found a condition—and I am not going into the details of it—that I am very familiar with. It is not worth while to haggle over little statements of when this lawsuit was begun and when that lawsuit was begun. I was a Member of Congress when the Sherman antitrust law was passed, and I say now, and I challenge contradiction of this, there can not be found in the records of Congress, nor in any Democratic newspaper, nor in any President's message, nor in any resolution of any Democratic convention a word of praise or a word of approval for the Sherman anti-trust law. And I say further, that the Attorney-General under Mr. Grover Cleveland, whom to-day some of you would like to nominate for President—a great man, an able man, a pure man, a man thoroughly imbued at the time with the popular notion of the Democrats of the country said that the law was ineffective and impossible of execution and wholly worthless, or words at least of this import. That is what Mr. Olney said. You need not dispute it. It is a matter of record in the Department.

I recollect with a great deal of pride that I was hauled over the coals in this House with great earnestness by some of my friends on the other side of this House because I said that there was no human language that could make a law more effective for the purpose of breaking up the trusts than that law was already, and because I denied that there was any necessity for anything else at the time the gentleman from Maine [Mr. LITTLEFIELD] was so eloquently and ably arguing in favor of additional legislation. I denied that it was necessary, and that was the general opinion of the Republicans of the country. Now, what has happened? It was left to Theodore Roosevelt. The gentleman who spoke this afternoon, the eloquent gentleman from Iowa [Mr. WADE], said that there were thousands of trusts in the country yet.

That is very true; but the trees are blazed, the pathway is made plain, the trail is flagged, and because the Attorney-General saw fit to say, using a cant phrase, that he was not going to "run amuck," out at once came the Democratic cry on this floor condemning that gentleman because he did not say he was going to "run amuck," because he did not say that he was going faster than was necessary to attack all the business interests of the country. It is enough for Theodore Roosevelt to say that he has a law that had been condemned by the Democratic party and cast out as worthless and has made it the most effective weapon, the most effective engine of suppression of unlawful and injurious trusts that the dream of man has ever dreamed could be put upon the statute books of the country. So much for the trusts. The stone that these Democratic builders rejected has become the head of the corner in the structure of legal opposition to injurious trusts and combines.

"TRUSTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM."—"PRODUCT OF COBDENITE FREE TRADE."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, June 9, 1900.

Trusts are not the outgrowth of a protective tariff; they are not peculiar to the United States. On the contrary, they had their existence in England long before the Dingley tariff was framed or became a law, and long before the enactment of the McKinley tariff of 1890. I want to place on record before the House some facts regarding the organization and combination of some of the largest trusts in the United Kingdom. The facts given are authentic and official, and they clearly show that the trusts of to-day are as much a creature of free trade and a tariff for revenue only as they are of a protective tariff.

A surface examination of the commercial methods of the United Kingdom does not reveal such a great change when contrasted with those of ten years ago, but if we examine into the subject more minutely we see how deep a root the same principle of amalgamation has struck into the businesses of the United Kingdom as well as those of the United States. In view of the importance, both commercial and financial, of the inauguration of this new era in company promotion, I think it well to bring vividly before the House the extent to which the new movement has already gone, and the following table shows at a glance a list of some of the large combines recently formed in the United Kingdom:

Date.	Name.	Number of businesses.	Capital.
Oct. 6, 1888	Salt Union, Limited.....	.....	£2,000,000
Nov. 1, 1890	United Alkali Co., Limited.....	43	6,000,000
July 1, 1896	J. & P. Coats, Limited.....	4	5,500,000
Nov. 5, 1897	English Sewing Cotton Co., Limited.....	15	2,750,000
May 26, 1898	Fine Cotton Spinners and Doublers', Limited.....	31	6,000,000
Dec. 14, 1898	Bradford Dyers.....	22	4,500,000
July 4, 1898	Yorkshire Indigo, Scarlet, and Colour Dyers.....	11	600,000
July 6, 1898	Bradford Coal Merchants and Consumers.....	8	250,000
Oct. 9, 1898	Yorkshire Wool Combers.....	38	2,500,000
Nov. 1, 1898	United Indigo and Chemical.....	8	250,000
Nov. 15, 1898	Textile Machinery Association.....	.....	170,000
Dec. 8, 1898	Calico Printers.....	60	9,200,000
Feb. 22, 1900	Wall Paper Manufacturers.....	28	4,200,000
Mar. 1, 1900	United Velvet Cutters.....	4	800,000
Apr. 4, 1900	British Cotton and Wool Dyers.....	46	2,750,000
	Total.....	328	46,970,000

Here is a list, and it embraces only some of the largest trusts in free-trade England, in which there are 328 different business concerns amalgamated, with a capital of £46,970,000, or \$230,000,000. *And there is not the shadow of an excuse to be found for their formation in the shape of a protective tariff. They are solely, thoroughly, and absolutely the product of the English system of Cobdenite free trade, or a tariff for revenue only.*

In a word, free-trade England has completely gone over to and become intoxicated with the trust mania. That such combinations of capital in that country are not the creation of a protective tariff is self-evident. English laws compel the giving of information to stockholders in a corporation. Upon the payment of a fee of one shilling (25 cents) they can learn at any time the accurate financial condition of the companies in which they are interested. There is no such law in the United States, but, in my opinion, there should be.

Another point, Mr. Speaker, that is worth consideration is this. We are now compelled, in striving for a share of the world's commerce, to make our goods of such a quality and at such a price that we can compete with the manufactures made by these English trusts. And this competition will increase, not decrease. In order, then, to keep our factories busy and to employ our labor, which is the greatest consumer of the products of our mines, forests and factories, should we not regulate rather than destroy such combinations of capital as are necessary to enable us to compete in the world's markets?

Assuming that we must do this, I believe in and will advocate the proper regulation of all of our large combinations of capital by law. We must preserve in them whatever is good and advantageous to the people at large; but at the same time we must eliminate all that is bad and evil, or which is in any way calculated to interfere with the rights of our citizens.

PROMINENT DEMOCRATS STOCKHOLDERS IN THE GREAT ICE TRUST."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEO. W. RAY, of New York, in daily Congressional Record, June 2, 1900.

The following prominent Democrats are members of and large stockholders in the great ice trust operating in New York City. I take the list from the New York World, a Democratic paper:

[New York World, June 2.]

BIG STOCKHOLDERS IN THE ICE TRUST—A PARTIAL LIST, MOST OF THE NAMES BEING FROM OFFICIAL CERTIFIED RECORDS IN POSSESSION OF THE WORLD.

Richard Croker (Democrat), leader of Tammany Hall.
F. A. Croker (Democrat), son of Richard Croker.
Elizabeth Croker (Democrat).
Robert A. Van Wyck (Democrat), mayor of New York.
Augustus C. Van Wyck (Democrat), ex-justice of the Supreme Court.

John F. Carroll (Democrat), deputy boss of Tammany Hall.
J. Sergeant Cram, president of the dock commission.
Charles F. Murphy (Democrat), dock commissioner.
J. Berry Lounsbury (Democrat), confidential clerk to dock commissioner.

Peter F. Meyer.
H. S. Kearny (Democrat), Tammany commissioner of public buildings, lighting, and supplies.
Judge Rufus B. Cowing.
Judge Martin F. McMahon (Democrat).
Judge James Fitzgerald.
Judge Joseph Newberger.

The judges bought ice-trust stock as an investment, most of them on Deputy Boss Carroll's recommendation. As they are not executive officers of the city, there was no official impropriety in such investment.

Hugh J. Grant (Democrat), former mayor of New York.
Thomas F. Gilroy (Democrat), former mayor of New York.
Hugh McLaughlin (Democrat), boss of Kings County Democracy.
George V. Brower, park commissioner, Brooklyn.
W. H. Gelshenen (and family), president of the Garfield National Bank (the Croker-Carroll ice-trust bank).

Anthony N. Brady (Democrat), of Albany.
Bell & Co. (Democrats), Richard Croker's brokers.
Robert Maclay, former president of board of education.
Arthur Sewall (Democrat), of Maine, Democratic candidate for Vice-President in 1896.

Charles T. Barney.
Leander A. Bevin.
H. H. Brockway.
G. S. Odell, New York.
John E. McDonald, New York.
H. R. Hoyt, New York.
Arthur Braun, New York.

"NOT THE INTENTION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TO WRECK THE PROSPERITY OF THIS COUN- TRY IN ORDER TO CONTROL THE TRUSTS."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. P. P. CAMPBELL, of Kansas, in
daily Congressional Record, April 1, 1904.*

Now, Mr. Chairman, if it were true that the policy of protection made trusts possible in the first place and made their continuance possible in the second place, we must still object to the remedy the Democratic party proposes, to wit: If any trust is engaged in the manufacture of a protected commodity, put that commodity in open competition with the products of the world. This plan of the Democratic party would open the markets of this country to all the world if any of the articles manufactured in whole or in part, produced in whole or in part, by aggregations of capital known as trusts. That would be just like shooting into a chicken coop full of chickens with a double-barreled shotgun with both barrels for the purpose of killing a weasel. [Laughter and applause.]

Twenty furnaces are independent, five furnaces are in a trust, all produce a like product. The products of the whole are put upon the free list for the purpose of destroying the trust. Three hundred factories are independent, 10 are in the trust. The products of all are put upon the free list for the purpose of destroying the 10 in the trust.

When you draw the fire in a furnace or close the door of a factory, whether it is one of a combine or maintains its independence, you throw the workmen employed by that furnace or in that factory out of employment.

Nothing is truer than that if the people of this country are supplied by the manufacturers and labor of foreign countries, whether the purpose be to destroy trusts or to establish free trade, the manufacturers and laborers of this country will not be called upon for those supplies, and just to the extent that they are not called upon for them will our factories close their doors and our labor go without work. There is no question that the proposed remedy will accomplish its purpose. It will destroy the trusts, but their destruction will take with it the last employment of thousands and tens of thousands of men and darken with despair homes now bright and cheery with prosperity.

The trust question was not a serious one from 1893 to 1896, when industrial paralysis extended into every avenue and industry in our whole country.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is not the intention of the Republican party to wreck the prosperity of this country in order to control the trusts,

A patriot and a statesman at the White House, conscientiously devoted to the well-being of the whole country, alert alike to the welfare of the rich and the poor, the employer and the employed; with competent and able assistants in all the Departments of Government, is controlling and regulating, rather than destroying, the enterprises of this country, by whatever name they may be known. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Now, as to the charge that the products of manufacture are sold cheaper abroad than at home, et ergo, we should put the country upon a free-trade basis.

It has not been my privilege to see a list of the articles that are sold cheaper in foreign markets than they are in our own, and I do not deny that it is done in some particulars. I have heard it stated, however, upon as good authority that the prices quoted by those who make the charge is the retail price at home and the manufacturer's price to the jobber abroad. It was charged two years ago that sewing machines and reaping machines were selling cheaper in foreign markets than to our own people. It has been stated upon the authority of dealers in Sydney, Australia, that the Deering binder sold there for \$155 to \$182, while it sells here for \$125; that the McCormick binder sold in Sydney for \$165 to \$194, and sold at home for \$125. The New Home sewing machine sold in Sydney, Australia, for \$55, in this country for \$35.

But if that allegation is true, it is better that American manufacturers get into foreign markets by that method than that foreign manufacturers come into American markets by the same method. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

**TRUSTS."—"WE MUST NOT SO INJURE INDUSTRY AS
TO DESTROY ITS EXISTENCE."**

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. R. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas, page 6329 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Now, sir, whatever may be our hostility to trusts, we must always remember that when we wish to take away from a trust the power to oppress the people, we must not do that which may so injure the industry as to destroy its existence. The committee followed that course with the sugar trust. They have lowered the margin of profit. But if they put refined sugar on the free list and leave a tax on raw sugar every gentleman knows perfectly well it would not only destroy the trust, but it would utterly obliterate the sugar-refining industry, because it would tax the raw material and leave no equivalent tax upon the finished product. That is only analogous as a line of action; not strictly analogous to this case in other features. We reduce the tax here until we bring the price of the domestic article and the price of the foreign article within 1½ cents of each other. The difference at other times has been very great. It has been as great as 2 and 3 cents a pound.

**"THE TARIFF HAS NO LOGICAL CONNECTION WITH
TRUSTS."**

Extract from remarks of Hon. GEORGE E. ADAMS of Illinois, page 6331 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

I desire to oppose the amendment of the gentleman from Arkansas. I wish simply to congratulate the gentleman from Arkansas on having announced that it is illogical and inadmissible to place a tax on the raw material when you put the finished product on the free-list. I only regret that when the subject of crude glycerine and caustic soda was under discussion this bill was not in his charge, but in the charge of another member of the Ways and Means Committee.

I also congratulate the gentleman on having discovered that where a trust exists it is not always a remedy to put the articles subject to that trust on the free-list. That is what many of us have said, because we judged the tariff has no logical connection with trusts. The truth seems, if I judge rightly and understand the gentleman rightly, to be already dawning on his mind.

"THE GREATEST TRUSTS ARE DEMOCRATIC TRUSTS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. SAMUEL R. PETERS of Kansas, page 6497 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

But I say to you that if a trust has been fostered and encouraged by the Republican party, why is it that your side with its majority in all these years has not brought forward some proposition to crush them.

When you come to talk on the other side about trusts, I wish to say to you the greatest and most iniquitous trusts to-day are Democratic trusts. Take the Standard Oil Company; it is a Democratic trust. It has representatives high up near the Democratic throne. Take the sugar trusts in America to-day, and it is a Democratic trust. Take the iron trust, and it is a Democratic trust.

And there is the whisky trust, which is also a Democratic trust. That trust, which is so dear to the Democratic heart, has its inspiration, its motive power direct from the Democratic party. So gentlemen who go on enumerating trusts as having been fostered and encouraged, should know they are Democratic in their inception and Democratic in their tendencies.

"AMERICAN FREE TRADE WOULD OPERATE IN THE INTEREST OF TRUSTS AND AGAINST THE INTEREST OF AMERICAN LABOR."

Extract from remarks of Hon. E. L. HAMILTON of Michigan, in daily Congressional Record, April 14, 1904.

REMOVAL OF TARIFF NOT THE REMEDY FOR TRUSTS.

But gentlemen insist that trusts are fostered under the policy of protection and that the way to remove trusts is to remove the tariff.

It is not true that trusts are fostered by protection except in the sense that protection makes good times, and when times are good they are good for everybody. If it be true that when times are good they are good for everybody, the converse must be true that when times are bad they are bad for everybody, and if to discipline trusts it is necessary to make times bad for everybody, it is not unlikely that those least able to bear it would suffer most.

Laying aside the fact that trusts are organized under English free trade as well as German, Austrian, and American protection, *it is susceptible of absolute demonstration that American free trade would operate in the interest of trusts and against the interest of American labor.*

It appears by the Twelfth Census that only 12.8 per cent. of the total manufactured output of the United States is made by trusts; that only 8.13 per cent. of the food supply of the United States is controlled by trusts, and that only 7.5 per cent. of the labor employed in manufacturing is employed by trusts, and the word "trust" as here employed is used to mean all corporations organized in recent years. Since the taking of the last census, however, it appears that the capitalization of combinations which culminated in the year 1901 is rapidly falling off.

Now, if it is true that only 12.8 per cent. of the manufactured output of the United States is trust made, then the remaining 87.2 per cent. is made by competing independent industries.

And if it be true that only 7.5 per cent. of the labor employed in manufacturing industries is employed by trusts, then the remaining 92.5 per cent. of labor employed in manufacturing is employed by competing, independent industries. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Therefore, if you remove the duty from the 12.8 per cent. of trust-made products you remove it from the remaining 87.2 per cent. of products made by competing, independent industries employing 92.5 per cent. of all the labor employed in manufacturing industries in the United States; and inasmuch as the weak would probably go to the wall first, trusts which would then be given the benefit of free raw material would remain and not only dictate terms to labor, which would then be seeking employment in a crowded labor market, but would dictate terms to consumers, provided they themselves were able to survive competition with the trusts of Europe.

This would at least be a temporary solution of the labor and capital controversy, but it would be like making a desert and calling it peace.

Logically protection is in restraint of trusts.

Behind it independent producers capitalized on a healthy basis, competing with overcapitalized, topheavy combinations, in the natural order of things ought to get their share of a domestic market which consumes 90 per cent. of our product and which is constantly increased by the prosperity of American labor.

Why give it away?

In considering the tariff question it must not be forgotten that the nations of Europe, except Great Britain, which is now considering the advisability of abandoning free trade, protect their own markets from foreign invasion.

Not only that, but the further the nations of Europe are advanced commercially the more their industries have combined, and in Germany and Austria the courts sanction and the Governments uphold trusts.

Not only that, but the nations of Europe are combining among themselves to resist American commercial invasion, while in England Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, though differing as to the advisability of protection for England, agree in advocating a colonial commercial union, whereby preference shall be given English colonies.

Behind protection we can regulate American trusts as time goes on—and we have taken a long step in that direction by the decision in the Northern Securities Company case—but we could not regulate international trusts with headquarters beyond seas. Aided by free trade, they would regulate us.

Remove protection and you immediately begin to divide our home market with foreign producers, paying lower wages than we pay here, whereby American wages would be forced down and American manhood would be forced down.

AS A NATION WE HAVE BEEN BECOMING WEALTHIER AND MORE PROSPEROUS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

TRUSTS.

There will be no attempt to deny that under, but not because of, the tariff now in operation, great industrial concerns commonly known as trusts, have been built up during the past few years. It will not be denied, Mr. President, that out of the hundreds and thousands of such consolidations, some one or some few may have been constructed upon a very unfair basis, may have been operated with questionable intent, with results beneficent to neither producers nor consumers of the wares manufactured by those concerns. It matters not that the same state of affairs exactly exists in free-trade England and in other countries of Europe, our Democratic friends insist that our trusts are due to the tariff. It matters not that our greatest trusts are those producing that upon which no duty is imposed; our Democratic friends still insist that the trusts are due to our tariff.

Some of these so-called trusts have been founded and constructed by issuing stocks of fictitious value, and in some cases abnormally inflated. It did not require a Napoleon of finance to foresee that in time these great bubbles must burst, and that these values must fall to a more equitable level, and this very thing has happened during the past year. We have seen the prices of industrial shares, and with them the prices of railroad shares, fall day after day, week after week, and even month after month; yet, Mr. President, when in our previous history has there been such a falling of prices in Wall street unaccompanied by any widespread industrial disaster throughout the country? *Never before have we gone through a period of such falling prices in stocks without a panic, without vastly increased commercial failures, without business depressions and without disaster requiring years to recover from.*

Accompanying this fall in stocks, accompanying this so-called "speculative debauch" in Wall street, have been various abnormal conditions, each and every one almost serious enough in character to cause a panic under ordinary conditions. Foremost among these, perhaps, have been the great strikes, beginning with that of the miners in the summer and fall of 1902 and followed by the great strikes in the building, textile, and other trades during 1903. When a hundred thousand men, earning on an average four or five dollars a day each, are idle for several weeks or for several months, not only must the influence of such idleness be felt in the loss of wages and profits, diminishing our purchasing power and resulting in the withdrawal of savings, but the lessening demand for the material used by these men for construction and other purposes must also affect to a large degree many other industries, the output of which must necessarily be decreased.

The abnormally high price of cotton for so many months, while bringing somewhat increased prosperity to one portion of our country, brought embarrassment and a loss of production to another portion. Yet in spite of a lessened output in some industries; in spite of wages voluntarily given up for months at a time in certain large cities; in spite of a curtailment of production because of the abnormal high price of certain raw material; in spite of the decreased demand for certain construction material; in spite of the impossibility of moving for many hours, and sometimes for days together, huge trains bearing freight from one part of the country to the other; in spite of weather conditions which had their effect to a greater or less degree upon all communities and upon all classes of people, statistics show that *as a nation we have been going forward during all these months, becoming wealthier and more prosperous, putting aside millions and millions of dollars in our savings banks, increasing our life insurance, and increasing vastly many lines of business as shown by the large advance made in our postal receipts, which accurately reflect the business and industrial conditions of the country.*

It seems to me well worth while, Mr. President, when our friends on the other side are telling us that we are going backward, to say to them that although the elements and to some extent our own folly seem to have combined to try to the utmost the Republican policy of protection, yet they have utterly failed to undermine it.

"MR. CLEVELAND AND THE TRUSTS."—"WHY NOTHING WAS DONE."

Extracts from Address by Hon. L. M. SHAW, Secretary of the Treasury, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury, before the Young Men's Republican Club, Providence, R. I., Wednesday evening, March 23, 1904, said in part:

No sooner was the result of the merger case announced than the opposition inaugurated widely varying and inconsistent tactics to rob the Administration of the fruits of its victory.

The most amusing effort to avoid a comparison of Republican and Democratic Administrations, to the great advantage of the former, appears in a recent interview by ex-President Cleveland. He does not claim to have recommended any anti-trust legislation during either of his Administrations. He does not claim that any anti-trust legislation was passed during either of his Administrations. He does not claim credit for any litigation ever instituted to suppress any trust or combination during either of his Administrations. He simply seeks to explain why nothing was done, and he places the responsibility therefor upon the courts and the Constitution and upon the fact that the Northern Securities Company was not organized during his Administration.

Mr. Cleveland was first inaugurated President March 4, 1885. Neither in his inaugural address nor in any message does he mention the subject of trusts until immediately preceding the election of 1888. In his last message preceding that campaign he refers to the existence of "combinations frequently called trusts," and closes with this sage conclusion:

"The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes."

He recommends no relief and suggests no remedy. Nevertheless, the Congress to which this comprehensive statement of fact was submitted, a majority of the Members of which belonged to his school of political thought, appointed a commission to investigate the subject. * * *

Two days before the inauguration of President Harrison the commission made its report, setting forth what evidently appeared to the commission as a most deplorable condition:

"Your committee respectfully report that the number of combinations and trusts formed and forming in this country is, as your committee has ascertained, very large, and affects a large portion of the important manufacturing and industrial interests of the country. They do not report any list of these combinations, for the reason that new ones are constantly forming. Your committee further report that owing to present differences of opinion between the members of your committee they limit this report to submitting to the careful consideration of subsequent Congresses the facts shown by the testimony taken before the committee."

Both the President and the committee acknowledge the existence of harmful trusts and combinations, but neither holds forth to the people any ray of hope except at the hands of those who were about to fill their seats.

The Republican Congress was not long inactive. The very first bill introduced in the Senate of the Fifty-first Congress was John Sherman's anti-trust bill, Senate File No. 1. It passed both Houses and received the signature of Benjamin Harrison.

The passage of this act was followed by several suits for its enforcement, and several decisions by the Supreme Court were secured, declaring it constitutional and applying it to various conditions. Then, on March 4, 1893, President Cleveland was again inaugurated, and in his inaugural address he refers to trusts, saying:

"These aggregations and combinations frequently constitute conspiracies against the interests of the people, and in all their phases they are unnatural and opposed to our American sense of fairness. To the extent that they can be reached and restrained by Federal power, the General Government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions."

He suggests no modification of the Sherman Act, and recommends nothing in its place, but in harmony with the teachings of State sovereignty statesmanship, of which he always had been, and therefore always will be, a diligent student, he suggests that it is very doubtful whether the Federal Government has any jurisdiction in the premises.

That was in his inaugural address. He does not again refer to the subject of trusts in message or proclamation until December, 1896, after the election of William McKinley, when he can throw the responsibility upon another. In this, his last message, he denounces combinations of every description in language as intemperate and inflammatory as was ever employed by his party's more recent candidate for the Presidency. He says:

"Their tendency is to crush out individual independence and to hinder and prevent the free use of human faculties and the full development of human character."

He then discouraged Federal legislation by saying:

"The fact must be recognized, however, that all Federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making the Federal authority supreme in its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that can not be transgressed. The decision of our highest court on this precise question renders it quite doubtful whether the evils of trusts and monopolies can be adequately treated through Federal action unless they seek, directly and purposely, to include in their objects transportation or intercourse between States or between the United States and foreign countries."

This, so far as the record shows, is his last utterance, official or otherwise, on the subject of trusts, until he explains, in his recent interview, the reason why nothing was done during either of his Administrations. While the platform on which he was elected the second time promised much in the way of anti-trust legislation, nothing was done except to include in the tariff act of 1894 a provision rendering "null and void any combination, conspiracy, trust, agreement, or contract between two or more persons or corporations engaged in importing articles from any foreign country into the United States intended to operate in restraint of trade or to increase the market price of any imported article or any manufacture into which imported articles have entered."

THE PRESIDENT HAS MORE EFFICIENTLY ENFORCED THE ANTI-TRUST LAW THAN ANY OF HIS PREDECESSORS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOHN C. SPOONER of Wisconsin, in daily Congressional Record, April 18, 1904.

The President has, I think, more efficiently enforced the anti-trust law, all things considered, than any of his predecessors. He has recommended a number of measures which have been enacted increasing the efficiency of that law and of the interstate commerce law. He brought the Northern Securities suit. I spend little time upon it. The bringing of that suit has been much used against him and made for him many powerful enemies within his party, and intensified the hostility of many powerful men without his party. He needs no defense for what he did, here or anywhere. He knew what it involved.

The matter was brought to his attention through the action of the governors of several of the Western States and the protest laid before him by the attorney-general of Minnesota that it was a violation of the Sherman anti-trust act. He was so advised by his Attorney-General, a lawyer of learning, fearlessness, and consummate ability. He brought the suit, as it was his duty to do, and prosecuted it to an issue. The circuit court of appeals unanimously sustained the suit. The Supreme Court of the United States by a divided court, affirmed the decree. But for that suit, determining *in limine* the great question involved as to the right of combining in that way through a holding company parallel and competitive railroads engaged in interstate commerce, it is safe to say that many similar combinations would have followed.

I doubt if there would have been 10,000 miles of railway in the United States at this time not in the hands of holding companies, with a volume of securities passing comprehension almost in magnitude. The question now raised would have been raised some time, and in such circumstances a judicial declaration of invalidity would have brought upon the country a panic the like of which we have not seen. Or, should the validity of such combinations have been sustained, it would have forced Congressional relief in the exercise of a clear constitutional power, an alternative from which thoughtful men of all parties shrink.

Will you criticize him for that? *What do the Senators mean when they say he is "unsafe to the business of the country?" Do they refer to his bringing that suit? Do they refer to the coal-strike intervention? If not, to what do they refer? Is your safe, sound, sane man to be more complaisant to combinations, more tender of business interests which violate law, than he? That is the inference.*

Every President is solicitous for the prosperity of the country, and consequently for the conservation of every legitimate business interest throughout the land. *To all such interests, and to the general public interest, President Roosevelt is an entirely safe President. To any business the prosperity of which is dependent upon a successful violation of Federal law President Roosevelt is "unsafe," and to none other.*

Mr. President, a Senator says they will give us a hard fight. Perhaps they will. But we will "be there" when it comes. *I have no doubt myself that the people of the United States will reelect President Roosevelt. They know him. He does not need to call any witnesses as to his politics or as to his position on public questions. They know him to be honest. They know him to be brave. They know him to be law-abiding. They know him to cherish one great ambition, and that is to give the people of this country a strong, able, impartial administration of the laws and of government. They know that he believes in a government of law, that he believes there can be no class in this country, rich or poor, high or low, excluded from the protection of the law or permitted to trample upon the law. The people will have no ear for your frantic charges that he is a czar or a lawbreaker. They know better.*

They will say, "We know Roosevelt; we believe in him."

"MR. CLEVELAND BEWAILS HIS MISFORTUNE."

Extract from address by Hon. L. M. SHAW, Secretary of the Treasury, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

The most amusing effort to avoid a comparison of Republican and Democratic Administrations, to the great advantage of the former, appears in a recent interview by ex-President Cleveland. He does not claim to have recommended any anti-trust legislation during either of his Administrations. He does not claim that any anti-trust legislation was passed during either of his Administrations. He simply seeks to explain why nothing was done, and he places the responsibility therefor upon the courts and the Constitution and upon the fact that the Northern Securities Company was not organized during his Administration.

Mr. Cleveland was first inaugurated President March 4, 1885. Neither in his inaugural address nor in any message does he mention the subject of trusts until immediately preceding the election of 1888. In his last message preceding that campaign he refers to the existence of "combinations frequently called 'trusts,'" and closes with this sage conclusion: "The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes." He recommends no relief and suggests no remedy. * * * On March 4, 1893, President Cleveland was again inaugurated, and in his inaugural address he refers to the trusts, saying:

"These aggregations and combinations frequently constitute conspiracies against the interests of the people, and in all their phases they are unnatural and opposed to our American sense of fairness. To the extent that they can be reached and restrained by Federal power, the General Government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions."

He suggests no modification of the Sherman Act, and recommends nothing in its place, but in harmony with the teachings of State sovereignty statesmanship he suggests that it is very doubtful whether the Federal Government has any jurisdiction in the premises. That was in his inaugural address. He does not again refer to the subject of trusts in message or proclamation until December, 1896, after the election of William McKinley, when he can throw the responsibility upon another. * * *

And now I want to refer to the language of Mr. Cleveland's explanation for the sad neglect of his Administration, as set forth in his authorized interview. He says:

"The question of the Government taking legal action against the so-called 'trusts' was given much consideration during my last Administration, from 1893 to 1897. I recall that I examined closely the law and received reports from Mr. Olney, who was then Attorney-General. I was most anxious to have something done, but we were blocked by decisions of the Supreme Court, which at that time tied our hands. * * * The decisions of the Supreme Court, as pointed out in my message, restricted our action against trusts unless they were engaged in interstate transportation. There was a distinct difference drawn between railroads and purely producing combinations. It could not be said that the sugar trust, or the beef trust, or the Standard Oil Company was directly engaged in interstate transportation."

I think Mr. Cleveland has overlooked the fact that Attorney-General Knox has at this time an injunction in full force against seven corporations, one copartnership, and twenty-three individuals engaged in the production and transportation of meats and meat products, restraining them, as the opinion shows, from requiring their purchasing agents to refrain from bidding against each other when making purchases; from bidding up the price of live stock for a few days to induce large shipments, and then ceasing to bid, so as to obtain live stock at prices less than it would bring in the regular way; from agreeing between themselves upon prices to be adopted by all; from restricting the quantities of meat to be shipped; from requiring their agents to impose uniform charges for cartage, and from making agreements with transportation companies for rebates and other discrimination rates. Of course this action is based upon the allegation admitted in the demurrer, that these packing concerns are engaged not only in the production of articles entering into interstate commerce, but that the concerns are themselves engaged in interstate commerce. Admittedly the Federal Government has no jurisdiction to restrain combinations between individuals or corporations, except such as is derived under the provision of the Constitution giving Congress control of interstate and foreign commerce. Thus what Mr. Cleveland just last week said can not be done is an accomplished fact, and the action was brought under the Sherman Act, and enforced under the direction of the present Republican President. And while the case has been appealed, it stands and holds and will remain effective until reversed. Listen to the explanation he gives for his own inactivity:

"There was then no opportunity to take any such action as this merger suit. The case did not present itself. If contracts existed among these business combinations for the restraint of trade, they were kept secret and no evidence offered itself on which to act. At that time this merger of railroads had not been formed, so that there was no action of this sort to take."

How unfortunate it is for so many of us that opportunities never present themselves in our times. Of all men we are most miserable. And so Mr. Cleveland bewails his misfortune, in much the same tone, if not in the same language, that Ben King employs:

"Jane Jones keeps talkin' to me all the time,

An' says you must make it a rule

To study your lessons 'nd work hard 'nd learn,

An' never be absent from school.

Remember the story of Elihu Burritt,

An' how he clum up to the top,

Got all the knowledge 'at he ever had

Down in a blacksmithing shop?

Jane Jones she honestly said it was so!

Mebbe he did—

I dunno!

O' course what's a-keepin' me 'way from the top

Is not never havin' no blacksmithing shop."

"THE TARIFF AND THE TRUSTS."

*Speech of Hon. S. M. CLARK of Iowa, in the House of Representatives,
Monday, July 19, 1897.*

MR. SPEAKER: There has been much clamorous insistence there should be additional anti-trust legislation in the pending tariff measure. It is easy to show the public intelligence that in disregarding this demand the Republican Congress is not indifferent to the public welfare.

The tariff and the trust are wholly different legislative and economic measures.

Production and sales are controlled by trusts in England, Germany, France, and the countries that would take possession of the American market if the Congress could or should destroy American trusts and establish free trade. Thus American manufactures and labor would be displaced in America by foreign manufactures and labor controlled by trusts.

Trusts are a natural and normal result of the evolution of modern business and civilization, and they are more salutary and beneficent than the foolish and ill-digested legislation attempting to suppress them.

Labor, or that factor in production which receives wages, is organized as a trust. This is useful to the welfare of mankind; this compels the organization as a trust of that factor of production which pays wages. And the organization of the latter as a trust is just as beneficial to mankind as the former.

Laws attempting the suppression of the organization as a trust of that factor of production which receives wages have failed because those laws hindered the progress and well-being of mankind. Laws trying to suppress the organization as a trust of that factor of production which pays wages have also failed, because they are equally an attempt to hinder the progress and welfare of the people.

The welfare of mankind requires there should be high wages for labor and low prices of products made by machinery. This necessitates that the waste made by unprofitable competitive labor and the waste made by unprofitable competitive capital should be done away with, so that the gain made by stopping the waste of unprofitable competitive labor shall be equated with a like gain by stopping the waste of unprofitable competitive capital, and thus give high wages for labor with low prices of manufactured products. Waste is a moral and economic evil, destructive of industrial well-being. Trusts are the device of the highest intelligence of the modern industrial and commercial world to secure high wages for labor and low prices for products by minimizing waste.

As everything of human origin is attended by both good and evil consequences, some evils will attend the non-competitive organization of labor and the non-competitive organization of capital. The province of legislation and government, so far as these have anything to do with the matter at all, is not to seek to destroy the organizations, but promote their benefits and restrict their ills.

That factor of production which receives wages can only be paid or employed when that factor of production which pays wages can market the products of both factors at a profit. Without a market and a profitable market the whole industrial system of the modern world collapses.

Markets are now controlled by more or less organized national, international, and world-wide conditions. It is now no more possible for the individual wage payer or the individual wage receiver to get a place for his products in the markets of the world than it would be for the individual soldiers of great armies to achieve campaigns without executive management and leadership.

Trusts are but co-operation, and the whole world seems to be moving toward co-operation. The workman or craftsman once went by himself. Then he combined in the lodge or society, then in the guild, now in labor unions or syndicates as wide as nations or as Christendom. The employer once conducted his own business with his own capital. Then he made a partnership, then a company, then a corporation, now a trust or corporation of corporations. The evolution has been as natural and inevitable for one as the other. The States that have passed anti-trust laws have usually expressly exempted labor trusts and farmer trusts. That exemption surrenders the whole principle of anti-trust legislation. Once the head of each family was a priest. Then a congregation followed, then a church. The Society of Christian Endeavor, the Epworth League, are great religious syndicates making into combined co-operative strength the formerly individual and isolated congregation or Sunday school. The tendency is everywhere.

"THE TRUSTS—LET US SEE WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DID WHEN IT HAD THE RESPONSIBILITY."

*Extracts from speech of Hon. CHAS. E. LITTLEFIELD of Maine,
in the House of Representatives, June 1, 1900.*

"There is not a syllable of legislation except that provision upon the tail of the Wilson bill that has not been put upon the statute books by the constructive action of the Republican party. But our Democratic friends here stand and say that they are to be relied upon by the American people to construct legislation that will control this evil. That statement in the light of their record is simply grotesque.

"In 1888 the Democracy had charge of Congress. They introduced a resolution on January 25 authorizing the Committee on Manufactures to investigate and report recommendations in relation to trusts. That Committee went on investigating from January 25, 1888, up to July 22, 1888, and then they made a partial report. * * * But the Democrats continued investigating. Perhaps I should call your attention right here to the fact that while the committee was investigating, two national conventions were held, one Democratic and the other Republican. The Democratic convention introduced into its platform this plank:

"Judged by Democratic principles the interests of the people are betrayed them, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist which while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition."

"Not a word as to the remedy; not a promise that they would correct it; not a hint that they would correct it. It was a generality that did not even glitter. Let me read the plank in the platform adopted by the Republican convention in 1888 while our friends, the Democracy, were investigating here in the city of Washington.

"We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislature in their respective jurisdictions such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States."

"The man that drew that resolution was a lawyer. He was a member of the House of Representatives and he well knew that the jurisdiction of Congress was confined to the enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution known as the interstate commerce clause and that other legislation as to trusts would have to be enacted by the States. That resolution therefore recommended Congress to act and it also recommended the various States to act. I said he was a lawyer. He was a Republican, a statesman and a patriot, and was then a member of the House of Representatives. He came from the State of Ohio and his name was William McKinley, Jr. He was Chairman of that Committee on Resolutions.

"I want to stop right here to call your attention to the fact that thirty-one States and Territories have since that resolution enacted anti-trust legislation. * * *

"Let me go back to this Committee that was charged with the duty of investigating these trusts. * * * Let us see what the Democratic party did when it had the responsibility of initiating and constructing legislation. * * * In 1899 this Committee had had under investigation four trusts for more than a year and what conclusion did they reach?

"Your Committee further report that owing to present differences of opinion between the members of the Committee, they limit this report to submitting to the careful consideration of subsequent Congresses the facts shown by the testimony taken before the Committee."

"MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN NOW LIVE BY A WAGE SYSTEM—IF WE DESTROY IT ALL PERISH."

Extract from remarks of Hon. S. M. CLARK of Iowa, in House of Representatives, July 19, 1897.

There must be some cogent causes for trusts, since they are the products of the largest business experience in a very enlightened period, and when the people have a controlling power in government that they never before had in the history of mankind. These causes must be found in what they have done that is salutary.

When I was a boy, in a country home, the feeble light making darkness visible in the household when the night came was of home production. There was unrestricted competition as to that. It is strange in that pervading gloom that any child escaped blindness. The cra of petroleum came, but it was scarcely better in the home. Coal oil was so expensive that farm economies used it sparingly. That was the era of competition and costly production and sale. Then came the period of the Standard Oil trust. I go back to the country home of my childhood now, and it is ablaze with light. The Standard Oil trust has made oil cheap. Upon a small margin of profit assured to it by a known and controlled market the company has grown rich while it has lowered prices to the consumer and paid high wages and salaries to its employees. That is the economic basis upon which a trust rests. If it achieves these results, its existence is justified, and it is beneficent to the people. If it fails in this, then it may need to be subjected to the punitive restraints of legislation.

Mr. A. B. Salom recently made in an industrial paper a showing of some of the things trusts have done as to prices. In 1872 the Standard Oil Company was formed. The price of oil then was 25 cents a gallon. The oil was crude, explosive, and dangerous. The American Sugar Refining Company or trust was organized in 1887. It now sells for 4 cents a pound the same grade of sugar that was then selling for 7 cents. Rubber goods are lower than in 1892, when the United States Rubber Company or trust was organized. The United States Leather Company or trust was organized in 1892. It sells leather for much lower prices than then prevailed. Cordage sold for 10 cents a pound when the cordage trust was formed; it now sells for 6 cents. The telegraph companies combined in 1866. It then cost \$2.20 to send a ten-word message from New York to Chicago; it now costs 40 cents. In 1873 it cost 2.21 cents to move a ton of freight a mile by rail; in 1897, eighty-four one-hundredths of 1 cent. A corresponding decline has taken place in steel, glass, cottons, silks, and nearly every product made by combined capital and combined labor, while the sum paid to American working people to buy those cheapening products with has increased from \$620,000,000 in 1870 to nearly two and one-half billions now; and the average wages for the individual from \$302 in 1870 to \$485 in 1890.

With individual employers and under competition, the workingman was often unable to get his wages after he had earned them. This hardship seldom happens now under syndicated employment. This is a good service to mankind that must not be inconsiderately assailed by blundering and hindering legislation.

Ideal republics and Utopias can not be made by laws. It may be that the present societary system, in which those having capital for the purpose of expanding it employ and pay wages to labor, may not be the system the future has in store. The future will determine that. But we have to deal with what is, not with what may be. Men, women, and children now have to live by a wage system. If we impair it, men, women, and children suffer want. If we destroy it, all perish. Whatever the societary system of the future, it will come as a natural evolution and slowly. Legislators can not enact it into being offhand and ex cathedra.

Anything we do destroying or impairing the confidence and prosperity of those individuals, partnerships, companies, corporations, and trusts that now employ or would employ what they have in the further production of wealth throws labor out of employment, reduces the sum of wages paid, and adds to the volume of human suffering and sorrow. I have seen in past years the pallid faces of women bending over the feverish cheeks of the children of want. I have seen strong men grow feeble and into despair, wanting employment and not finding it. This because there were American lawmakers who in a fierce, blind prejudice struck down American employers under the pretense of sympathy with American labor. I will have no part or lot in such lawmaking nor in the spirit which inspires it.

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Prices at Home and Abroad

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"ARTICLES OF COMMON USE, WITH PRICES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. E. J. HILL of Connecticut, in daily Congressional Record, February 18, 1904.

I submit a statement of articles of common use, eleven of them being on the free list and twenty-one dutiable, with prices ranging from July, 1896, a year before the enactment of the Dingley tariff law, and down to January, 1904.

Of the eleven items on the free list every one of them has greatly advanced in price since 1896, the average advance on all being 53.54 per cent.

Of the twenty-one items on the dutiable list twelve have advanced in price, three are the same now as then, and six have been reduced.

The average advance on the dutiable list is 8.6 per cent., as against 53.54 per cent. on the free list.

The articles are all taken from the list of articles controlled by trusts, found in the Democratic campaign text-book, beginning on page 369, and includes every article named therein as free and twenty-one dutiable ones.

The prices from 1896 to 1902 are as therein given, and the 1903 and 1904 prices are from the Bureau of Statistics.

I commend the showing, on several points, to our Democratic brethren.

Items on free list.

	July, 1896.	July, 1901.	July, 1902.	July, 1903.	January, 1904.
Anthracite [stove coal (f. o. b. New York).....per ton..	\$3.881	\$4.236	.....	\$4.80	\$4.75
Anthracite broken coal (f. o. b. New York).....per ton..	3.228	3.509	.....	4.55	5.00
Copper, lake, ingot (New York).....per pound..	.115	.17	\$0.1225	.1425	.121
Flax, Kentucky.....do....	.08	.10	.095	.....	.....
Jute, spot.....do....	.035	.035	.0325	.045	.045
Petroleum, crude (at well) per barrel..	1.0825	1.1337	1.22	1.50	1.85
Petroleum, refined.....per gallon..	.069	.069	.074	.14	.15
Petroleum, refined (150 per cent test for export).....per gallon..	.1087	.1075	.11	.1005	.145
Rubber, island.....per pound..	.84	.86	.77	.87	.94
Sisal, spot.....do....	.0362	.0562	.095	.0762	.075
Blinder twine.....do....	.0675	.0975	.1425	.145	.145

Items on dutiable list.

	July, 1896.	July, 1901.	July, 1902.	July, 1903.	January, 1904.	Duty.
Alcohol (94 per cent).....per gal..	\$2.31	\$2.43	\$2.51	\$2.48	\$2.40	\$2.25 per gal
Brick.....per thousand..	5.25	5.75	6.25	5.25	.....	25 p. c.
Bread, Boston crackers.....per lb..	.065	.08	.....	.08	.07	20 p. c.
Cotton flannels.....per yard..	.065	.0625	.....	.08	.....	50 p. c. and up.
Cement, Rosendale....per bbl..	.85	1.00	.95	.90	.95	8c. per lb.
Fish, canned salmon.....per doz..	1.65	1.70	1.65	1.65	1.65	30 p. c.
Ginghams.....per yard..	.0425	.0475	.....	.08	.08	45 p. c.
Glassware, pitchers.....per doz..	1.25	1.30	.....	.....	.....	40 p. c.
Wire nails.....per keg..	3.15	2.40	2.10	2.05	2.00	1c. per lb.
Cut nails.....do....	2.90	2.10	2.05	2.20	1.95	1c. per lb.
Fresh beef sides.....per lb..	.075	.09	.....	1.25	.125	2c. per lb.
Salt beef.....per bbl..	16.00	21.50	22.50	11.50	11.00	5c. per lb.
Salt pork.....do....	8.25	16.75	19.75	17.75	13.50	25 p. c.
Hams, smoked.....do....	.10	.115	.125	.1375	.12	5c. per lb.
Pig iron, foundry, Philadelphia.....per ton..	12.75	15.87	22.75	18.50	15.00	\$4 per ton
Rice.....per lb..	.0525	.0537	.0575	.55	.04	2c. per lb.
Sugar, centrifugal.....do....	.035	.0425	.0337	.0356	.0347	\$1.825 per cwt.
Sugar, granulated.....do....	.046	.0524	.0475	.047	.0436	\$1.95 per cwt.
Steel rails, Pittsburg.....per ton..	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	\$7.84 per ton.
Ashton salt.....per bush..	2.10	2.25	2.25	2.25	2.25	12c. per lb.
Tin plate.....per cwt..	3.45	4.19	4.19	4.00	3.80	1c. per lb.

DIFFERENCE IN PRICES UNDER THE WALKER TARIFF AND THE PRESENT PROTEC- TIVE POLICY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. LEONIDAS C. HOUK of Tennessee, page
4103 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

In a speech I made in 1884 at London, Tenn., in my district—my friend from the Chattanooga district will know the gentleman I am going to refer to—I was trying to argue this question of protection. I looked over to the side of the room and discovered in the crowd Capt. Jack Hall, a prominent Democrat, who owned a good river farm, raised splendid crops and kept fine horses, sheep, cattle, and everything else that goes to the adornment of a modern farm. What I said to him was taken down in shorthand at the time and published in the Philadelphia Press and other papers; and I want to read as part of my remarks that dialogue between me and Jack. I said:

How much did you get for your corn under the Walker tariff of 1846?
A. From 10 to 12½ cents per bushel.

How much do you get for the same kind of corn, raised on the same farm and delivered at the same place, under the present Republican protective policy?

A. Sixty cents per bushel at the heap.

How much did you get for an average pony horse in those days?

A. From \$40 to \$60.

How much do you get now under the present policy for the same kind of a horse?

A. From \$100 to \$125.

How much did you get under the Walker tariff for your wheat per bushel?

A. From 25 to 35 cents.

How much did you get for the same kind of wheat under this present Republican policy?

A. From 80 cents to \$1.25 per bushel, owing to the demand.

How much did you get in those days for a good cow?

A. From \$8 to \$12.

How much do you get for the same kind of a cow now under the present policy?

A. From \$25 to \$45.

How much did you get per hundred for flour under the Walker tariff of 1846?

A. From \$1 to \$1.50.

How much do you get for the same kind of flour now?

A. From \$4 to \$6 per hundred.

How much did you get for a good sheep in those days, Jack?

A. Fifty cents for a good one.

How much do you get for the same kind of a sheep now, under this Republican policy?

A. From \$1.50 to \$2 (a voice in the crowd, "Yes, \$2.50 for a good one").

How much did you get per hundred for your hogs under the Walker tariff of 1846?

A. From \$2.50 to \$3.

How much do you get under the present "rascally Republican protective policy?"

A. From \$5 to \$7 per hundred.

Jack, did you make butter for sale in those days?

A. We made butter, but there was little sale, for there was nobody to buy.

Well, when you sold any what did you get for it?

A. Sometimes as high as 6 pence per pound.

Do you make and sell much butter now, Jack?

A. Yes; a good deal.

How much do you get per pound now, under this rascally Republican protective policy?

A. I have a standing contract now in London, with the employees engaged in the manufacturing establishments here, at 25 cents per pound per year round.

Jack, how do you account for the difference in prices under the Walker tariff of 1846 and the present Republican protective policy?

A. We had no manufacturing establishments here at London, then, and there were but few people, but now you see there are a great many laborers employed in these establishments here, and they give us a market for all our surplus truck, and we sell a great deal of stuff and get the money for it that we used to throw away, because there was nobody to consume it.

Well, Jack, what did you have to pay under the Walker tariff per yard for calico to dress up the "old woman" for Sunday?

A. From a shilling to 25 cents per yard.

What can you get the same kind of calico for now, Jack?

A. From 4½ cents to 8 cents per yard.

What did you have to pay for a good Sunday wool hat in those days, Jack?

A. From \$2.50 to \$4.

What do you have to pay for the same kind of a hat now, Jack?

A. From 50 cents to \$1.25.

What did the farmers have to pay for trace-chains in those days?

A. Two dollars for anything like good ones.

What do you pay for the same kind of chains now?

A. For real good ones 60 cents per pair.

"PROTECTION HAS BROUGHT DOWN THE PRICE."

**"FOR MANY ARTICLES WE PAY LESS THAN
IS PAID IN EUROPE."**

*Extracts from reply by Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine, to
Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone, published in North American Review
of January, 1890, and printed in daily Congressional Record of
June 8, 1896.*

In 1860 the population of the United States was, in round numbers, 31,000,000. At the same time the population of the United Kingdom was, in round numbers, 29,000,000. The wealth of the United States at that time was fourteen thousand millions of dollars; the wealth of the United Kingdom was twenty-nine thousand millions of dollars. The United Kingdom had, therefore, nearly the same population, but more than double the wealth of the United States, with machinery for manufacturing fourfold greater than that of the United States. At the end of twenty years (1880) it appeared that the United States had added nearly thirty thousand millions of dollars to her wealth, while the United Kingdom had added nearly fifteen thousand millions, or about one-half.

During this period of twenty years the United States had incurred the enormous loss of nine thousand millions of dollars by internal war, while the United Kingdom was at peace, enjoyed exceptional prosperity, and made a far greater gain than in any other twenty years of her history—a gain which during four years was in large part due to the calamity that had fallen upon the United States. The United Kingdom had added 6,000,000 to her population during the period of twenty years, while the addition to the United States exceeded 18,000,000.

By the compound ratio of population and wealth in each country even without making allowance for the great loss incurred by the civil war, it is plainly shown by the statistics here presented that the degree of progress in the United States under protection far exceeded that of the United Kingdom under free trade for the period named. In 1860 the average wealth per capita of the United Kingdom was \$1,000, while in the United States it was but \$450. In 1880 the United Kingdom had increased her per capita wealth to \$1,230 while the United States had increased her per capita wealth to \$870. *The United Kingdom had in twenty years increased her per capita wealth 23 per cent., while the United States had increased her per capita wealth more than 93 per cent.* If allowance should be made for war losses, the ratio of gain in the United States would far exceed 100 per cent. * * * In the year 1860, the last under a free-trade policy, the population of 31,000,000 in the United States bought carpets to the amount of \$12,000,000. Nearly half of the total amount was imported. In 1888, with a population estimated at 63,000,000, the aggregate amount paid for carpets was nearly \$60,000,000, and of this large sum, less than \$1,000,000 was paid for foreign carpets and about half a million for Oriental rugs. *Does any free trader in England believe that the United States, without a protective tariff, could have attained such control of its own carpet manufactures and trade?* It will not be unnoticed, in this connection, that under a protective tariff the population, by reason of better wages, was enabled to buy a far greater proportion of carpets than under free trade. Nor must it escape observation that carpets are now furnished to the American buyer under a protective tariff much cheaper than when a non-protective tariff allowed Europe to send so large a proportion of the total amount used in the United States.

These illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied. In woollens, in cottons, in leather fabrics, in glass, in products of lead, of brass, of copper; indeed, in the whole round of manufactures, it will be found that *protection has brought down the price* from the rate charged by the importers before protection had built up the competing manufacture in America. For many articles we pay less than is paid in Europe. If we pay higher for other things than is paid across the sea to-day, figures plainly indicate that we pay less than we should have been compelled to pay if the protective system had not been adopted.

"PROTECTION DOES NOT RAISE PRICES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. THOMAS B. REED of Maine, pages 4639-70 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

I meet this question squarely and asseverate that protection does not raise prices. The opposite statement and the argument which backs it up I propose to state fairly, for we now come to the famous revenue-reform dilemma. You tell us, they say, that protection is for the purpose of enhancing prices to enable high wages to be paid, and yet you say that protection lowers prices. This is flat contradiction. So it is as you state it. But your statement, like all revenue-reform statements, flourishes only by assumption.

In order to make yourself clear, you have utterly omitted the element of time. You assume that we say that both our statements of higher prices for higher wages and lower prices for consumers are for the same instant of time. No so. When you begin there are higher prices for higher wages, but when you establish your manufactories, at once the universal law of competition begins to work. The manufactories abroad, urged upon by the lower prices which the tariff forces them to offer in order to compete with us, cause every element of economy in manufacture to be set in motion. Every intellect is put to work to devise new machinery which will produce at lower cost, to seek out new methods of utilizing waste, to consolidation of effort to lessen general expenses, and the thousand and one devices every year invented to get more work out of the powers of nature.

That lower prices will come at once, we have never said. That they will come and grow lower and lower so that in the series of years which make up a man's life all he needs will cost him less than under revenue reform we asseverate and maintain, and all history is behind our asseverations.

OUR PROTECTIVE TARIFF HAS STIMULATED INVENTION AND BUILT UP GREAT INDUSTRIES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. MARK S. BREWER of Michigan, page 3605 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

I concede that prices of home-made articles are higher for some time after a tariff law goes into effect, but upon most articles this increased price is but temporary. The correctness of this statement is fully confirmed by actual experience in our own country. We see it in the case of Bessemer steel, of woolen and cotton goods, of nails, saws, axes, of table cutlery and crockery-ware, and all other articles that can be named which are produced here in such quantities as will nearly supply our own wants. Our protective tariff has stimulated invention and improvement, and built up these great industries which now compel foreign countries to compete with us for our home market subject to the duty upon their goods which we make them pay for such competition. The more factories there are the more competition we have and the cheaper goods we get. It is said that if protection tends to cheapen manufactured goods, what advantage is a protective tariff to the producer or manufacturer? I will answer that a protective tariff tends to give him a more stable market for his wares, and insures him a fair price for his product, and aids him in getting started in building up his business, while at all times it saves him from an unjust and unequal competition with the foreign producer.

"THE DUTY HAS BEEN THE MEANS OF REDUCING THE PRICE OF PRODUCTS TO THE CONSUMER."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. C. BURROWS of Michigan, page 345
of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

It is not true that a protective duty enhances by so much the price of the article. It is not true that the duty on the foreign product raises by so much the whole volume of the competing domestic product; and in support of this denial I can summon as unimpeachable witnesses every established manufacturing industry in the United States. Call the roll of your industries, your iron, steel, glass, pottery, the whole array of American industries and they will bear concurrent testimony to the fact that the duty of which you complain has been the means of reducing the price of their products to the consumer. I challenge any man to name the product of a single well-established American industry that cannot be bought cheaper to-day under our protective system than during any period of our history under free trade or a tariff for revenue only.

Take as an illustration our steel-railway industry and let us see if the theory of the President is correct. The first Bessemer-steel rail made in this country was in 1865. At that time there was a duty of 45 per cent. on the foreign product, which continued until January 1, 1871, a specific duty of \$28 a ton. In 1867 steel rails were selling in the American market for \$166 a ton in currency, or \$138 in gold. In 1870 the price had fallen to \$106.75 when the duty of \$28 was imposed. Now, if the theory of the President be correct, the imposition of the duty of \$28 would have had the effect of advancing the price by the amount of such duty from \$106.75 a ton to \$134.75. But what in fact was the result? Under the stimulating effect of this protection the product of our steel-rail mills rose from 2,277 tons in 1867 to 2,101,904 tons in 1887, giving investment to millions of capital and employment to thousands of laborers, while the price went down from \$166 a ton in 1867 to \$31.50 in March, 1888. In the light of this example what becomes of the theory that the duty enhances the cost and becomes a tax upon the consumer?

Take the case of "blankets," to which the chairman alluded. A pair of 5-pound blankets were recently imported at the lowest possible cost. The statement of the cost, duty paid, is as follows:

Cost in England at wholesale.....	\$4 45
Duty	4 25
Customs fees	65
Total	9 35

If the theory is true, these blankets ought to sell for \$9.35 a pair; but, as a matter of fact, American blankets of precisely the same weight and quality were selling at that time for \$5.20. What becomes of the theory that the duty is added to the cost? [Applause.]

IN ALL COMMERCIAL COUNTRIES EXPORT PRICES ARE AT TIMES LOWER THAN DO- MESTIC PRICES."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. E. L. HAMILTON of Michigan,
in daily Congressional Record, April 14, 1904.*

EXPORT TRADE.

But some gentlemen say that some manufacturers are selling some goods cheaper abroad than at home, and if they can do that what is the need of protection? Let us examine this.

A manufacturer will tell you that his mill has a certain capacity; that he can manufacture cheaper, and therefore sell cheaper, by running full time at full capacity than by running part time at part capacity; that when the mill slacks down to part time or no time at all men are thrown out of employment while interest and rust eat on, and the whole system of labor, capital and machinery is disorganized by alternate spasms of activity and idleness.

He will tell you that at the end of a year, or a specified time, having run full time at full capacity, he is likely to have on hand a surplus beyond the demands of his regular trade, but which he must sell before it becomes stale.

He will tell you that *even if this surplus is sold at cost or even at a loss, still the regular price of his product to the consumer is less than it would be if he attempted to run haltingly, trying to gauge his product to current demand.*

It appears that in all commercial countries export prices are at times from various causes lower than domestic prices, and that among these causes are:

First, the sale of out-of-date stock;

Second, the sale of a surplus without slacking down, it being more profitable to sell low at times and keep running than to lie idle; and

Third, the lowering of prices to introduce goods, thereby widening markets and stimulating production at home, on the theory that the more there is sold at home and abroad the more there is made at home, and the more there is made at home the cheaper it can be made at home, and the cheaper it can be made at home the cheaper it can be sold at home, even though at times and in places prices are lower abroad than at home, and the more there is made at home the more labor employed at home, and the more labor employed at home the more wages paid at home, the more wages spent at home, and the more homes built at home.

OUR JOINT AND SEVERAL INTERESTS.

No matter how capital combines or how labor combines or how they differ among themselves, their interests are inseparable and it ought to be plain to both that they can not afford to go out of business in favor of foreign labor and foreign capital by abandoning the policy of protection.

For the last seven years we have been going on in a procession of highest standards till all the world wonders and other nations are paying us the compliment of substituting foreign names for American names on American goods, sending experts here to study our conditions and threatening to combine against us commercially.

Wages and profits have moved up together, so that on the 1st day of January, 1903, railroads and large corporations generally throughout the country raised wages 10 per cent., which, added to the general increase of wages during the three months next preceding that time, raised the annual earning power of labor in the United States, it is said, by about \$75,000,000, an increase unprecedented in industrial history within so short a time; and all these earnings have constantly been flowing back into the channels of retail trade.

It is claimed that an occasional industry here and there has cut down wages or shortened hours of work since that time, but there has been no general reaction. We have more money in use and circulation now than ever before, and the increase of nearly \$186,000,000 in our savings banks during the past year, and the fact reported by Bradstreet's, that of all the people in business in the year 1903, only 0.76 of 1 per cent. failed, is proof of our continuing and advancing prosperity.

"THE AMERICAN FARMER AND LABORER AND RAIL ROADS BENEFITED BY THE SALE OF AMERI- CAN RAILS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of Pennsylvania
in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 7, 1903.*

Great lamentation has been heard from that side of the Chamber because of the fact that the Pennsylvania Steel Company has recently, in competition with German and other manufacturers secured a contract for the future delivery of 20,000 tons of rails for the Mecca Railway at prices alleged to be somewhat lower than the present prevailing price in this country.

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BENNY] declared that this country had been injured to the extent of the difference between the price to be received abroad and the ruling price of rails here and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] seemed to consider it a crowning outrage that four great railroads have, as he alleges, agreed to make a reduction of 33 1-3 per cent. in the rate of transportation upon all steel products intended for export.

Well, now, the farmer, in whom our friends on the other side just about election time always evince so much interest, did have to "gnaw a file" during the last Democratic Administration, but he never has been, to any considerable extent, a consumer of rails. The only customers for rails are railroads, and, if, as the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] alleges, the railroads themselves are encouraging this outrage, I do not believe that either they or the farmer are, after all, so much outraged as the gentleman from New Jersey seems to think.

Now, I am one of those who believe that the American farmer and the American laborer and even the American railroads themselves are benefited by the sale of American rails in foreign countries. The plant of the Pennsylvania Steel Company is at Steelton, in my district, three miles from the city of Harrisburg, in which I live. It is not a trust nor controlled by a trust; it is not a combination of any kind; it is not the result of the merger or consolidation of two or more corporations. It is just a single corporation, operating its own plant in competition with the United States Steel Corporation and other great rivals. It is operated upon very intelligent business principles by very competent and intelligent business men.

I have no personal investment in it in any way whatever, but I do take a great interest in its welfare because of my friendship and respect for its officers and because the interests of so many of my constituents—farmers, coal miners, and merchants, as well as steel operatives—are dependent upon its success. Within one year after the last election of Grover Cleveland it, along with other manufacturing establishments in my district, went into the hands of receivers.

In October, 1896, it employed 3,602 men. Since the election of President McKinley and the passage of the Dingley tariff bill it has had more than 8,000 men upon its pay roll at one time. It now yields a fair though not excessive return upon the capital invested. *The sale of 20,000 tons of rails abroad (and that is only one item out of a number; it has within the past few days contracted to deliver 8,000 tons in the City of Mexico) will, of itself, bring over \$450,000 of foreign money into this country, and at least 90 per cent. of it will reach the pockets of the laborers who made the steel or mined the coal and iron ore which entered into its production.*

Foreign-made rails have been imported into this country and sold here for \$145 per ton. Now they are made and sold here at \$28. Our railroads thus get cheaper rails, while our miners and iron and steel workers do the work and from their wages are enabled to and do become the best customers for the products of our farms. *If selling our steel products in foreign markets helps to bring about, or continue, or improve these conditions, why do our friends object?*

THE POLICY IN SOME INSTANCES OF SELLING CHEAPER THAN THE MARKET PRICE PREVAILS THE WORLD OVER."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

I will confine myself to the question of goods sold abroad at a lower price than at home.

I have admitted that goods are sometimes thus sold; but I must also emphasize the fact that the percentage of such goods sold as compared with our total output is so insignificant as to make the whole subject a mere bugaboo, not worthy of notice were it not for the fact that its constant reiteration has dignified it almost to the level of a campaign issue. Whoever will take pains to look into this question, studying most carefully the report of the recent Industrial Commission, which went into the matter fully, and whose report upon the subject is exceedingly clear and intelligible, will find that this percentage of goods sold at an export discount is, in round numbers, as follows:

Total annual value of manufactures.....	\$15,000,000,000
Exports of manufactures.....	400,000,000
Value of exports sold at lower prices abroad.....	4,000,000

To this extent, then, we are willing to concede that our manufacturers resort to this practice of cutting foreign prices, for the reasons which I have already mentioned. In volume 13 of the report of the Industrial Commission there are tabulated 416 replies bearing upon this question. The report says:

The great majority of the answers indicated that prices are no lower abroad than they are for domestic consumers, and a considerable number indicate that foreign prices are higher.

Among those who stated that they sell a portion of their goods abroad lower than at home the following reasons are given:

Cash payments and large purchases in the foreign trade, whereas the domestic trade is based on credits and small purchases.

The drawback or rebate of the tariff on imported raw material of goods manufactured for export.

To overcome the tariff of other countries.

To secure new markets.

To hold a market against new competitors.

To clear out surplus stock or to prevent a shut down and increased cost of production by keeping mills running and men employed.

To get rid of samples and out-of-date goods.

Because the expense of selling and advertising is less abroad than at home.

Now as to the amount which is sold abroad at these lower prices. I have already given it as \$4,000,000 annually, although the total sales reported to the Industrial Commission were only about one-third of this amount, and the average difference in price, it may be added, was less than 5 per cent. Allowing the greatest margin possible then, we have a total amounting to only 1 per cent. of our manufactured goods sold abroad, and goods sold abroad amount to less than 3 per cent. of our total output. This great bugaboo, then, consists of less than three one-hundredths of 1 per cent. of our total manufactures, admitting, as we are quite willing to do, all that our opponents claim.

In the face of these returns, which, by the way, are not prize statistics, but authoritative figures in every instance, shall we, because of the fact that three one-hundredths of 1 per cent., or \$4,000,000 worth, of our manufactured goods are sold abroad at a lower figure than at home, tear down our tariff wall and submit the other \$14,996,000,000 to the ruthless competition of the hungry horde of pauper-paid foreign competitors. It is, Mr. President, a most astounding proposition to come from even the Democratic press and the free-trade element of this country.

The policy in some instances of selling cheaper than the market price is a custom that prevails the world over in every line of industry and commerce known to the human race. It is practiced by the fruit vender on our sidewalks, who, at whatever price he can get, disposes of his fast decaying and almost unsalable wares. It is practiced by the merchant, when annually or semiannually he has his great mark-down sale to dispose of shop-worn and damaged goods, fabrics out of date, and of a surplus stock to make room for more seasonable goods. It is practiced by our manufacturers for several reasons. Sometimes it is to dispose of a surplus stock in order that the mill not be shut down and that the workingmen may not be deprived of employment and wages. Sometimes it is to introduce into a foreign market a new article or a new model. It is adopted by the manufacturers and merchants of every country on the face of the earth, and it is considered good business policy when it is undertaken.

**"EXPORT PRICES."
"THE AMERICAN CONSUMER COULD ILL AFFORD TO
EXCHANGE PLACES WITH THE FOREIGN
CONSUMER."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. P. P. CAMPBELL of Kansas,
House of Representatives, March 29, 1904.*

Now, as to the charge that the products of manufactures are sold cheaper abroad than at home, et ergo, we should put the country upon a free-trade basis.

It has not been my privilege to see a list of the articles that are sold cheaper in foreign markets than they are in our own, and I do not deny that it is done in some particulars. I have heard it stated, however, upon good authority that the prices quoted by those who make the charge is the retail price at home and the manufacturer's price to the jobber abroad. It was charged two years ago that sewing machines and reaping machines were selling cheaper in foreign markets than to our own people. It has been stated upon the authority of dealers in Sydney, Australia, that the Deering binder sold there for \$155 to \$182, while it sells here for \$125; that the McCormick binder sold in Sydney for \$165 to \$194, and sold at home for \$125; the New Home sewing machine sold in Sydney, Australia, for \$35 in this country for \$35.

But, if the allegation were true, it is better that American manufacturers get into foreign markets by that method than that foreign manufacturers come into American markets by the same method.

Mr. POU. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Certainly.

Mr. POU. If the American manufacturer can sell his goods in Europe cheaper than he sells them at home and still make a profit, I ask the gentleman why that particular manufacturer still needs any protection?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, we have had experience—our markets have been exploited by foreign manufacturers.

In 1846 iron rails sold in the United States for \$50 per ton. As soon as the tariff was removed by the Democratic party in 1846 English manufacturers reduced the price of iron rails to \$40 per ton, swamped the American market, then after ruining that industry in this country they raised the price to \$75 per ton for iron rails.

And that was not our only experience. Our markets were exploited by the manufacturers of foreign countries at another time when we were under a tariff revised by the Democratic party. As far back as 1819 Monroe says in his message of that year, referring to the way foreign manufacturers ruined our manufactures—

Their manufactures have been shipped by the manufacturers to the United States and in many instances sold at prices below their current value at the place of manufacture. Although this practice may, from its nature, be considered temporary or contingent, it is not on that account less injurious in its effects.

We were then under the tariff act of 1816. Foreign manufacturers were exploiting our markets, ruining our manufacturing establishments, and establishing the sale of their products here.

Mr. POU. If the manufacturer in this country can make a profit by selling his goods across the water at the prices they there command, why should he be forced to go out of business?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It is not proposed to force him to go out of business. [Applause.] To whatever extent the products of American manufacture, protected or otherwise, are sold in foreign markets cheaper than they are sold at home, the American consumer could ill afford to exchange places with the foreign consumer. A factory, a shop, a furnace, an industry of whatever nature that is established here becomes a part of the property of the great body of the American people. Taxes are paid, schoolhouses are built, and schools maintained, churches are built and maintained, the institutions of the country are supported by the industries of the country.

The manufacturer who is not engaged in producing articles on the protected schedule could not afford to have a neighboring factory engaged in some other product that is on the protected schedule transferred, with its employees, to a foreign country. The farmer could not afford to have a manufacturing establishment engaged in producing a protected article that is sold cheaper abroad than it is at home, removed to the place abroad. So I say, to whatever extent the practice is followed, it is better for us that our manufacturers practice it in foreign markets than that the manufacturers of foreign countries should practice it in our markets.

LOWER PRICES IN THE UNITED STATES THAN IN ENGLAND."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in the daily Congressional Record of April 4, 1904.

The claim is often made that while wages are higher in the United States the cost of living is correspondingly cheaper in Great Britain. That this statement is erroneous can be proved by official statistics obtained simultaneously in both countries. In 1892 the Senate Committee on Finance made an extensive report on "Retail prices and wages" in leading cities of the United States and Europe at different periods from June, 1889, to September, 1891. Among the cities considered in this report were St. Louis, Mo., and Manchester, England, cities for which wage comparisons have just been made.

A comparison of the prices of articles of identically the same description, obtained at the same time, namely, June, 1889, and September, 1891, in both cities, shows that instead of the necessary commodities of life being higher in the United States than in England they are, on the contrary, as a rule much lower. This is shown in the table which follows. A glance at this table shows that most of the necessary food products, such as bread, eggs, lard, bacon, roast beef, hams, mutton, milk, starch, and canned vegetables, were much lower in St. Louis than in Manchester, while the prices of the few remaining food products averaged about the same in both countries.

With regard to clothing and cloth goods, we find that men's hosiery, cotton shirts, sheetings, shirtings, and cotton and woolen dress goods of the same description and quality were cheaper in St. Louis than in Manchester; that carpets, flannels, and cotton underwear averaged about the same, and that only in the case of men's hats was there any decided difference in favor of the Manchester purchaser.

Household articles, such as earthenware, glassware, and cutlery, were nearly the same in price in St. Louis as in Manchester, with a very slight difference in some cases in favor of the latter city. On the other hand, furniture costs from about one-fifth to one-half as much in the United States as in Great Britain, so that for the cost of one bedroom set in Manchester one could buy from two to three sets in St. Louis, and for the cost of one dining table at Manchester a whole dining-room set could be bought in St. Louis.

But the question may be asked, "If the American workingmen earn so much more and pay so much less for what they consume, why are they not all wealthy and contented?" The answer may be found in the statement of the eminent French scientist, Prof. Emile Levasseur, in his work on "L'Ouvrier Americain" (The American Workingman). After summing up the conditions of labor in America as compared with Europe he says that wages in the United States are about double the wages in Europe; that objects of ordinary consumption by working people (excepting dwelling houses) cost less in the cities of the United States than in those of Europe; *that the American workingman lives better than the European; that he eats more substantially, dresses better, is more comfortably housed and more often owns his dwelling, spends more for life insurance and various social and beneficial associations, and, in short, has a much higher standard of life than the European workingman.*

"PRICES OF AMERICAN GOODS HIGHER IN EUROPE THAN IN THE UNITED STATES—WHENEVER THE PRICE WAS LOWER THERE WAS A GOOD REASON—A MODEL FOUR YEARS OLD."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, printed daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

In the summer of 1901 I spent several months in Europe investigating conditions. One of the lines of my investigation was this very one of prices of American goods at home and abroad. In different cities in the ten countries visited I made it a point to go into stores and, as a possible customer, ask the prices of articles with whose prices at home I was familiar. Practically without exception I found the prices of American goods higher everywhere in Europe than in the United States.

And wherever the price was lower there was always a good reason for it. For instance, in Scotland I found a man who had just bought a new McCormick binder. I asked him how much he paid for it. He said £19, about \$95 in our money. Inasmuch as a new McCormick binder would cost in Minnesota about \$120, I made investigation to ascertain why and how he was able to buy such a binder for what was apparently less than the Minnesota price. It soon developed that while the machine was new—that is, while it had never been used, it had been made in 1897 (a model then four years old in the United States) and could have been bought in Minnesota for \$85!

Mr. Chairman, careful statistics have been gathered on this subject of the prices of American manufactured goods abroad and at home. These statistics show that of the stupendous amount of manufactured goods produced in the United States, 97 per cent. is consumed in the United States. They show also that of the 3 per cent. sold abroad, more than 90 per cent. is sold as high or higher than at home, and that less than 10 per cent. of that which is shipped abroad is sold for a lower price than at home.

In order that we may see the point more clearly, let us think of it in another way. Of every \$100 worth of manufactured goods produced in the United States we consume at home \$97 worth. Of the \$3 worth shipped abroad more than 90 per cent. is sold as high or higher than at home. That accounts for \$2.70 worth more, or \$99.70 worth of the goods in all. That leaves less than 30 cents' worth sold abroad lower than at home. Democratic statesmanship invites us to let go of the \$99.70 worth in order to get a chance at a part of the 30 cents' worth!

Mr. Chairman, let us now look for a moment at this little 30-cent business, of which our Democratic brethren will undoubtedly try to make much.

The sale of a portion of our products abroad at a reduced price is not at all a question of the tariff. It is a mere question of business. Great Britain, with her so-called "free trade," always has practiced that policy and does to-day. The advice of Lord Brougham in 1816, which I quoted earlier in my remarks, is to the point. Some of these sales are for the purpose of getting rid of out-of-date goods; some of them are for the sale of getting rid of a temporary surplus, so that the factories may not be closed down; some of them are due to the fact that the sales are cash sales and in considerable quantities; some of them are due to the struggle for a new market—that is, every one of these sales is made for a purely business reason, wholly disconnected from our having or not having a protective tariff.

But, Mr. Chairman, whatever may be said on this subject, let us not forget that the whole thing is relatively only a "thirty-cent" matter, and that in whatever consideration we may give it we must not lose sight of the fact that under our protective system our people have grown so enormously in their power to consume, they are so well housed, so well clothed, so well fed, and have and enjoy so many of the comforts of life that we use here at home 97 per cent. of our entire manufactured production!

It is a matter for just pride, Mr. Chairman, that we have so greatly increased the amount of the manufactured goods which we export, and those who believe in the Dingley bill can point with pride to the fact that under its operation the value of our manufactured goods exported has, in seven years, practically doubled.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is another fact in this connection that is of immensely greater importance.

According to the census of 1900 the total value of the goods manufactured in the United States in that year was a little over \$13,000,000,000. In the year 1900 we exported from the United States \$433,851,756 worth of manufactured goods; that is, Mr. Chairman, we exported 3 per cent. of what we produced. Out of the entire \$13,000,000,000 worth of goods manufactured in the United States our own people have been able to use or keep 97 per cent. Why, Mr. Chairman, rather than let go of the conditions under which such a mighty result has been accomplished we could well afford, if necessary, to throw the other 3 per cent. into the ocean!

But we have not thrown it into the ocean. The goods have been sold in foreign lands. Even if they had all been given away or sold for less than the selling price at home, that fact would be of small relative importance. But instead of being sold at smaller prices than at home, more than 90 per cent. of them were sold as high or higher in foreign lands than in the United States.

Republican Prosperity

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"PROSPERITY IS GENERAL; DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE COUNTRY; COMMON TO ALL THE SECTIONS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. B. FORAKER of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, Feb. 4, 1904.

During the years that have passed since the McKinley Administration commenced until now our foreign commerce has so grown and grown in our favor, that the annual balance of trade will average more than \$500,000,000, every dollar of which the nations with which we trade have been compelled to pay to us, and to pay to us in gold worth 100 cents all around the world. There have been no 50-cent Bryan dollars in those transactions. *As a result of it, Mr. President, we have to-day in the Treasury of this country more gold belonging to the United States than was ever held by any government in the history of the world.*

Not only has our foreign trade grown in that manner and to that extent and with that success, but the prosperity which it indicates is general; it is universal; it is distributed throughout the whole country; it is common to all sections, and to no section more than to the Southern States.

A few days ago there was made in another place where men legislate a very brilliant speech, in the course of which the speaker quoted from newspapers, the leading newspapers from almost every State throughout the whole South, in order to show what the conditions were, according to those papers—almost every one of them a Democratic paper—on the 1st day of January last.

Mr. PATTERSON. If prosperity is as great as it has been, if it has not diminished and is not diminishing, how does the Senator from Ohio account for the material cut in the wages of twenty-five or thirty thousand of the workmen and workwomen engaged in the New England textile fabric mills, a reported cut in wages in all the steel industries, and that there is now assembled at Indianapolis a national convention of bituminous coal miners threatening a national strike because they have been notified that after a time soon to come the wages they are receiving will be materially lessened?

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President, there is no trouble in answering the Senator. I am not going to answer him in detail as to all the cases he puts, because it is sufficient to answer him as to one, and either that or some similar answer will be found as to each of the others. He puts the case of the cotton manufacturers. It is the price of cotton, Mr. President, which has gone so high—whether on account of legitimate demand or whether on account of manipulation of stock brokers and dealers it does not matter—has gone so high as to cripple that industry, to stop a number of factories, and to turn, in consequence, a number of men into idleness.

For other causes, having nothing to do with the general policies of the country, but originating in and having their effect in spite of those policies, the steel industry has been temporarily affected, and the mining of coal has been temporarily affected, perhaps. I am not able to answer as to detailed facts all the suggestions made by the Senator, but we know that it is no unusual thing to see the representatives of labor and the representatives of capital meeting in national convention for the purpose of considering questions of wages and other questions of a similar character.

We do know, however, Mr. President, this to be a fact, that when the Republican party is in power and the people of this country are satisfied with the industrial legislation, there is never any strike, except for differences as to wages or hours or other terms. *Labor strikes when it knows if it quits work to-day it can go back and find work to-morrow; capital strikes and goes out of business when you institute policies in which the people have no confidence. That is the difference between strikes under Democratic and strikes under Republican policies.*

You are liable to have strikes under any Administration, although from different causes. *How was it under Cleveland? Nobody struck then because he was getting less wages than he wanted. The trouble was to get any wages at all. The only striking anybody did was to strike out for a job, the first one he could hear tell of, and pursue it and get it, if he could, anywhere and at "any old price," on any kind of terms.*

THE SOUP HOUSE HAS DISAPPEARED AND THE MARKET HAS TAKEN ITS PLACE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. P. P. CAMPBELL, of Kansas, in daily Congressional Record, April 1, 1904.

Now, sir, as to the objection that our products are kept out of foreign markets by the policy of protection. The most emphatic answer to that objection is that it is only true in theory, and that is in no sense true in fact.

Why, sir, we have advanced from year to year under the protective policy, from one of the lowest exporters among the great nations of the earth, until to-day we rank first. Our exports last year were one and a half billions in round numbers, while England's exports were one billion four hundred millions; Germany's one billion two hundred thousand, and France's eight hundred millions. We have extended not only the amount but the variety of our exports from year to year, and the year that has just closed has shown the greatest export from this country that has ever been made by any one country in any one year.

GROWTH OF EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

In 1875 the exports of domestic products by the world's great exporting nations were as follows:

United Kingdom	\$1,087,497,000
France	747,400,000
Germany	593,052,000
United States	497,263,737

In 1885 domestic exports of these four countries stood as follows

United Kingdom	\$1,037,124,000
Germany	680,551,000
United States	673,593,596
France	596,000,000

In 1895 the domestic exports of the four countries were as follows:

United Kingdom	\$1,100,452,000
United States	807,742,415
Germany	789,660,000
France	651,100,000

In 1903 the relative rank of the four countries in the exportation of domestic products was as follows:

United States	\$1,457,565,783
United Kingdom	1,415,617,552
Germany	1,200,000,000
France	812,000,000

But we are told that we can not sell our products in the world's markets while we refuse the world the privilege of selling in our markets. But we do. [Applause on the Republican side.] Why, I knew a man once just like the Democratic party. He called every beautiful day a "weather breeder." He never got comfort or satisfaction out of anything. [Laughter.]

It is said the cost of living has increased in a greater proportion than the wage-scale has been raised, therefore the tariff should be revised by the Democratic party.

Now, conceding for the sake of the argument that some of the necessities of life are higher now than they were from 1893 to 1896 under the last revision of the tariff by the Democratic party. Bread and meat were cheap in those days, but people went without food. Clothing was cheap, but people went without raiment. Hardware and lumber were cheap, but men did not build houses. Land was cheap, but people did not buy farms. Live stock was cheap, but farmers did not buy stock. Everything was cheap, but no one could buy.

To-day bread and meat may be a little higher, but no one goes hungry. Clothing may be a little higher, but all are clad. Hardware and lumber may be a little higher, but throughout the whole land people are building houses. Farm lands have doubled in value, but all over the country men are buying farms. Many farm animals have more than doubled in value, but all over the country men are buying stock. Sites for industries are higher and material and labor are higher, but enterprising men are purchasing sites and material and establishing industries. Wages are higher, but employers are employing men. The soup house has disappeared and the market has taken its place. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

"NOT A SINGLE PROPHECY OR PREDICTION OF OUR OPPONENTS HAS COME TRUE."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. ELMER J. BURKETT, of Nebraska, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 30, 1904.

Every four years, and sometimes oftener in the past, our Democratic friends have had to change their paramount issue and had a new excuse for existing longer as a party.

We Republicans are never in that unfortunate condition. Our positions and our policies are enduring.

I remember the first time I ran for Congress, in 1898, the paramount issue of your party out in my district was the McCleary bill. I do not know whether any of you had to run up against it or not. Probably it was a good bill, for it bore the name of my distinguished colleague and co-worker in the committee from Minnesota. I never happened to hear particularly about that bill until some gentlemen came from the East and declared it was the paramount issue. For sixty days we had to go over the district talking about the McCleary bill, and nobody has ever heard of it since. In 1896 the paramount issue of the Democratic party was "the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without the aid or consent of any other nation on earth." There is not one of you who can say that as smoothly as I did.

You have not tried it since 1896, yet in 1896 every Democrat of you was authority on 16 to 1. You went out of that convention in Chicago, every mother's son of you, and you got a piece of white metal sixteen times as big as a piece of brass, and you hung it on your coat lapel and strutted up and down the streets and the lanes of this country swearing you stood for 16 to 1 or bust and every one of you busted. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Now, let us go back further, as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN] said, to 1892. Your paramount issue then was free trade. When Garfield was the candidate, it was the force bill. When Hayes was the candidate you said if he was elected he was going to turn the temples of liberty over into the hands of the money changers, or something of that kind. When Grant was a candidate it was militarism, and when Lincoln was a candidate it was imperialism. Every four years you have had a new paramount issue.

When that convention met in Chicago in 1896 there was not a Democrat here that had any idea that they could nominate a candidate for President with any hope of electing him. We had had four years of Democracy in this country, four years of free trade. We had had four years of the hardest times that the American people had ever gone through, and I pray God that we will never be called upon to go through four more such years as we went through from 1892 to 1896. When your convention met in 1896 not one of you thought it was worth while to nominate a candidate for President. From that convention came forth the proposition of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, etc. You went before the people, and I must say you made considerable stir. [Laughter.] Do you wonder that so many people voted for Mr. Bryan in 1896, when you recall the predictions and prophecies which were then made?

If you elect a gold-standard candidate it will make the rich richer and the poor poorer, decrease happiness, increase distress, destroy opportunity to work.

There is where they almost caught me. I always like to work and when I read that declaration that if the gold-standard candidate was elected "it would destroy opportunity to work," I must say it almost caught me.

Now, I read from page 540:

If you elect the gold-standard candidate it will encourage hoarding of money.

In other speeches such statements as these were made: The election of the gold-standard candidates will—

Ruin the farmer.—Injure the wage-earner.—Reduce employment.—Discourage enterprise.—Paralyze industry.—Bust the savings banks.—Ruin the depositor.—Decrease salaries.—Destroy manufactures.—Make impossible for husbands and wives to pay mortgages.—Close public schools.—Make dearer money.—Cheaper property.—Harder times.—More crime.

Yet McKinley was elected, and we adopted the gold standard, and not a single prophesy or prediction of our opponents has come true. The whole country has grown richer.

"ALL ALIKE TELL THE STORY OF PROSPERITY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. B. FORAKER of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, February 4, 1904.

A few days ago there was made in another place where men legislate a very brilliant speech, in the course of which the speaker quoted from newspapers, the leading newspapers from almost every State throughout the whole South, in order to show what the conditions were, according to those papers—almost every one of them a Democratic paper—on the 1st day of January last.

It was a happy thought that induced this speaker to cite these newspapers. He commences with the State of Missouri.

The Kansas City Star says:

"Bank clearings are not always a definite indication of business movements, but they may be taken as a reliable basis of comparison in noting progress in any one city. The clearings in Kansas City for the past year were one thousand and seventy-five millions, or an increase of eighty-six millions (9 per cent.) over the record of 1902. Building records and real estate transfers show similar increase. Both the wholesale and retail merchants report gains."

I am not going to read all of these, but I want to read a few of them just to show how universal they are and how all alike tell the story of prosperity. The St. Joseph Gazette says:

"The country upon which St. Joseph depends for its maintenance is prosperous to a most gratifying degree. Crops have been fairly abundant; prices for the products of the farm and range far in excess of the average for many years."

Now I come down to Virginia, skipping quite a number of citations from other papers in Missouri. The Despatch, of Norfolk, says:

"The cities of tide-water Virginia have experienced a solid and increasing growth during the past ten years. Norfolk is in many, many ways better off to-day than a year ago. Churches, schools, charitable organizations, and business organizations have flourished and grown and improved within the year. Local bank deposits have shown a steady increase during the year, and local bank clearings also indicate an increase in the volume of business done in the city, and the record of the year past is the largest in the history of the city."

Mr. President, to go on with this, I could read to the same effect from the Petersburg Index-Appeal, to the same effect from the Jacksonville Times-Union, and from the Pensacola News, as to the condition of things in Florida; and I could read to the same effect from the Leader, a paper published in Lexington, Ky., as to the conditions existing in that State, and from the Louisville papers to the same effect. All these papers, let me remind the Senate, are of date January 1, showing the condition only a month ago, as published in these Democratic papers in their respective localities. The Atlanta Constitution, January 1, says:

"Annual reports of all city officials show a bright chapter in the history of Atlanta, the year 1903 having been one of the most prosperous in its history. The clearings of 1902 were increased by \$13,791,580.34. The year's record is a remarkable one, and is considered as a strong indication of the substantiability and growth of business in Atlanta."

The Augusta Chronicle and a number of other papers in that State are quoted.

Then he goes to North Carolina and from the Rural News and Observer he quotes this:

"The year that closed last night has been a good one for North Carolina and the American Republic. Crops have been large and prices good. It has been a specially good year for farmers."

I quote now from the Wilmington Morning Star:

"The steady increase in the commerce of Wilmington is extremely gratifying to the people of the city, and the growing importance of the chief seaport of North Carolina will alike be a source of gratification to the people of the entire State."

Now, I come to South Carolina, that blessed old State, so ably represented on this floor always, and particularly now. The Charleston News and Courier is quoted from, as follows:

"The banks of Columbia show by their reports that they have had a very successful year, and it follows that the people of the city have cause to be, in a large measure, satisfied with the last year's business. The total deposits in the five banks amount to \$3,503,907.50, a very large sum for a city of the population of Columbia. Compared with former years, the deposits increased very much, and the bankers seem to be full of confidence of still greater proportionate increase during the present year."

Now let me read from another paper, the Greenville News:

"The year 1903 has been one of unprecedented growth and general improvement. Something like \$2,000,000 has been expended during the year in the erection of public and private buildings, manufacturing plants, and various other commercial enterprises. The most successful year in the history of Greenville has passed. Nineteen hundred and three has left the city greater, richer and more prosperous than when it came."

Then I could read to the same effect from the papers of Memphis and Nashville as to the conditions of prosperity obtaining in the State of Tennessee, and so on throughout the South. I might go on reading to a very much greater extent than I have, but I have read sufficiently to support what I want to state, that this prosperity about which we talk is a prosperity not for any particular section, not for any particular class, but a prosperity for our Government, a prosperity for our country and our whole country, a prosperity for every section of our country, a prosperity for every class in our country.

"WE WILL NOT DISTURB THE BUSINESS OF THIS COUNTRY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 9, 1904.

There is no such condition of things as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] has presented. His question to us is; "Why don't you reform the tariff; why don't you revise the tariff; why don't you do something about the tariff?" That is all so much wasted language, because we do not want to reform the tariff; we do not want to revise the tariff; and if we do we are going straight ahead when we get ready, and we will do these things if we see fit to do so. *We will not disturb the business of this country. We will not bring about the condition of 1893, that will break up the flow of prosperity of this country. We will give notice to the people of this country when we are going to revise the tariff.*

We believe that there can be nothing done by a political party more damaging to the best interests of the people of the country than to announce a determination in advance to do some radical thing in legislation that will halt, paralyze, and eventually upset the business of the country. The business of the country is sensitive, and the mere induction of the Democratic party into power with its present threat of demolition of the tariff situation would paralyze business throughout the country as it did in 1893. It does not need the full consummation of their purpose; their allegation, with the power in their hands to do harm, is all that is necessary for the great work of injury and destruction.

And I call the attention of the country to the fact that gentlemen on the Democratic side of the House, Democratic members of the Senate, Democratic newspapers, Democratic orators everywhere are proclaiming to the business interests of this country, "Put us in power and we will do something to the tariff. We will either repeal it or we will revise it or we will cut it down or we will do something with it." Gentlemen, that is exactly the greatest harm that you can do to the business interests of the country, and if *your speeches during the last sixty days had been made by Republicans under the guise of Democratic speeches, they could not have been more effective to drive the people of this country to a resolute determination that the Democratic party shall not come into power with that threat upon their lips.* [Applause on the Republican side.]

It is the very thing that the business interests of this country dread. It is the very thing the business interests of this country will not have. They will not trust the Democratic party, coming as they do with that threat that they will repeat their transactions of 1894 and thereby again destroy the business of the country. "But," say a number of those gentlemen, and I reply only cursory and for a moment, "there is not any prosperity anyhow." I listened to an hour's speech the other day and one-half of it was devoted to proving that there is no prosperity in the country and the other half to proving that the great prosperity of the country was brought about by Democratic action. [Laughter.] I have but a very few and very condensed statements to make on that subject. I do not care what produces it. I do not care who is responsible for it. *It is enough for me to know that from the beginning of the history of the Democratic party whenever they have made a tariff agitation in this country bankruptcy and hard times and panic have followed.*

I am going to the country, so far as I shall be heard in the campaign, and submit a single question to the laboring men of my district, the business men of my district, and the farmers of my district. I will put this one question to them, and upon their answer I will stand or fall: "You lived here in 1892 and forward?" "Yes." "You lived here in 1896 and forward?" "Yes." *"Which one of these conditions would you rather have, that under Democratic administration or that under Republican administration?"* I will submit that question and abide by their judgment thereon. What is the use of making speeches when every man who gets them absolutely knows he was hungry in 1892 and forward and he is rich and prosperous to-day?

It is enough for me to know it was in a condition of Democratic supremacy when troubles came, and it is a fact which no man can deny that it was in a condition of Republican supremacy when good times came.

"THE LEAN AND THE FAT YEARS."

Excerpt from remarks of Hon. E. L. HAMILTON of Michigan, in daily Congressional Record, April 14, 1904.

THE LEAN AND THE FAT YEARS.

For seven years, under the Administrations of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, labor and capital have been prosperous, with practically no interruption except the interruptions of their mutual differences.

Eight years ago the Republican party marshaled its hosts in the shadow of industrial depression—in the shadow of closed factories and suspended banks.

We were running in debt then at every tick of the clock, accumulating an overdraft in our Treasury, fed by selling bonds and drained by an endless chain, recruiting Coxey's army and reading Coin's Financial School.

The years were lean and the earth was lean, and lean-faced men as night came on came out of their hiding places in the alleys of depression and lifted up strange voices on the curb and in the deserted market places, preaching the doctrine of discontent and "larding the lean earth" with promises of things to be gained by depreciated money and national dishonesty. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Then no man trusted his neighbor if he could help it. A man with a dollar ahead refused to loan money to his neighbor on a first mortgage because, first, he was afraid of being called a plutocrat; second, because he was afraid his neighbor would pay him in depreciated money, and, third, because he was afraid his security would vanish away.

Out of the ruins of that time we have built up the shining edifice of prosperity and "scattered laughter with a spendthrift hand." And yet nothing has happened—nothing but a Republican Administration.

There is something about the Republican party that sends things up above par, and something about the Opposition that sends things down below par. Above par is sunlight, summer, hope, and plenty. Above par is the firelight dancing on the walls of contentment to the song of the kettle singing on the hearth of Plenty. Below par Hunger and Want and Bankruptcy sit brooding by dead ashes, while the candle of life gutters down to the shape of a winding sheet. [Applause on the Republican side.]

It is possible to go below par again. A very little ballot in the hands of a very small majority will do it.

Now, from the offices of stock jobbery to the highest of political economy, it is everywhere apparent that we are prosperous.

Gentlemen on the other side express divergent views as to the cause of it.

Some deny it in the midst of it with the proceeds of it on their persons.

Some say it is just the natural reaction from hard times to good times, but it is a singular coincidence that we always have a reaction from hard times to good times when the Republican party goes into power.

Some, while drawing rations from the Republican commissary of prosperity, concede it, profit by it, and criticise its quality; and some more modest than Aesop's fly on the wheel, say they did it themselves indirectly.

I notice that geese always bow their heads when entering a barn door, having an erroneous impression as to their own height. [Applause.]

Of course, if they have done it at all they have done it indirectly, and if they have done it indirectly while out of office it is more than they have done directly while in office, and this suggests an admirable arrangement for the future which ought to appeal to the patriotism of our friends whereby they may continue to cooperate indefinitely indirectly externally for the prosperity of our country. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Some say, however, that our prosperity is only "apparent prosperity." If this be true, then our average annual balance of trade for the last three years of \$513,000,000 is only an apparent balance of trade, and the deposit of \$2,935,204,845 in the savings banks of our country, for the most part deposited by labor—an increase of \$185,027,555 over a year ago—is only an apparent savings deposit, and the \$3,000,000,000 pay roll of 6,000,000 people employed in 513,000 factories, having an annual output of \$13,000,000,000 is the "insubstantial pageant" of an optimistic dream. [Applause on the Republican side.]

"THE REFUTATION OF MR. BRYAN'S PROPHECIES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. W. BABCOCK of Wisconsin, in daily Congressional Record, June 7, 1900.

At the end of the third year of President Cleveland's last term the money in circulation was, in round numbers, a billion and a half of dollars. At the end of President McKinley's third year it was \$2,000,000,000. In the third year of Cleveland the circulation of money was \$21.53 per capita of the population. In the third year of McKinley it is \$26.12 per capita. This does not look like making money scarce. At the end of President Cleveland's third year the gold circulation was \$490,000,000; but at the end of President McKinley's third year it was \$786,000,000, an increase of nearly three hundred millions.

Two-thirds of the increase of circulation has been in gold, the metal that Mr. Bryan said would make money scarce and throw the country into poverty and decay. To complete the refutation of Mr. Bryan's prophecies, *there was nearly \$75,000,000 more of silver in circulation at the end of President McKinley's third year than at the end of President Cleveland's third year of his second term.*

Let us now turn to Mr. Bryan's prediction of the stagnation of industry if his "16 to 1" policy was not accepted by the people. The figures of our domestic industry as a whole are not accessible. They are not necessary, as every intelligent man knows whether or not labor is plenty, wages good, and agricultural prices away above the quotations of three years ago.

For our foreign trade we have the figures. During the first three years of Cleveland's second Administration our imports amounted to \$2,898,000,000; during the first three years of McKinley's Administration our imports amounted to \$2,296,000,000, or under the Dingley tariff act, during prosperous times and great activity, our imports were \$602,000,000 less than during the same period of the Cleveland Administration, when the country was filled with distress and want.

Now glance for a moment at our exports. During the first three years of the second Cleveland Administration our exports amounted to \$3,578,000,000, and during the first three years of the McKinley Administration our exports amounted to \$3,828,000,000—a difference of \$250,000,000 in our favor in exports, and a difference of \$602,000,000 in our favor in imports, which, added together, make a grand total of \$852,000,000 in our favor during the three years of Republican rule.

During the first three years of the second Cleveland Administration our excess of exports over imports was \$679,000,000; during the first three years of the McKinley Administration our excess of exports over imports was \$1,531,000,000, showing the same results, or a net gain of \$852,000,000. *This condition is the result of a wise tariff law and the pronounced position of the Republican party on the money question, which has given confidence to all of our great manufacturing enterprises.*

But I have not yet told the brightest part of the story. That part consists in the figures concerning our export of manufactures. Manufacturing implies skilled labor, skilled labor means high wages, and high wages mean a good demand for all the products of agriculture. In the three years of President Cleveland to which I have so often referred, our exports of manufactures amounted to \$568,000,000, but in the three years of President McKinley they amounted to \$998,000,000, an average gain of \$143,000,000 per year.

A gratifying fact in the increase of our importations is that nearly one-half now consists of materials for use in our domestic manufactures. These crude materials do not compete with our own products; but, on the contrary, give increased employment to labor engaged in producing for the home market, and enable us to send our manufactures out into the markets of the world.

The Wilson tariff of 1894 professed to be, above all things, "a free raw material" tariff for the encouragement of our manufacturing export trade. Yet our largest yearly export of manufactures under it was less than \$230,000,000; and now, four years after the high-water mark of the Wilson tariff, our yearly export of manufactures is touching the \$400,000,000 mark under the Dingley tariff.

This year, too, we are importing \$300,000,000 worth of manufacturers' materials, a large part of which is to be sold abroad, after paying wages to American skilled labor.

"THE PROSPERITY OF AMERICA DUE MAINLY TO ITS SYSTEM OF PROTECTIVE LAWS."—Bismarck.

Extracts from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, June 9, 1900.

The German Empire was organized in 1871 by a political union of Prussia and the German States of central Europe. Prior to that time they had been drawn into closer relationship by a zollverein or customs union based upon the tariff law of Prussia. Immediately after the establishment of the Empire in 1871 a protectionist party was organized to combat the theories of free trade and soon found a strong supporter in Prince Bismarck. By 1875 the strength of the protection policy had greatly increased. There was the usual cry of "robber barons," "monopolists," and "plutocrats," but such arguments did not deceive Bismarck.

In a speech in the Reichstag Bismarck said: "I wish we could immediately create a few hundred millionaires. They would spend their money in the country, and this expenditure would give fruit to labor all around. They could not eat their money themselves; they would have to spend the interest of it. Be glad, then, when people become rich with us. The community at large, and not only the tax authority, is sure to benefit."

A conference was held at Heidelberg to consider financial conditions, and an increase in duties was recommended. An address from the throne shortly after (February 12, 1879) said:

"I am of the opinion that the country's entire economic activity has a right to claim all the support which right adjustment of duties and taxes can afford, and which in the lands with which we trade is perhaps afforded beyond actual requirement. I regard it as my own duty to adopt measures to preserve the German market to national production so far as is consistent with the general interest, and our customs legislation must gradually revert to the true principles on which the prosperous career of the zollverein rested for nearly half a century, but which have in important particulars been deserted in our economic policy since 1865. I can not deem that actual success has attended this change in our customs policy."

On May 28 of the same year Prince Bismarck, in a speech in the Reichstag which lasted for more than an hour, said that the German market had become the mere storage space for the overproduction of other countries. Countries which were inclosed, he said, had become great, and those which had remained open had fallen behind.

Were the perils of the protectionist rule so great as sometimes painted France would long ago have been ruined, instead of which it is more prosperous, after paying the five millions, than Germany to-day. And protectionist Russia, too—look at her marvelous prosperity. Manufactures there have lately been able to save from 30 to 35 per cent., and all at the cost of the German market. Let us close our doors and erect somewhat higher barriers," said the Chancellor, "and let us take care to preserve again at least the German market and German industry."

Speaking of the depression in agriculture as a result of free trade, he said: "Not only agriculture, but the present state and the German Empire itself would go to ruin."

He regarded the German farmers, however, as wise enough to take care of their own interests, and added: "Twenty million farmers will not allow themselves to be ruined. It is only necessary that they should become conscious of what is before them and they will try to defend themselves by legal and constitutional methods."

On another occasion, Prince Bismarck recommending still higher protection, said: "The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern times. The American nation has not only successfully borne and experienced the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterwards disbanded its army, found work for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, given labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within the territory—and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be oppressive, much less felt. Hence it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is due mainly to its system of protective laws. I read that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff of the United States."

His advice was accepted. Germany became a thoroughly protective country, and the world knows the result in the fact that Germany is now one of the most prosperous—perhaps the most prosperous—of the industrial and exporting countries of all Europe. Of its prosperity a British official representative at Berlin, Mr. Gastrell, the commercial attache to the British embassy at that capital, in a communication to the British Government on January 29, 1899, said:

After completing his famous political work, Prince Bismarck directed himself to directing the energies of the people to peaceful and commercial aims, and he achieved a success beyond his most sanguine hopes. When it is realized that in 1897 the value of German exports of domestic produce was only 53,000,000 pounds less than similar exports of British origin, and that the proportion thereof per head of population has tended to rise in Germany and fall in England, perhaps the British public will begin to devote closer attention to commercial and industrial development on the continent. Aided by the state and protected by a moderate tariff from severe foreign competition, German industries and commercial enterprises of all kinds came into existence, developed, and flourished.

**"THE MARVELOUS INCREASE OF THE WEALTH OF
OUR COUNTRY."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. J. S. MORRILL of Vermont, page
3019 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

The marvelous increase of the wealth of our country within a score of years is an unfailing source of public felicitation. The deposits in savings-banks of no other country approach the aggregate deposits of the savings-banks of the United States, where they are chiefly made in monthly dribblets by laboring men and women, and here under a protective tariff, the amount in 1872, \$669,329,917, had in 1886 increased to \$1,235,736,069. While this was being accumulated \$947,325,816 of the principal of the debt was paid by our country up to March 1, 1888, besides a large sum of interest. Thus it appears that these laboring men and women have on deposit in these savings-banks a sufficient amount to have paid on March 1, 1888, the whole of our national debt of \$1,202,454,714 and still have thirty-three millions surplus.

This illustrates the great fact that while, under the operations of a protective tariff, domestic productions are largely increased, yet in the distribution the laborer's share, compared with that of the capitalist, is always relatively most increased.

**"IN EVERY PERIOD OF LOW TARIFF, THE PRECIOUS
METALS WERE DRAINED OUT OF THE COUNTRY."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. THOMAS M. BAYNE of Pennsylvania, page 4771 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress,
1st Session.*

The Democratic party in the past, whenever it came into power, has reduced tariff duties. During the ninety-nine years of our national existence under the present Constitution there have been over one hundred and thirty-five acts of Congress relating to tariff. The history of the country presents periods of alternation between protection and tariff for revenue. Every period of tariff for revenue was the result of Democratic ascendancy, and every period of protection was the result of the success of the Whig or Republican party. During the progress of this debate one great and important feature of the system of protection has not been elaborated anything like as fully as its importance would seem to require. I refer to the effect which tariff legislation would have upon our financial system. The student of history will ascertain by an examination of our past that in every period of low tariff the precious metals were drained out of the country. The precious metals were sent abroad to purchase the products of foreign countries. The panic of 1837 and the panic of 1857 occurred after and in consequence of the tariff of 1833 and after and in consequence of the tariff of 1846. The gold and silver had been drained out of the country. The banks were unable to redeem their paper. Up to 1860 the United States mints had coined over six hundred millions of dollars in gold, and yet at that time there was but about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty millions of gold in the United States. Four hundred and fifty million dollars of this sum and all the gold we had obtained in the years preceding that time had gone abroad. Now, the presence of gold and silver coin, and the paper of the banks and of the Government redeeming paper currency with gold and silver coin, make the paper currency of the country equally as good as coin. *We have now a paper currency which is just as good as gold. It is just as good as gold because it can be converted into gold at any moment of time.*

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY."—ITS HISTORY IS THE HISTORY OF PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GILBERT N. HAUGEN of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

The Republican party has no apology to make. Its history since its birth in 1855 is the history of progress and prosperity. Its leaders have always had the welfare of the country at heart. It has never taken a backward step, but has always been the supporting pillar of the National Government. Its cardinal principles have been the maintenance of the Declaration of Independence, internal improvements, a tariff to protect our labor and industries

and to pay Government expenses, the building up of our Navy, preserving purity in elections, for the diffusion of knowledge and happiness among all the people, for an honest medium of exchange, the maintenance of a common standard of value, and an elastic currency. *It has stood for honor, dignity, integrity, patriotism, progress, prosperity, happiness, law, and order.*

Following these principles we have prospered.

Progress of the United States.

Year.	Production of principal commodities.										Production of minerals.
	Cotton.	Sugar.	Gold.	Silver.	Coal.	Petroleum.	Pig iron.	Steel.	Copper.		
	Bales.	Tons.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Tons.	Gallons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.		
1850.....	2,333,718	110,526	50,000,000	50,000	3,358,899	.....	563,755	.....	650	Dollars.
1860.....	4,861,292	119,040	46,000,000	150,000	8,513,123	21,000,000	821,223	.....	7,200	.....
1870.....	3,114,592	46,800	50,000,000	16,000,000	32,863,000	220,951,290	1,665,179	.....	12,000	218,598,994
1880.....	5,761,232	92,802	36,000,000	39,200,000	63,822,880	1,104,017,166	3,885,191	1,247,335	27,000	369,319,000	
1890.....	7,911,322	136,503	32,845,000	70,485,714	140,866,931	1,924,552,224	9,292,703	4,277,071	115,966	619,648,925	
1900.....	9,436,416	149,191	79,171,000	74,533,495	240,788,238	2,661,233,568	13,789,242	10,188,329	270,588	1,063,620,548	

Years.	Manufactures of iron and steel.										Tin plate.
	Manufactures of iron and steel.										
	Number of establishments.	Average number of employees.	Wages and salaries paid.	Value of products.	Number of establishments.	Wages paid.	Value of products.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	
			Dollars.	Dollars.		Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Pounds.	
1850.....	123,025	937,059	236,755,464	1,019,106,616	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1860.....	140,433	1,311,246	378,878,966	1,885,861,676	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1870.....	232,148	2,053,996	775,384,343	4,252,525,442	808	40,514,981	207,208,696	26,158,235	5,703,024	.....
1880.....	233,852	2,732,595	947,953,795	5,369,579,191	1,005	55,476,785	296,557,685	40,273,682	11,002,902	150,932,268	
1890.....	355,415	4,712,622	2,283,216,529	9,372,437,283	719	95,746,192	478,687,519	71,296,699	12,645,576	279,902,880	
1900.....	512,734	5,719,137	2,735,430,848	13,439,279,566	725	134,749,004	835,759,034	20,478,728	25,542,208	680,060,925	
										147,963,804	
										677,969,600	

"THE SUMMIT OF PROSPERITY, AND THE QUAGMIRES OF DESPAIR."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JAMES E. WATSON of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, Nov. 23, 1903.

I was much amused yesterday at the efforts of my glib-tongued friend from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] to show that Mr. Foster had made up his mind to issue bonds because of the financial condition of the United States at the time when Harrison went out and Cleveland went in. I do not know whether the Secretary prepared to issue bonds or not. I do not know whether he prepared plates or not, nor do I care.

What I do know is this, Mr. Chairman, that after Grover Cleveland was elected President of the United States there came a change over this country. Everybody knows that. Everybody knows that the merchants quit buying, because they did not know what the price of products would be the next day. Everybody knows that the factories quit running, because the manufacturer did not know what the price of his wares would be the next day. And everybody knows that the wheels stood still. Everybody knows that these great hives of industry were deserted and that the great smokestacks stood above them like tombstones above our ruined prosperity. Everybody knows that countless thousands of laborers tramped the highways of the nation out of money and out of food, and that they marched to Washington in Coxe armies in order to ask for relief. Everybody knows that soup houses were erected in every city and village of the land to feed the people turned out of doors by this policy.

Everybody knows that we began importing more than we exported, and that the balance of trade was against us, and that the yellow tide of gold flowed from our shores to Europe in order to make up that balance of trade. Everybody knows that the endless chain was instituted that drew the gold out of the Treasury in order to pay the current expenses of the Government, leaving us bankrupt and with a deficit on our hands. Everybody knows that whatever Mr. Foster may or may not have done, it is quite sure that Mr. Cleveland did issue bonds; that he did plunge us into debt \$262,000,000; that he did mortgage the present and pledge the future in order to try the very policy these gentlemen would now adopt. Whoever heard of an endless chain under a Republican Administration? It is the product of incompetent Democracy.

And, Mr. Chairman, we all know that in 1892, we stood on the summit of prosperity, and we know that a year later we were floundering in the quagmires of despair.

What caused that mighty upheaval? Why, sir, the only change that occurred was in the tariff policy of the country. We had the same farms and the same farmers; we had the same labor and the same capital; we had the same inexhaustible resources, and yet at the one time we were never so prosperous and at the other time we were never so depressed. What did it? The tariff policy of the Democratic party. [Applause on the Republican side.]

We all know too, sir, that in 1896 we were still camping on the lowlands of despair, but that in 1897 the fogs had lifted, the clouds had disappeared, and we found ourselves marching up the mountain steeps toward the sunlight and toward the most marvelous era of our history. What did it?

Why, the only thing that happened between those two periods of depression and prosperity was the election of a Republican President. That is enough to know. [Applause on the Republican side.] And the people who went to school during the freetrade period of Mr. Cleveland, the people who sat on the sharp side of a rail and ate Democratic soup, know too much to get into that scrape again as long as they have sense enough to stay out of an insane asylum.

What is the ideal condition of a country? Why, Mr. Chairman, the ideal condition of a country is, first, a sound money. The money must be safe and sane and sound. It can not be made the tool of speculators. It must be good every day and everywhere and must be worth 100 cents in every money market of the world.

The Republican party has given you that condition. What is the second condition of a nation's prosperity? The steady employment of its laboring people at remunerative wages. Ah, has labor ever been so steadily employed as to-day? Have wages ever been so high as to-day?

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS A PARTY OF DEEDS AND ACTIONS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK, of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.

The Republican party deserves confidence and support because it has redeemed all the pledges it made in 1896 and 1900; because it has secured for American trade the "open door" in China; because it has successfully put an end to Canada's claims for a valuable portion of increasingly valuable Alaska; because it has made educational and commercial success of Porto Rico.

The Republican party should be continued in power because it put down insurrection in the Philippines (unfortunately encouraged by the "anti-imperialists" and their allies) with a minimum loss of life and property; because it has men in its ranks like President Roosevelt, Secretary Hay, Secretary Root, Governor Taft, Governor Hunt, and many others who are equal to all emergencies arising in the government of the necessary outside territories we have acquired; because it made a glorious success of our war with Spain for the freedom of Cuba; because its temporary military occupation of Cuba was a success in every way; because it has made the American flag respected as the emblem of liberty the wide world over.

The Republican party is the party of deeds and actions. In the case of Venezuela it successfully upheld the Monroe doctrine for the entire continent of America as against the powers of Europe. It promulgated and put in force the doctrine of "protection to American industries." As William McKinley said:

"You do not have to guess what the Republican party will do. The world knows its purpose. It has embodied them in law and executed them in administration."

The Republican party has earned the right to four years more of power because it has given the country what William McKinley asked for at Niles, Ohio, on June 20, 1896, when he said: "What I want in this country is a policy that will give to every American workman full work at American wages;" because it has preserved the purity of the American dollar; because it prevented the attack on the sacredness of the Supreme Court of the United States; because it paid the expenses of the Spanish war with no more strain on the people than the purchase of a few postage stamps; because our relations with Spain are now more cordial than they ever had been before the war, and the trade between us is increasing both ways.

The Republican party is entitled to the vote and interest of every citizen because it has increased the number of factories in the United States from less than 350,000 in 1896, running on short time or not at all, to 600,000 in 1903, running on full time; because it has increased the number of factory workers from less than 4,000,000 in 1896 to over 7,000,000 in 1903; because it has increased the yearly product of our factories from less than \$10,000,000,000 in 1896 to over \$15,000,000,000 in 1903.

The Republican party has increased our yearly exports from \$882,000,000 in 1896 to \$1,420,000,000 in 1903; has increased our imports from \$779,000,000 in 1896 to \$1,025,000,000 (nearly one-half materials for manufacturing) in 1903; has increased the revenue of our Government from \$326,000,000 in 1896 to \$558,000,000 (with all the war taxes abolished) in 1903. On such a record the party is content to stand. It can not fall.

"DOES THIS LOOK LIKE THE RICH GROWING RICHER AND THE POOR POORER?"

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily
Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.*

The conditions existing from 1893 to 1896 were the work of the men who are now asking the people to again put them into power. The assertions of what would follow the adoption of Republican policies were made by the very men who are to-day leaders in the Democratic party.

What were the principles upon which they then made their appeals to the people? Free trade and free silver. What were their assertions as to the effect which the principles of the Republican party would have upon the country? That protection could not bring prosperity, and that the gold standard could not increase the currency. Only free silver, they asserted, could give sufficient currency, and only free trade could give prosperity. Now, let us see, briefly, whether these assertions have stood the test of time. If they have not, do we want to accept the advice of those men now

The national wealth was set down by competent authorities in 1895 at \$77,000,000,000. In 1900 it was put by the same authorities at \$94,000,000,000. At the same rate of increase since 1900—and nobody will deny that the increase has been quite as rapid since that time—the total wealth of the country at the present time may be conservatively put at \$100,000,000,000. This is an increase of \$23,000,000,000 since 1895, a gain of 30 per cent. in eight years, and it will be conceded by all that whatever gain has come began subsequent to 1896. It is an increase in the average wealth of from \$1,117 per capita in 1895 to \$1,250 per capita in 1903.

But the reply to this will, of course, be that this increase in wealth has been solely by the trusts and corporations. It is the logical sequence to the cry of 1896 and 1900 that "the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer." Now, let us see about that. The reports of the Comptroller of the Currency are accepted by everybody as reliable and trustworthy. They show that the deposits in savings banks were, in 1895, \$1,810,000,000, and in 1902 were \$2,750,000,000. These deposits, it must be recognized are those of the masses. Trusts and corporations do not deposit their money in savings banks, but the employees of trusts and corporations do deposit in those institutions. Compare the deposits of 1903 with those of 1895 and you will see that there is an increase of just 50 per cent. in the amount. Then compare the national wealth of 1903 with that of 1895 and you will find the increase to be 33 per cent. Who is it, then, that has made the greatest gains relatively? *The national wealth has grown 33 per cent., the deposits of the people in the savings banks have grown 50 per cent. in the same time. Does this look like the rich growing richer and the poor poorer?*

The consumption of pig iron is recognized as an accurate barometer of general business conditions. If free trade is so good a thing for this country, how was it that the production of pig iron in the United States—I say "production," because practically all of the pig iron produced in the United States is consumed at home—how was it that the production of pig iron, which had been over 9,000,000 tons in 1890, fell to six and one-half million tons in 1894, the year in which your low-tariff bill became a law, and that it increased to eleven and one-half million tons in 1898 under the protective tariff and to seventeen and three-fourths million tons in 1902?

Coal is another measure of business activity. If the low tariff was so good a thing, how was it that the coal production of the United States fell from 160,000,000 tons in 1892—the last year of Republican control—to 152,000,000 tons in 1894, the year in which your low-tariff act was put upon the statute books, and remained almost stationary during the existence of that act, increasing in 1898 to 196,000,000 tons and in 1902 to 269,000,000 tons? Here are two great factors of industry—coal and iron. In each case the production, and therefore the consumption, for they are practically all consumed at home, fell as soon as a Democratic bill was offered and it became apparent that it would become law, and continued at a low state of production and consumption until that act was removed and the protective tariff resumed, when an enormous increase immediately occurred.

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS NEVER TAKEN A BACKWARD STEP."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GILBERT N. HAUGEN of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

The Republican party has no apology to make. Its history since its birth is the history of progress and prosperity. Its leaders have always had the welfare of the country at heart. It has never taken a backward step, but has always been the supporting pillar of the National Government. Its cardinal principles have been the maintenance of the Declaration of Independence, internal improvements, a tariff to protect our labor and industries and to pay Government expenses, the building up of our Navy, preserving purity in elections, for the diffusion of knowledge and happiness among all the people, for an honest medium of exchange, the maintenance of a common standard of value, and an elastic currency. It has stood for honor, dignity, integrity, patriotism, progress, prosperity, happiness, law, and order.

Following these principles we have prospered. I will insert in the Record tables relative to agriculture, commerce, and other matters pertaining to this country.

Fiscal year.	Imports.	Exports.	Excess of imports in dollars, of exports in bold-face type.	Agriculture.	Manufactures.	Interest-bearing debt.	Annual interest charge.	Per capita.	Total money in circulation.	Per capita.
1860.....	\$353,616,119	\$333,576,057	\$20,040,062	\$256,560,972	\$40,345,892	\$64,640,838	\$3,448,687	\$ 11	\$435,407,252	\$13.85
1865.....	238,745,380	166,029,303	72,716,077	156,662,846	59,036,644	2,221,311,918	137,742,617	3.96	714,702,995	20.37
1866.....	434,812,066	388,869,512	45,942,554	289,981,616	49,511,306	2,332,331,208	146,068,196	4.12	678,488,244	18.99
1867.....	395,761,096	294,506,141	101,254,955	276,254,779	60,895,391	2,248,067,388	138,892,452	3.84	661,992,069	18.28
1868.....	357,436,440	281,952,899	75,483,541	267,236,930	59,541,972	2,202,088,728	128,459,568	3.84	680,106,661	18.39
1869.....	417,506,379	296,117,687	121,388,682	267,236,930	68,052,506	2,162,080,522	123,523,998	3.85	664,452,951	17.90
1870.....	392,771,768	302,771,768	43,188,483	308,466,011	68,274,764	2,046,455,722	118,784,960	3.08	675,212,794	17.50
1871.....	520,223,684	442,820,178	77,403,506	308,466,011	72,727,410	1,834,696,700	111,949,331	2.88	715,889,005	18.10
1872.....	626,565,677	444,177,536	182,447,141	308,466,011	72,727,410	1,710,438,950	108,988,453	2.56	738,308,359	18.19
1873.....	522,479,922	532,479,922	446,000,004	501,371,501	77,69	1,793,930,750	98,796,043	2.81	776,088,081	18.04
1874.....	567,406,342	586,283,040	518,442,711	501,371,501	79,16	1,729,676,300	96,855,691	2.20	754,101,947	17.16
1875.....	538,005,436	540,741,190	540,384,671	430,306,560	76,85	1,710,635,450	94,104,269	2.11	727,609,388	16.12
1876.....	460,741,190	602,475,220	540,384,671	459,734,148	72,63	1,710,635,450	94,104,269	2.01	722,914,883	15.32
1877.....	431,323,126	604,865,766	536,192,573	536,192,573	77,07	1,710,635,450	94,104,269	1.99	722,914,883	15.32
1878.....	451,323,126	604,865,766	536,192,573	536,192,573	77,07	1,710,635,450	94,104,269	1.71	722,914,883	15.32
1879.....	445,777,775	710,436,441	710,436,441	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.59	818,681,783	16.75
1880.....	667,954,746	833,638,658	833,638,658	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.46	973,852,228	19.41
1881.....	642,664,628	750,542,257	750,542,257	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.09	1,114,228,119	21.71
1882.....	724,639,574	902,377,346	902,377,346	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1883.....	723,180,914	823,839,492	823,839,492	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1884.....	667,697,693	740,513,619	740,513,619	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1885.....	577,327,329	742,189,755	742,189,755	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1886.....	635,436,136	679,524,330	679,524,330	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1887.....	692,319,778	716,183,211	716,183,211	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1888.....	723,957,114	743,401,375	743,401,375	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1889.....	743,131,652	857,828,684	857,828,684	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1890.....	749,310,409	884,480,810	884,480,810	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1891.....	844,916,166	1,030,278,148	1,030,278,148	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1892.....	827,402,462	847,665,194	847,665,194	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1893.....	806,400,922	892,140,572	892,140,572	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1894.....	634,994,622	807,338,165	807,338,165	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1895.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1896.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1897.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1898.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1899.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1900.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1901.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1902.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1903.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71
1904.....	779,699,965	882,606,938	882,606,938	456,118,515	102,856,015	1,794,735,650	83,773,779	1.06	1,114,228,119	21.71

"WHO IS COMPLAINING, ANYWAY?"

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.

Who is complaining, anyway, unless it be the Democratic politician, hungry for the loaves and fishes of patronage? Who else has a right to complain?

Why should the advocate of a protective tariff to build up new industries complain when the importation of tin plate dropped from 1,036,000,000 pounds in 1891 to 117,880,000 pounds in 1901, and the amount manufactured in this country jumped from nothing to 894,400,000 pounds?

Why should the small investor complain because a rich man's panic on Wall street has taken more than \$6,000,000,000 worth of wind and water out of stocks, put a stop to reckless speculation, placed business on a sounder basis, and increased the value of money so that it is now almost impossible to sell at par gilt-edged municipal securities bearing 4 per cent. interest?

Why should the banker complain when the total money in circulation in the country has increased from fourteen hundred million dollars in 1890 to twenty-two hundred and fifty million dollars in 1902, or 50 per cent., and circulation per capita from \$22.82 to \$28.43, while deposits in bank have grown from \$3,000,000,000 to nearly six billions, or almost double, and deposits in savings banks have increased in number from four and one-fourth millions to six and two-thirds millions, or over 50 per cent?

Why should the man proud of the material greatness of the country complain when the value of manufactures in the United States increased from nine and one-third billion dollars in 1890 to over \$13,000,000,000 in 1900, or almost 50 per cent.; when exports of merchandise per capita have increased from \$13.50 in 1890 to \$17.49 in 1902, while imports of merchandise per capita have decreased in the same time from \$12.35 to \$11.43; when exports of iron and steel and manufactures of those commodities have increased from twenty-five and a half million dollars in 1890 to nearly one hundred and twenty-two millions in 1900, or almost fivefold, while the falling off since has been due entirely to the enormous increased domestic demand, which has been beyond the capacity even of our own mills to supply; when exports of manufactures have increased from one hundred and fifty millions to four hundred millions and we lead the world in the production of gold, petroleum, pig iron, steel, wheat, corn, and cotton?

Why should the farmer and dairyman complain when the amount of oleomargarine made in this country the year before the present Republican oleomargarine law was passed was 126,315,427 pounds and only 71,211,244 pounds the first year after the law was passed, a loss of 55,104,183 pounds, or 44 per cent., which caused an additional consumption of butter to the value of \$11,080,836, or the output of 650 creameries of average size, which raised the average price of butter to 20 cents a pound?

Why should the wage-earner complain when, according to Dun's Review, there has been a very material reduction in the cost of living over a year ago? Meat is lower than at any time since the prices went up two years ago; breadstuffs and cereals are cheaper, and the splendid crops now being harvested are an assurance they will become still cheaper. In almost every line the cost of living has been reduced. On the other hand the advance in wages the past year has been almost universal. Railway trainmen are benefiting from a 20 per cent. raise, while skilled labor generally is enjoying wage increases varying from 5 to 15 per cent. Labor is getting its share of the common prosperity.

Why should the friends of expansion complain when the imports into the United States from Porto Rico have increased from \$2,181,024 in 1897 to \$11,051,195 in 1903 and the exports from the United States to Porto Rico have increased from \$1,988,889 in 1897 to \$12,246,225 in 1903, and the imports into the United States from the Philippines have increased in the same time from \$4,983,740 to \$11,372,584 and the exports from the United States to the Philippines, exclusive of supplies sent by the Government, from \$94,597 in 1897 to \$4,038,909 in 1903?

Why should the exporter complain when our total exports to Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines have grown from six and three-fourth million dollars in 1897 to twenty-seven and one-eighth millions in 1903, more than quadrupled, while the total exports of the United States in that period have grown from one billion to over one billion four hundred million, a gain of over \$1,000,000 for each and every day in the year?

THE AMERICAN INVASION OF FOREIGN MARKETS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

THE "AMERICAN INVASION" OF FOREIGN MARKETS.

Our goods and our machinery are being sent all over the world. A single manufacturing concern in this country received this year orders from England, France, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Japan, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Patagonia, Chile, Argentine Republic, and Canada. Go abroad and you will find American goods everywhere. It is known now in every country in Europe as the "American invasion." Many American travelers have told of it during the last year or two. None have given a more vivid account of it than Frank A. Vanderlip, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. He said that American locomotives, running on American rails, now whistled past the Pyramids and across the long Siberian steppes. They carried Hindoo pilgrims from all parts of the Empire to the sacred waters of the Ganges.

Three years ago there was but one American locomotive in Great Britain. To-day American engines pull trains on all English roads of importance. American bridges span rivers on every continent. American cranes are swinging over many foreign moles. Wherever there are extensive harvests there may be found American machinery to gather the grain. In every great market of the world tools can have no better recommendation than the mark "Made in America." We have long held supremacy as a producer of cotton. We are now gaining supremacy as a maker of cloths. American cottons are going into every country. You will find them in Manchester as well as in the native shops of the Orient. Bread is baked in Palestine from flour made in Minneapolis. American windmills are working east of the Jordan and in the land of Bashan. American phonographs are making a conquest of all tongues. The chrysanthemum banner of Japan floats from the palace of the Mikado from a flagstaff cut from a Washington forest, as does the banner of St. George from Windsor Castle. The American typesetting machines are used by foreign newspapers, and our cash registers keep accounts for scores of nations. America makes sewing machines for the world. Our bicycles are standards of excellence everywhere. Our typewriters are winning their way wherever written language is used. In all kinds of electrical appliances we have become the foremost producer. In many European cities American dynamos light streets and operate railways. Much of the machinery that is to electrify London tram lines is now being built in Pittsburg. The American shoe has captured the favor of all Europe, and foreign shoemakers are hastening to import our machinery that they may recover the power to compete with us.

In the far East, in the capital of Korea, the Hermit Nation, there was recently inaugurated with noisy music and flying banners an electric railway built of American material by a San Francisco engineer, and it is now operated by American motormen.

What is the cause of all this remarkable prosperity? Does anyone doubt that it is the result of the policy which kept our manufacturers from being destroyed by destructive competition, before they became firmly established, with the established manufacturing concerns of Europe? Realize, if you can, the great change that has taken place. We paid England \$150 per ton for steel rails in 1866, and now we are building railways and bridges and furnishing locomotives in Burma, in Egypt, in Great Britain herself, and laying down the steel in those countries to do this work, or sending the finished product there made of steel at \$18 per ton. Could we ever have done this had not our manufacturers and our laborers been protected by a tariff while we were learning how to do it? And now, in the face of all this prosperity, and all this marvelous growth, of which the United States is getting the full benefit, the Democratic party is demanding that we change our tariff policy in order to adopt a tariff for revenue only. And this at the very moment when every country in the world has abandoned that system except Great Britain, and when Great Britain herself is engaged in a great struggle to change back to the protective system, because of the realization that under the free-trade system they can not meet the competition of American manufacturers, and realizing that if the people of Great Britain do not agree to the change and with the establishment of a protective tariff the British Empire will decline from being the first power of the world to a fifth-rate position.

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY STANDS READY TO PROTECT THE MANUFACTURER AND LABORER OF THIS COUNTRY."

Extracts from debate in daily Congressional Record, November 27, 1903.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I have in my hand a little paragraph that somebody handed to me, a special telegram to a newspaper from Berlin. That is in the country to which it is said we have been unkind and from which they are going to drive us out. This telegram reads:

BERLIN, November 15,

The Frankfurter Zeitung's Constantinople correspondent says the Pennsylvania Steel Company has been awarded the contract for 20,000 tons of steel rails for the Mecca Railway, in competition with the Krupps and several other German and Belgian establishments.

Mr. BENNY. Does the newspaper article that you read from also contain this statement: "The price is \$22.88 per ton delivered at Beirut. The price of steel rails in the United States is \$28 per ton, which is the highest average price in ten years?"

Mr. GROSVENOR. That is right, I suppose. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, if the gentleman gets the floor at some point of time, not necessarily in this debate, but at any time during this Congress, will he tell me in an official manner how much harm has been done to the people of the United States by breaking into that monopoly of the Krupps on the other side of the water and selling steel rails even at a price lower than they can afford? Has not the material of these steel rails to be taken from the mines of Lake Superior, transported down to the blast furnaces, manufactured into billets and steel rails, all to be wrought out by the labor of Americans and paid for by American money? Who cares what they get, then, for the steel rails?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. If it be true, are the prices at which these rails are sold there a reasonable price, giving a profit to our steel industries or not; and if a reasonable price, giving a profit to our steel industries, why should those industries at home, under the shelter of a tariff charge a higher and therefore extortionate price to the American railroads, and through the American railroads to American travel and commerce?

Mr. GROSVENOR. Why, that is the whole of this discussion. *The Republican party of this country stands in arms, panoplied, with a history before the country of being ready to protect the manufacturer and laborer of this country, and ready to absorb and control the American market.* [Loud applause on the Republican side.]. And they are ready and willing that the price here at home shall be regulated simply and solely by the competition among the manufactures of steel and every other commodity.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. If they have sold them abroad at a reasonable profit, does it not follow that if they sell them at home at a higher price than they sell them abroad it is extortionate profit and price for the home market?

Mr. GROSVENOR. Not at all. Why, Mr. Chairman, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD has been crowded in the last eight or ten years with a complete unanswerable refutation of the suggestion of the gentleman.

I remember very well coming across the water nearly three years ago with the representative of one of the great steel organizations of this country, not the United States Steel Company, but a company organized and manufacturing a certain peculiar item of steel manufacture, and he told me that he had sold at prices that insured to their loss of a million dollars during that year. This year I met him again. He told me that that money was the best used money that his company had ever used; that they had introduced their commodities into the markets of the country at prices that insured their successful competition, and they were now selling their commodities at a fair and just price.

Why, the American people have always done that. They have forced their way into every market of Europe.

Our factories in this country send their surplus not into their own markets to be sold under price, but they send them to European markets that they may not destroy the home market, in order that they may release their surplus. The whole of these arguments amount to nothing. We have not stifled competition, and competition answers all the arguments of gentlemen on the other side. I have seen steel rails sell in the United States at one hundred and forty-odd dollars a ton. Now they are down to \$28 a ton. Competition has done all that. The first steel rails that ever were sold in the United States were sold at \$145 a ton, and gradually, under this system of ours that keeps foreign competition out and opens the foreign markets to our surplus, these steel products have steadily gone down to \$28 a ton, and that \$28 is a part of the prosperity of the country, and the difference between that and the low figures of steel rails is paid to the laborer of the country, or 95 per cent of it.

"DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL BUGABOOS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. HENRY R. GIBSON of Tennessee, in daily Congressional Record, December 14, 1899.

DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL BUGABOOS.

The priests of some religion, doubting their ability to rule their people by appealing to their reason and consciences, resort to methods of terror, and manufacture awful idols and monstrous raven images and perform various incantations and grotesque dances, attired in robes of terror, with horns on their heads and faces painted in imitation of imaginary monsters.

So the high priests of the Democratic party have for the last forty years been trying to terrify the people with imaginary political bugaboos.

When Lincoln was first a candidate the Democratic high priests got up an awful bugaboo they called "abolitionism," and deceived multiplied thousands of the people.

When Grant was our candidate for the Presidency they manufactured twin bugaboos, called "centralization" and "military despotism," and scared many timid persons into believing that if Grant was elected our liberties would all be taken away from us.

When Hayes was our candidate they paraded before the public the caricature denominated a "bloated bondholder," and tried to make us believe that it was the Republican party in disguise, and that if Hayes was elected the bondholders would take all of our property from us and feed us on husks.

When Garfield was our candidate these high priests of Democracy invented a most fearful bugaboo devil called the "force bill," and terrified the Southern people within an inch of their lives by swearing that if Garfield was elected a vast army would be sent South to hold the elections, and that none but republicans and negroes would be allowed to vote, and as a consequence the South would be destroyed and life for a Democrat would not be worth living.

When Harrison was last a candidate these same Democratic high priests got together and invented a brand new lot of frightful bugaboos, whom they denominated "robber barons," and rushed them all over the country to the terror and dismay of millions of innocent and unsuspecting Democrats, and created such an epidemic of apprehension and fear that Cleveland was actually elected President; and now we are told by these same Democratic high priests that Cleveland was a worse devil than all of the awful "robber barons" combined! [Laughter.]

When McKinley was our candidate for President three years ago the Democratic bugaboo makers brought out a stupendous crawling monster of antediluvian proportions and branded it a "Goldbug," and swore that it was the Republican party and that if McKinley was chosen President this Paleozoic monster would devour the substance of us Americans as the caterpillar and the palmerworm devoured the crops of the children of Israel in the days of old.

We were told that the Republican party could not be trusted, that all the usurers, all the money sharks, all the bloated bondholders, all the robber barons, all the goldbugs, all the corruptionists, all the enemies of the laboring man, and all the foes of the farmer were in the Republican party, and that if that party elected McKinley as President awful and manifold would be the calamities that would inevitably fall upon the American people, and the salt of liberty would so lose its savor that our very freedom would be like the blazonry of silks and jewels in the gloom of the grave.

PROSPERITY IN SPITE OF PROPHECY.

But out of these nettles of predicted danger have sprung the beautiful blossoms of safety and prosperity. Instead of money becoming scarcer, it has become more plentiful; instead of agricultural products going down to nothing, they have greatly increased in price; instead of laborers' wages being cut down to pauper rates, they have been greatly raised; instead of railroads having nothing to do, they have not enough cars to carry their passengers and freights; instead of our business men being ground to powder in the bankruptcy courts, they have never been happier or more prosperous; instead of our manufacturing establishments closing their doors, all of the old ones are in full blast and new ones are springing up on every hand.

"DOES THIS LOOK AS THOUGH A PROTECTIVE TARIFF WAS DESTROYING OUR MARKETS ABROAD?"

*Extract from remarks of Hon. W. B. SHATTUCK of Ohio, in daily
Congressional Record, March 31, 1900.*

Does this look as though a protective tariff was destroying our markets abroad?

Take the single item of corn. The exports in 1896 were 99,000,000 bushels, and in 1899, 174,000,000 bushels. Does this look as though a protective tariff was destroying our foreign markets?

The exports of wheat in 1896, under the Democratic low tariff were 60,000,000 bushels; in 1899, under the Dingley protective tariff 139,000,000 bushels. Is there any evidence of destruction of our foreign markets in this figure?

The value of wheat flour exported in 1896 was \$52,000,000; in 1899 \$73,000,000; of oats, in 1896, 13,000,000 bushels were exported; in 1899, 30,000,000 bushels; of oatmeal, in 1896, 38,000,000 pounds; in 1899, 58,000,000 pounds; of rye, in 1896, less than 1,000,000 bushels; in 1899, more than 10,000,000 bushels. Is there evidence of destruction of our foreign markets in any of these?

In provisions a comparison of the conditions of 1899 with those of 1896 is equally discouraging in the attempt to find support for the Democratic doctrine that a protective tariff destroys foreign markets. The total exports of provisions, which in 1896, under a low tariff, were \$133,000,000, were in 1899, under a protective tariff, \$175,000,000.

Bacon exports increased from four hundred and twenty-five to five hundred and sixty-two million pounds; hams, from one hundred and twenty-nine to two hundred and twenty-five million pounds; lard, from five hundred and nine to seven hundred and eleven million pounds, while the value increased from thirty-three to forty-two million dollars during the period under comparison, 1896 to 1899.

Dairy products show an equally healthy growth under the protective system, which, according to the Democratic theory, destroyed markets abroad, the exports of butter increasing from \$2,937,203 in 1896 to \$3,263,951 in 1899; cheese, from 36,000,000 pounds in 1896 to 78,000,000 pounds in 1899, and milk, from \$270,453 in 1896 to over \$1,000,000 in 1899.

In cotton, another great article of agricultural production, and entering largely into our foreign commerce, the exports of 1896 were four and one-half million bales, and in 1899 nearly seven and one-half million bales.

Exports of cotton-seed oil, in which our Southern friends are so much interested, amounted, in 1896 under a low tariff, to 19,000,000 gallons, valued at a little over \$5,000,000, and in 1899, under protection, to 50,000,000 gallons, valued at over \$12,000,000, while the total exportation of cotton-seed meal, which in 1896 amounted to 404,000,000 pounds, was in 1899 more than 1,000,000,000 pounds, having considerably more than doubled in quantity, and actually trebled in value during that time.

Of fruits and nuts the exportation in 1896 amounted to five and one-half million dollars and in 1899, seven and one-half million dollars.

Of hops, the exportation in 1896 was one and one-half million dollars, and in 1899, three and one-half million dollars; vegetables, in 1896, one and one-half million dollars, and in 1899, two and one-half million dollars; and of seeds of various kinds, in 1896, one and one-half million dollars in value, and in 1899, five millions.

In two articles of farm production there has been a marked falling off in our exportations.

In 1896, under the Democratic low tariff, we exported 7,000,000 pounds of wool, and in 1899 only one and one-half million pounds; and of sheep the exports in 1896 were over 3,000,000 in number, as against less than 1,000,000 in 1899.

Here, perhaps, is a single evidence around which the Democratic party may rally in support of the theory that a protective tariff destroys foreign markets.

Under the low-tariff law, which afforded absolutely free trade in wool, we were exporting four times as many sheep and four times as much wool as under the protective tariff.

Not only so, but in 1896 we imported 230,000,000 pounds of wool, and in 1899 but 76,000,000.

"PROTECTION AND PROSPERITY."—"REVENUE TARIFF; INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. C. BURROWS of Michigan,
page 3449 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

Henry Clay, speaking in the United States Senate of our industrial condition immediately preceding the tariff of 1824, declared: "If I were to select any term of seven years since the adoption of the present Constitution which exhibited a scene of the most widespread dismay and desolation, it would be exactly that term of seven years which immediately preceded the establishment of the tariff of 1824."

But this era of protection was followed by the tariff of 1824 and 1828, which enthused new life into our languishing industries and brought to the country a period of marvelous prosperity. The leading metropolitan journal epitomizes the history of this period as follows:

"So soon as the tariff of 1824 went into operation the whole aspect and course of affairs were changed. Activity took the place of sluggishness. Capital was invested; labor came into demand; wages advanced; mines were opened; furnaces built; mills started; shops multiplied; business revived in all its departments. Revenue flowed copiously into the coffers of the Government. The debts created by two expensive wars were entirely paid off. Such a scene of general prosperity had never before been seen by our people."

President Jackson said in his annual message December 4, 1832:

"Our country presents on every side marks of prosperity and happiness unequalled in any other portion of the world."

Mr. Clay, in speaking of this era of protection, said:

"If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present Constitution it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824."

But unfortunately this era of protection and prosperity was followed by the compromise tariff of 1833, which provided for a gradual reduction of duties until they should reach an average of not to exceed 20 per cent. And what was the effect of this change of policy? Long before that limit had been reached the evidences of its pernicious influence were everywhere visible. Capital invested in industrial enterprises, to save itself from absolute destruction, was withdrawn. Contemplated expansion of business was abandoned, our manufactures, one after another, went down under a torrent of foreign importations, while American labor stood idle and empty-handed in presence of the appalling and widespread desolation which culminated in the frightful panic of 1837. And not only the people, but the Government itself became so impoverished that the President of the United States was forced into a broker's shop to raise his overdue and unpaid salary.

In 1842 the protective system was again invoked, and under its salutary influence our drooping industries revived and prosperity took the place of disaster. The general effect upon the country of the tariff of 1842 is best described by President Polk in his annual message in 1846:

"Labor in all its branches is receiving an ample reward, while education, science, and the arts are rapidly enlarging the means of social happiness. The progress of our country in her career of greatness, not only in the vast extension of our territorial limits or in the rapid increase of our population, but in resources and wealth and in the happy condition of our people, is without an example in the history of nations."

But this brief period of prosperity was quickly followed by the revenue tariff of 1846 and 1857, which brought to the country another era of industrial depression, culminating in the panic of 1857, the disastrous consequences of which are still within the memory of living men. Universal bankruptcy overtook the people, and the Government with an empty Treasury was forced in times of peace to borrow money at a discount of from 12 to 30 per cent. Then came the era of protection in 1861, which has now been extended over a period of more than a quarter of a century, and who does not know that during these eventful years our industrial advancement has been steady and without a parallel in the history of the Republic?

**"WHILE THIS PROTECTIVE THEORY IS MAINTAINED
OUR COUNTRY WILL GO ON IN ITS ACCUMULATION
OF WEALTH AND PROSPERITY."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. A. J. HOPKINS of Illinois, page
4036 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

I cannot sympathize with those who denounce protection of home industries as a species of robbery. The argument in favor of protection rests upon the great principle of the advantage of diversified production. Every industry is stimulated and benefited under a well-regulated tariff law. It keeps the currency in circulation among our people instead of draining our country of it and sending it abroad to purchase products manufactured in foreign countries and thus avoids financial distress. It brings the consumer and producer together and saves the cost of transportation. Fifty men composing a community all engaged in agriculture would each only have one consumer for his products. Diversify their interests by placing them in groups of ten, and each group of producers would have his home market increased fivefold. If each engaged in a separate industry, each would have fifty consumers for his product, and they together would become a self-sustaining and independent community. Sound economic principles require that so far as may be practicable, every section and locality in our country shall have diversified interests, numerous enough to be self-sustaining. Economically considered, it is the development of that political idea which has made the New England township the model political organization of the world, a little republic in itself. And as the great Frenchman, De Tocqueville, said, while it exists the Republic will flourish.

So while this protective theory is maintained our country will go on in its marvelous accumulation of wealth and prosperity.

**"EVERY INDUSTRY IS INTERESTED THAT EVERY
OTHER INDUSTRY SHOULD LIVE AND FLOURISH."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. SETH L. MILLIKEN of Maine,
page 4253 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

Gentlemen talk of the protected industries, and say but 2½ per cent. of our seventeen millions of laborers enjoy the fruits of protection; that is, they are not engaged in protected industries. What a narrow and absurd view on the subject. The protection and maintenance of one industry helps all other industries. It not only increases the market for their products, but every avocation discontinued must send out its employes to compete with workmen in other avocations, or into idleness and poverty. Hence every industry is interested that every other industry should live and flourish.

Why, suppose our manufacturing should cease to exist, as the Mills bill provides, where would the millions of men employed in it go? Some other avocations would have to be crowded with them or support them in the poor-houses of the country. And yet this debate has developed the fact that our manufactories are the chief objects of attack in this bill.

"EVERY PERIOD OF PROTECTION HAS GIVEN PROSPERITY; EVERY TARIFF FOR REVENUE DISASTER."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. NATHAN GOFF, Jr., of West Virginia, page 3615 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Mr. Chairman, every period of protection in the history of our country has given it prosperity; every era of tariff for revenue has brought to it disaster.

President Jackson in his message of December 4, 1832, said:

"Our country presents on every side marks of prosperity and happiness, unequaled, perhaps, in any other portion of the world. If we fully appreciate our comparative condition, existing causes of discontent will appear unworthy of attention, and with hearts of thankfulness to that Divine Being who has filled our cup of prosperity, we shall feel our resolution strengthened to preserve and hand down to posterity that liberty and that union we received from our fathers, and which constitutes the source of our blessings." * * *

Remember, if you please, Mr. Chairman, that this epitome was written by a Democratic President, "of Jeffersonian simplicity," and during the highest protection period of our history, to that date. After that came the "revenue only tariff," the compromise tariff, from 1833 to 1842. By virtue of it our industries were paralyzed, our capital unemployed, our labor idle. Our importers were busy, and foreign manufacturers supplied our markets. Our own establishments for manufacturing were closed and our consumers paid higher for necessities than ever before. Our people tasted of the very dregs of the bitter cup of "revenue reform." The burden was greater than they could bear, and they re-enacted the protective policy in 1842. This is what President Polk said of the situation under that enactment. I read from his message of December 8, 1846:

"Since your last session no afflicting dispensation has visited our country; general good health has prevailed; abundance has crowned the toil of the husbandman; and labor in all its branches is receiving an ample reward, while education, science, and the arts are rapidly enlarging the means of social happiness. The progress of our country in her career of greatness, not only in the vast extension of our territorial limits and the rapid increase of our population, but in resources and wealth, and in the happy condition of our people, is without an example in the history of nations."

Then came the repeal of the act of 1842. Although "Polk and Dallas" had been elected as friends of that measure, Dallas cast the vote that destroyed it, and we had the revenue tariff of 1846, known as the "Walker act." From another like it "Good Lord, deliver us." A few years after its enactment, while it was still in force, President Fillmore said—I quote from his message of Dec. 2, 1851:

"The value of our exports of breadstuffs and provisions, which it was supposed the incentive of a low tariff and large importations from abroad would have greatly augmented, has fallen from \$68,701,921 in 1847, to \$26,051,373 in 1850, and to \$21,848,653 in 1851, with a strong probability, amounting almost to a certainty, of a still further reduction in the current year. * * * The policy which dictated a low rate of duties on foreign merchandise, it was thought by those who promoted and established it, would tend to benefit the farming population of this country by increasing the demand and raising the price of agricultural products in foreign markets. The foregoing facts, however, seem to show incontestably that no such result has followed the adoption of this policy."

I read from the message of President Buchanan to the Congress, dated December 8, 1857:

"The earth has yielded her fruits abundantly and has bountifully rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Our great staples have commanded high prices, and until within a brief period our manufacturing, mineral, and mechanical occupations have largely partaken of the general prosperity. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country in its monetary interests is at the present moment in a deplorable condition. In the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions, and in all the elements of material wealth, we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment."

"THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JAMES E. WATSON of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, Nov. 14, 1903.

My Democratic friends, what have you done in order to warrant the people of this country in giving you control of the Government? What great act of this country that has added glory to the flag or prosperity to our people has ever sprung from the sterile brain of Democracy? What one in the last forty years? Can you name it? Why, the Republican party took charge of this country in 1860. We have had charge of it continuously ever since except four years from 1893 to 1897. *Absolutely every act that has made this country great and grand has sprung from the luminous genius of Republican statesmanship. The only act that was passed under Mr. Cleveland was the tariff act that scattered terror and dismay everywhere and left us dismantled and broken. Is not that true?* Why, my friends, that was the only national act that was passed under Mr. Cleveland. Did that conduce to national prosperity? Did it not rather retard our development many years? All the acts that ever conduced to this tremendous prosperity have come alone from the Republican party, and shall I go further into details about it? Why, as my friend has already said, our wealth then was \$16,000,000,000. Now it is \$95,000,000,000.

Our Democratic friends used to say to us that we did not give them enough money with which to do the business of this country. What is the truth in regard to that? In 1860 the gold in circulation was \$228,000,000; now it is \$630,000,000. Then the silver in circulation was none, and now it is \$164,000,000. Then there was not a single gold certificate; to-day there are \$379,000,000. Then there were no silver certificates; now there are \$455,000,000. Then the total circulation was \$435,000,000; to-day the circulation is \$2,376,000,000, and every dollar worth a hundred cents in every money market in the world. Then the per capita circulation was \$13.85; now it is \$29.57. Then we had no national banks in the country; now we have 4,939. Then, of course, we had no national-bank capital; now we have \$743,000,000 of that capital. Then loans and discounts were none; now \$3,415,000,000. Then the bank clearings were \$7,231,000,000; now they are \$76,000,000,000. Then the deposits of national banks were none; now \$3,200,000,000. Then the deposits in savings banks were \$149,277,000; now they are \$2,750,000,000. Then the total deposits were none; now \$9,258,000,000; placing us easily the first among all the nations of this world as to our present financial condition and our industrial prosperity.

Then the total receipts for all purposes were \$109,000,000, now \$1,097,000,000. Then the total imports were \$353,000,000; now they are \$1,025,000,000, an increase of imports of \$736,000,000. The total exports then were \$334,000,000 and last year were \$1,420,000,000, or an increase of \$1,087,000,000. The excess of imports over exports then were \$20,000,000. The excess now of exports over imports is \$395,000,000. That is the difference from the time we took charge of this country. There were twenty millions more imports than exports, and last year we sent out \$396,000,000 more than we received, and the yellow tide of gold is rolling into this country to pay the balance of trade in our favor. These are the results of Republican legislation. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

How about manufacturing? Then the number of establishments were 140,000, now 512,300. Then the number of hands employed was 1,311,000, now 5,719,000. Then the wages and salaries paid amounted to \$378,800,000; now they amount to \$2,735,400,000. Then the products were \$1,880,000,000; now they are \$13,200,000,000, which is greater than the combined output of any other three nations in the world, and places us proudly first among the manufacturing nations of the world. While they were paid wages and salaries of \$378,000,000 then, and now \$2,735,000,000, I call attention to this further fact, that then the per capita wages paid to the men was \$288, while now it is \$474, one-half greater than the average for all of Europe. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Is not this a record of which we can be proud? Is it not a record of which we may justly boast? And over against that the Democratic party sets itself up and wants to destroy the very agency which has made possible this marvelous prosperity that is to-day the wonder and admiration of the world.

“OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS THE MOST ECONOMICALLY ADMINISTERED OF ANY IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD.”

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. A. HEMENWAY of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, April 28, 1904.

The expenditures of our Government in their aggregate, as exhibited by the appropriations of Congress are large, and by unthinking persons, and especially by misguided newspapers, are denounced as extravagant, and yet according to the very best authority, our National Government is the most economically administered of any in the civilized world.

The following table, compiled and officially published by the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor, shows the population, expenditure, and per capita expenditure in the more important countries of the world in the latest available year:

Country.	Population.	Expenditure.	Per capita.
New Zealand.....	788,000	\$30,241,000	\$38.38
Australia.....	3,772,000	142,148,000	37.69
United Kingdom.....	41,961,000	897,790,000	21.39
France.....	38,962,000	695,250,000	17.84
Belgium.....	6,694,000	116,500,000	17.40
Paraguay.....	636,000	11,007,000	17.30
Austria-Hungary.....	45,405,000	647,969,000	14.27
Argentina.....	4,794,000	60,757,000	12.68
Cuba.....	1,573,000	19,515,000	12.40
Netherlands.....	5,347,000	61,468,000	11.49
Portugal.....	5,429,000	62,170,000	11.45
Spain.....	18,618,000	187,846,000	10.09
Sweden.....	5,199,000	49,593,000	9.54
German Empire.....	58,549,000	553,222,000	9.45
Canada.....	5,457,000	50,759,000	9.30
United States.....	80,372,000	640,323,000	7.97

Compared with the regular annual appropriation bills passed at the last session of Congress, the appropriation bills of this session exhibit no substantial disparity, except with reference to three of them. The naval appropriation bill shows an increase of \$16,128,349.51, and amounts in the aggregate to \$98,005,140.94, a sum large in comparison with the amounts annually devoted to the naval establishment during the two decades immediately following the civil war; but in every detail the bill provides only for what is requisite to continue the construction of ships heretofore authorized and now in course of construction and for the adequate maintenance of ships already in commission. For twenty years Congress has responded to the manifest demand of the people for the upbuilding of the American Navy. Many millions have been expended in this great national work without a charge of extravagance or an accusation of dishonesty, and to-day we have a navy in which every citizen takes commendable pride.

The post-office appropriation bill, appropriating in all \$172,574,998.75, shows an increase of \$19,063,449. Of the later sum, \$8,180,000 is alone on account of the rural free-delivery carrier service, for which an entire sum of \$20,180,000 is provided for the next year. The postal service is the one function of our Government that affects intimately every individual in the nation, and no one feature of this great business organization is so popular with the agricultural masses or has brought to them so much that they value as the rural free-delivery service, which was inaugurated through an appropriation of \$50,000 made in 1897 by a Republican Congress.

At this session an emergency river and harbor bill, carrying \$3,000,000, has been enacted, providing for the maintenance of the channels of existing works and limiting the amount that may be expended to not exceeding \$50,000 on any one project. But for reasons that are manifestly proper, no general river and harbor bill has been passed. More than \$37,000,000 of appropriations heretofore made for river and harbor improvements are now unexpended. The large number of projects heretofore authorized have taxed the Engineer Department almost beyond the ability of the members of that efficient corps to properly execute them. An increase of the number of engineers has been authorized in order more expeditiously and efficiently to accomplish the work now in hand.

Under an act of Congress passed in 1883, authority was given the Secretary of the Treasury to use any surplus money in the purchase and retirement of bonds, in addition to those required for the sinking fund. Under this authority bonds have been purchased and retired aggregating a sum which, if it had been applied under the requirements of the sinking fund, would have anticipated and exceeded the same up to the close of the last fiscal year by \$335,220,100. During the last four fiscal years—1900 to 1903, inclusive—under the Administrations of Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt, there was applied to the sinking fund \$212,790,239.75. During the four fiscal years 1893 to 1896, inclusive, covering Mr. Cleveland's last Administration, the whole amount so applied was only \$13,400,047.98.

"WHEN TIMES ARE GOOD THEY ARE GOOD FOR EVERYBODY."

Extract from speech of Hon. EDWARD L. HAMILTON of Michigan, in the House of Representatives, February 19, 1902.

PROSPERITY.

This also is called by some people commercial greed. But while our friends on the other side are exercising themselves "with vain jangling" about imperialism and commercial greed, and the Sultan of Sulu and other infidels in remote parts, let them not forget the language of the Scriptures, wherein it is written:

"If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

We have blazed a way for business enterprise by the restoration of business confidence.

Instead of an overdraft in our Treasury fed by selling bonds and drained by an endless chain, we have set up a stable standard of commercial value around which the infinite transactions of a business day are carried on, not only here, but in the islands of the sea, and by which they are measured.

Our financial standard is as unequivocal as our flag, and both command respect at home and abroad.

In 1898 we added to our interest bearing debt of \$847,364,950 a further debt of \$198,792,660 for expenses of our war with Spain.

But from March 1, 1897, to September 1, 1901, we paid off \$63,517,520 of our public debt and cut down our annual interest charge by nearly eleven million dollars.

From September 1, 1901, to February 1, 1902, we still further reduced our public debt by \$43,546,760, and still further reduced our annual interest charge by \$1,744,064.

In all, within the last five years we have paid \$107,063,280 of our interest-bearing public debt, and reduced our annual interest charge by \$12,485,201.50.

The sum of our trade balances in the last three years, it is said, equals the sum of all the gold in all the banks and treasuries of Europe.

Instead of our Government making depreciated money at our mints, our whole population have been making money of full-face value in all our industries.

When times are good, they are good for everybody, and when they are good for individuals they are good for combinations of individuals. You can not draw the line in favor of some and against some.

We are buying less and selling more abroad than ever before.

We are buying more and selling more at home than ever before, because people have got something to sell and something to buy with.

We have more money in use and circulation than ever before; more money per capita than ever before; more money in savings banks than ever before; the dollar has larger purchasing power than ever before, and the laboring man lives better than ever before.

The ships of every business venture have come to port laden with better returns than ever before.

But prosperity is not eternal and it is possible to go backward. We were not invading foreign markets to any extent from 1893 to 1897. We were too hungry to go far from home. Some of our population were confined to a soup diet. Then vacancy, bankruptcy, and dull despair looked out of broken factory windows at men out of work and women in want, and the whole nation, yellow eyed, jaundiced, and stagnant, stumbled on, a prey to political quacks and soothsayers, until a voice from a vine-clad porch in Canton, Ohio—the voice of William McKinley, now forever silent—began to proclaim the doctrine of commercial salvation, and men forgot their dream of wealth without work, of transferring 40 cents' worth of silver into a dollar by the touch of the Government stamp, and wheels began to turn again, and money began to flow back again into the withered arteries of trade.

"I AM TIRED OF VOTING AGAINST PROSPERITY."

Excerpt from speech of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in the United States Senate, June 25, 1902.

PROSPERITY THE ISSUE.

Mr. President, I have presented briefly many of the material benefits which we as a nation and as a people have derived from the operation of the Dingley tariff. But I have by no means told the whole story. We can estimate the production and consumption of the necessities and luxuries of life, but the comforts and contentment and happiness of the American home is inestimable. How can we calculate the joy of the farmer or mechanic in being able to give his sons a college education?

How can we calculate the pleasure of taking home the latest book; of taking the wife or sweetheart to the play or concert, or buying the piano for the daughter; or filling the vase with flowers; of taking home the candy and toys for the little ones? Why, it is Christmas the year round in millions of American homes. The birthdays are joyful days. The summer trips to the mountains and seashore and country in vacation time are not to be measured by dollars and cents in the happiness and health they give to millions of wives and children.

No, Mr. President, there is no computing the blessings and benefits of protection. We cannot measure happiness by the yard or pound or quart or dollar's worth, but we can produce it and enhance it and continue it by continuing protection and prosperity.

I met an old farmer recently, a sterling old man who voted for Franklin Pierce and has voted for every Democratic candidate for President and Congress since. I asked him, "Well, how is the farm?" Without answering, he said, "Senator, I want to tell you something. I am going to vote the Republican ticket next fall and in 1904 and as long as I live." "Why, how is that?" I asked. He replied: "Simply because I am tired of voting against prosperity."

There is the whole thing in a nut shell. Not only the truck farmer of New England, but the wheat grower of Minnesota, the corn grower of Kansas, the sugar grower of Louisiana, the cotton planter of Georgia, back to the wool grower of Ohio and the tobacco planter of Virginia and Connecticut, way to the fruit grower of California—the capitalist, the millworker, the railroad hand, the merchant and clerk, the professional man—every one, from the most elevated position to the humblest—must vote for or against prosperity.

And right here let me quote again from Mr. Cowles's address:

"A wise wag once said in response to the toast, 'Here's to your prosperity. May you stand it like a man.' 'That's a better sentiment than you think it is,' said he. 'It takes a clever man to stand prosperity. Any fool can stand adversity; he has to.'"

Our friends on the other side are looking for an issue. They need not worry, the issue is looking for them. Prosperity is the issue, and all other questions are secondary. The American standard of living, American manhood and American homes are but the resultants of Republican legislation, the sequences of a protective tariff which brought to us and will continue to give us an unprecedented age of luxury, an unparalleled era of prosperity.

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54 EAST LAKE STREET, CHICAGO, ILL. 60601-3043
TEL: (312) 835-3211 FAX: (312) 835-7081

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Democratic Adversity

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"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ALWAYS GOES INTO PARTNERSHIP WITH CALAMITY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. E. HUMPHREY of Washington, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

If there is one thing that characterizes the Democratic party, it is its overwhelming desire to advise and its eternal failure to perform. As I have sat in this House day after day and listened to the ever-ready, never-ending, gratuitous advice coming from the other side of the House, I have wondered what has given birth to this assurance, this self-asserted wisdom. Why are the gentlemen so confident that they know all things? *Why should a party that brought upon us the horrors of the last Democratic Administration, that went hysterical over free silver, a party that has learned nothing in forty years, a party that has forgotten nothing in forty years, a party that has not kept a promise in forty years, a party that has not been right in forty years—why should this party assume that with it wisdom shall perish from the earth?* [Applause.]

The people of this country only once in forty years have listened to Democratic promises and followed Democratic advice and placed that party in power. Then that party revised the tariff; it enacted the Wilson law, that the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] has so eloquently condemned, and that law withered our prosperity as do the hot winds of the desert the blossoming harvests. That party applied to the land the doctrine they now advocate for the sea. During that Democratic Administration our national debt increased a half million dollars each day. Each day we lost a half million dollars in foreign trade. During that Administration the value of farm products decreased more than \$500,000,000. The business of this nation in two months after the enactment of the Wilson law decreased 6 per cent. Immediately upon the passage of that law fear, distrust, and panic paralyzed the great industrial system of our country; banks closed their doors; business houses assigned; the balance of trade was against us; bonds were issued; capital withdrew from the fields of legitimate enterprise into secret places; labor was forced into unwilling idleness; we had deserted mills, smokeless factories, silent machinery.

We had tramps and beggars and industrial armies, starving women and children. In the midst of plenty, with bountiful crops rotting unharvested in the field, at a million hearthstones sat famine pitiless and cruel. Two million men were out of employment and begging for work—begging for an opportunity to earn bread to feed the starving lips of those they loved. *William McKinley was elected, the system of protection was restored, and in eight months 1,000,000 idle men had gone to work.*

What has the Democratic party done to command confidence that gives it a right to assume to advise the American people? *The Democratic party asks always to be judged by the future and not by the past. It always asks to be judged by its promises and not by its performances.*

That party in fifty years has added nothing to progress; nothing to the sum of human happiness; nothing to the cause of liberty; nothing to freedom; nothing to the glory of its country. *It always goes into partnership with calamity. It feeds on disaster and fattens on despair.* The only time it has had control of this country during this generation it shut the door of industry and clothed labor in rags. It fought under the dishonored banner of free silver; it subscribed to the driveling stupidity that a nation can create value by law—that the Government could stamp a lie upon 50 cents worth of silver and make it a dollar. It opposed keeping our flag in the Orient, and advocated that it be lowered in retreat and trailed in the dust of dishonor.

The Democratic party always has its face to the past and its back to the future. *It never sees an opportunity until it is past, and never gets on the right side of any issue until it is settled.*

Such is the record of this self-constituted keeper of the country's conscience and the country's welfare, the oft-defeated, discouraged, disorganized, disgraced, divided, decrepit old Democratic party. It stands to-day without an issue, without a principle, without a policy, without a platform, without a leader, and without hope. The highest possible praise the Democratic party can bestow upon this bill is its opposition. [Applause.]

GROVER CLEVELAND WAS ELECTED." — "BANKRUPTCY BECAME AN EPIDEMIC."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES B. LANDIS, of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 27, 1904.

In 1892 Grover Cleveland was elected. You secured control of all branches of this Government, and I contend that that was the greatest mistake the Democratic party ever made. They found themselves facing the people of the country in the midst of a domestic prosperity never before equalled. They were pledged to improve it. Capital was employed; they promised to employ it better. Wages were high; they promised to make them higher. Labor! There was not an idle man in the United States of America unless he was idle from choice; and you are acquainted with the result. Scarce three months passed until the idle men commenced ranging over the country.

Bankruptcy became an epidemic. Idleness got to be a profession, and hard-times festivals became popular social functions. You did that, gentlemen. You brought about that condition of affairs—you prophets, you promisers, you arraigners. You packed the side tracks of the railroads of this country with empty cars. You sent the price of corn so low it was burned as fuel. The farmer fed 30-cent wheat to 2-cent hogs, and horses were not worth wintering, and sheep shivered and died on the range because they were not worth sheltering, and as many as 100 idle men were found on single trains roaming this country in search of work.

At the end of four years everybody in the United States admitted that everything was wrong and that it was simply a question as to the best policy to bring us back where we were when Benjamin Harrison was President of the United States. * * * The gentleman can not point to a single article manufactured in this country on which there is a protective tariff that is not cheaper to-day than it was the day the protective tariff was placed on the article, and he establishes the reverse by this illustration.

I have here an illustration that I desire to submit in contrast with the gentleman's "favorite banana theory," illustrating, as it does so well, the practical workings of the protective tariff.

In 1883 there were no wire nails produced in this country. They were then selling at \$6 a keg. We manufactured that year 50,000 kegs, when a tariff of \$4 a keg was placed upon wire nails. In 1884 we manufactured 75,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$5 a keg. In 1885 we manufactured 200,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$4 a keg, which was exactly the tariff duty. In 1886 we manufactured 500,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$3.40 a keg. In 1887 we manufactured 700,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$2.30 a keg. In 1888 we manufactured 2,000,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$2.60 a keg. In 1889 we made over 2,500,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$2.10 a keg. And all this time the duty was \$4 per keg. The average price in 1902, the latest available report, was \$2.15.

That is the way the Republican policy of protection works. [Applause on the Republican side.] And it has worked this way with reference to steel rails, and with reference to tin, and with reference to every other manufactured article produced in this country upon which there is a protective tariff. [Applause.]

Those within the sound of my voice will remember how, in 1890, when it was proposed to put a tariff upon tin plate, some one in this House arose and said that he would take a contract to eat all the tin plate manufactured in this country during the next ten years.

Well, the Democratic stomach is equal to almost anything, but it was not equal to that proposition, because we are manufacturing almost a billion pounds of tin plate in this country every year, and the price of tin plate within three years after the tariff was placed upon it was lower than tin plate had ever been before in the United States. That is the way it works with all these articles.

"MR. CLEVELAND WAS ELECTED."—"THE COUNTRY DID NOT WAIT."—"IT AT ONCE SOUGHT COVER AND PREPARED ITSELF FOR THE STORM."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOHN F. LACEY of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, May 4, 1900.

LEST WE FORGET.

All logical reasoning is, after all, founded on memory. We apply the recollection of the past to the facts of the present. The lamp of experience gives the only safe light. Let us invite the American people to look upon the two pictures and study them well before choosing a White House tenant for the next four years.

No one has given such graphic descriptions of the condition of the country from 1893 to 1897 as our Democratic and Populistic opponents.

[Extracts from some Democratic newspapers—1892.]

On the 17th of July, 1892, the New York Herald remarked:

"The business of the country is in a provokingly healthy condition."

* * * New industrial enterprises for manufacturing iron, cotton, and woolen fabrics are going into operation in various sections. * * * In the face of such condition of things the calamity howler must remain silent."

On July 15, 1892, the Boston Herald, a pronounced advocate of Cleveland and free trade, asked:

"Where is the idle woolen mill to-day? There is none. * * * No

only are the great majority of the woolen mills employed, but many * * * are contemplating enlargements and improvements."

On the 10th of September, 1892, the Dry Goods Economist, also favoring free trade, was constrained to remark that:

"Dress goods manufacturers ought to be happy this season, because they are busy delivering the goods already ordered and booking orders for more * * * They can confidently look forward to a continuous run of business for the next six months."

R. G. Dun & Co.'s Report (non-partisan), in July, 1892, said:

"A fiscal year never matched in the history of the country in the volume of industrial productions, in magnitude of domestic exchanges, or in foreign trade has just closed."

The eminent free trader, Edward Atkinson, says, speaking of the country under Republican rule:

"There has never been a period in the history of this or any other country when the general rate of wages was as high as it is now, or the price of goods relative to wages as low as they are to-day."

Mr. Cleveland was elected upon a platform not only favoring free trade but declaring protection unconstitutional. The only radical legislation that was assured was the revision of the tariff upon the lines of the Democratic platform of 1892, and that became certain when the results of the election and the changed condition of the Senate were known.

The country did not wait for the repeal of the McKinley bill. It once sought cover and prepared itself for the storm. The story is a true one. It is well known, but it may be forgotten. The way to keep the people right is to be sure that they remember the lessons of experience.

INDUSTRIAL PANIC—DEMOCRATIC EVIDENCE.

On August 18, 1893, Mr. Haines, of New York, in a speech on the question of a bill repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act said:

At the present moment its [his district] agriculture and its commerce are languishing, its factories are shutting down, its mechanics and laboring men are suffering in enforced idleness, and their families are in want. The farmers of the West and South—and I do not blame them for getting wild when they think of it—have lost millions of dollars by the fall in prices.

On the same day Mr. Simpson, of Kansas, addressing the House on the same general subject, said:

I want to go over a few of the conditions that I think have brought the people of this country almost to the verge of bankruptcy, a few of the conditions that have produced paralysis of business and thrown laboring classes out of employment until I suppose to-day there are not less than 4,000,000 men asking for work in this country.—*Congressional Record*, volume 133, page 492.

From a speech of Mr. Talbert, of South Carolina, made on the same day as the foregoing and on the same subject:

When I stand on the portico of this Capitol and look out over this city I am inclined to agree, Mr. Speaker, that this is a great country. But when I go to the homes of the American farmers, among whom I live, what do I see there? I see and hear nothing but the song of hard times and worse coming. Go into the homes of the working people, the factory people, and what do you see? Nothing but starvation, poverty, and death.

Mr. Richards, of Ohio, August 19, 1893, spoke as follows:

To-day all over this land there are people who but a few weeks ago were in happy homes—everywhere husbands and fathers willing to work—surrounded by wives and children whom they loved, men with brawny arms that were willing to work to maintain themselves and their loved ones—and to-day with mills and the machinery of the country idle, the farmer without a proper market for his crops, amid the idleness and desolation that have been brought on throughout all sections of the country, they are at this time standing surrounded by their families wondering to Heaven what they shall do next.

On Thursday, December 7, 1893, Mr. Bailey, of Texas, said on the floor of the House:

In almost every community of this land to-day there are men hopelessly involved in debt, so hopelessly, indeed, that their creditors indulged no reasonable expectation of receiving any payment, and the unfortunate debtors themselves, realizing how impossible it is to pay everything, are making no effort to pay anything.

LET US SEE WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DID."—"IT PARALYZED BUSINESS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in House of Representatives, July 19, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 284.

Where is the market and what is the market for the bituminous coal of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois? These markets lie in the great cities and small cities, in the large towns and small towns, of the Middle West and the points around the Great Lakes and way up to Canada. This answers the question, Where is the market?

Now, what is the market? The market is the household, the factory, the rolling mill, the forge, the foundry, the electric-light plant, the gas plant, the railroads, the steamships, all the mighty engineering of manufacture and commerce which are warmed, heated, put into motion, or given by steam or electricity. The great power of progress, the mighty moving engine of civilization, is in heat. As somebody has well said, the greatest controlling condition, the greatest differential proposition, between the brute and the man is that the man can set fire and control and utilize it and the brute can not. And these fires in every form are patrons and promoters of the industry of coal mining.

Now, then, having thus described the location of the market and what the market is, let us see what the Democratic party did. *It destroyed one-half those fires by the repeal of the McKinley law and the enactment of the Wilson law. It shut up the glass works, it barred the door to the iron and steel manufactories, it closed up a large number of the gas works, and shut down electricity and drove it out of action; it curtailed the business of the railroads, the spin-
dles ceased to hum, the smokestacks ceased to emit their volumes of smoke testifying that down below there were fires and the consumption of coal. This is what the Democratic party did. It is not worth while to discuss it any further. You all understand it. It paralyzed business, and the price of coal mining fell.*

Fell why? Fell because there was no market for the coal; fell because the production was greater than the consumption; fell because out of the markets that I have described were driven the agents of the coal miner, who were selling his product. There was no call for his product, and the blight that began at the factory, at the rolling mill, the poisonous vermin of inaction, of indolence, of idleness, rolled in a deadly tide back over the business of trade and commerce, down to the railroad lines, down to the steamship lines, down until it paralyzed the pick of the miner in the coal mines of the country. I speak with feeling. I speak with interest. I speak because I have seen it. I have observed it. I have seen the coal miner who in 1893 and in 1894 was mining the coal of the valleys where I live at 75 cents piteously praying for labor at 45 cents a ton, and I have seen manhood blush and American sentiment pale before the inflictions of poverty that came upon that industrious people.

And now, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, the coal miner can see this. He is intelligent. His interest lies in the vast development of our industrial system, and he knows enough to know that the volume of the mining of coal depends upon the volume of the industrial development of the country, and he knows enough to know that the policy of that party which seeks to introduce the handiwork and production of foreign labor into this country is his enemy, and he knows enough to know that that party which demands the American market for the American producer is the party that will open the factory and start the fires of industry and prosperity; and as a member of the Republican party, jealous of its future, proud of its history, confident of its present position, *I am ready to submit the issue to the laboring men of the United States.*

"ELECTION OF GROVER CLEVELAND."—"DISASTER CAME UPON THE COUNTRY."—"DEEP IN A HOLE FOR THREE YEARS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, May 11, 1900.

The anticipation of free trade caused greater disaster than the enactment itself, because the full force of the intended scourge never reached us. *That disaster came upon the country almost immediately after the victory at the polls of the so-called tariff reformers in 1892 is easy of demonstration.*

The great financial institutions of the country were the first to suffer. Every savings bank in the United States practically suspended payment before the manufacturers were seriously crippled. The truthfulness of this statement may be questioned, but the fact that the savings banks posted sixty days' notices and refused to pay depositors on demand beyond a mere pittance of about \$10 at a time and that depositors who wished to withdraw even that small amount were compelled to stand in line in many instances for hours and sometimes for days attests the fact that the savings banks did practically suspend payment.

The American Economist of February 16, 1894, said:

The savings banks of New York State give a remarkable record of the effect of the year of free trade. During 1893 the amount of money withdrawn was \$34,518,091 in excess of the amount deposited. As compared with the prosperous year of 1892, the deposits of 1893 were twenty-four millions less and the withdrawals were twenty-seven millions larger, the showing the aggregate loss during the two years of \$51,000,000. The whole loss fell upon the wage-earners, who usually put their savings away on deposit, but who, under the free-trade Administration, lost \$51,000,000 in 1893 as compared with 1892.

A statement of the number of banks that failed in the United States between May 1 and July 23, 1893, was made by the Manufacturers' Record. The list was given in detail and by States, and aggregated a total of 301 failed and suspended banking institutions with a capital of \$38,951,033. This made an average of 3.6 banking concerns tied up on every one of the eighty-three days.

The Vermont Standard of March 1, 1894, said:

The lesson of 1893 closes with this handwriting on the blackboard:

May 4, 1893, to October 3, 1893, withdrawn by the people from national banks, \$378,000,000.

Loans called in by national banks, \$318,000,000.

National banks and other banking institutions suspended payment 1893, 585.

Railroad property gone into the hands of receivers, over \$1,200,000,000.

The money lost to thousands of men and women representing every form and grade of labor, estimated by Mr. David Wells to be more than a thousand million dollars, or more than one-third of the amount of the national debt at the close of the war.

At no time in the history of the United States have so many people been out of work.

Cause: Distrust.

Distrust of banks? No.

Distrust of currency? No.

Distrust widespread, public distrust—in the legislative branch of the Government, with its Democratic majority and possibilities.

J. Edward Simmons, president of the Fourth National Bank of the city of New York, who, in the New York Sun of November 11, 1892, said, "The election of Grover Cleveland can only be regarded by all conservative business men as a fortunate thing for the country," also said in the New York Herald of May 20, 1896, "Panicked! We have been so deep in a hole for three years that things can now get any lower."

The Springfield (Mass.) Morning Union of February 8, 1896, said:

During 1892 the earnings of all the national banks in the United States were \$66,500,000; in 1894 they were less than \$42,000,000; in 1895 there was an increase of 25 per cent. in the number of bank failures and suspensions as compared with 1894, mostly in the State and private banks. The savings banks tell the story of hard times and privations. A falling off of 50,000 depositors and of \$37,000,000 in the amount of money deposited and of more than a dollar in the average per capita of savings for the whole people of the United States all point a moral and teach the story of living from hand to mouth, with a struggle to make both ends meet without being able to put away a dollar for old age.

"THE WILSON-GORMAN LAW SPREAD A DEAD SEA STAGNATION OVER THE INDUSTRIES OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. W. P. BROWNLOW of Tennessee, in House of Representatives, March 25, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 63.

PROTECTION A DEBT EXTINGUISHER; FREE TRADE A DEBT CONTRACTOR.

In 1866 the interest-bearing debt of the United States, in consequence of the war, was \$2,333,331,208. From this time to 1892, when the people changed the complexion of the Administration from Republican to Democratic, embracing a period of twenty-seven years, protection to American labor prevailed. Under this policy the Republican Administrations decreased this debt by the payment of \$1,747,301,330, and meeting at the same time the accrued interest. The balance of this debt in 1892 was \$535,029,330. In 1893, the year of Cleveland's second inauguration, the interest-bearing debt was \$583,034,260, and on March 1, 1896, it had increased to \$822,615,170 under the operations of the Gorman law. The financial representative of the free-trade President, who presided over the affairs of the Treasury Department, had not paid a dollar of this indebtedness in a literal sense, but Cleveland and his free-trade coadjutors in the swift destruction of the revenues and the prosperity of the country had added \$237,580,910 to it. The average annual decrease of this debt during the twenty-seven years of protection was \$64,714,884, and the average annual increase of this debt during the free-trade period when Mr. Cleveland was directing the destinies of this great country was \$79,193,637. The average Republican monthly decrease of the debt from 1866 to 1893 was \$5,701,114.77. The average Democratic monthly increase of the debt from 1893 to 1896 was \$7,502,921.28.

Mr. Harrison, with his protection Administration, lessened the debt by \$224,819,730.

Mr. Cleveland, with his free-trade Administration, increased it by \$237,580,910. Not this alone; this eminent Democratic statesman and leader, "called to be an apostle of tariff reform," and who had led the gallant and enthusiastic cohorts of Democracy to glorious victory in two hotly contested campaigns, was compelled, on account of the ruinous effects of his revenue policy, to sell bonds to meet the current expenses of the Government. *And not this alone; in his secret negotiations for the sale of the first bonds, amounting to \$100,000,000, he further dishonored and humiliated this proud and opulent nation by placing it in the thrall of a syndicate of foreign capitalists.*

The Wilson-Gorman law, the most perfect piece of free-trade mechanism constructed, proved an electric paralyzer of labor. It spread a Dead Sea stagnation over the industries of the whole country. It left its fatal blight upon every enterprise in which the bread winner had the least interest as a toiler. It transferred the patronage of this country from its needy and deserving workingmen to the paupers of foreign countries. It sent American prosperity on a voyage to regions yet undiscovered with the command to never return. Under the McKinley Act the constant cry was for more laborers. No man had to waste time and money hunting for employment. Employment hunted him. The establishment of new industries kept pace with the increase of the working population. Under the free-trade Gorman slaughter act one-half of the working class were turned out of the shops and mills and discharged from the railroads and public works.

"THE DISTRESSING CONDITIONS BROUGHT UPON THE PEOPLE BY THE WILSON LAW."

Extract from remarks of Hon. W. P. BROWNLOW of Tennessee, in House of Representatives, March 25, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 60.

Fires out in the furnaces, closed mills, silent factories, cities and towns unable to feed and house the hungry and shelterless, women and children beggared and in helpless want, the highways crowded with tramps whose tatters covered armies of skilled and willing workers, billions hoarded in the vaults of the cities and no money in the pockets of the masses, the national debt constantly increasing, bond deals to meet current expenses, the country in the hands and at the mercy of money sharks, woe on every side, and wails from every quarter. Bank failures were an everyday occurrence, there was a general feeling of dread and insecurity in financial circles, and one man's paper was about as good as another's. *Values slumped to almost nothing, and the accumulations of years disappeared in a day. Such was the sad and distressing conditions brought upon the people and the nation by the enactment of*

THE WILSON LAW.

A strictly partisan measure, ostensibly passed to lighten the burdens of the people and at the same time to provide an ample revenue for an economical administration of the Government, it signally failed to accomplish its purpose, as "Cheap John" statesmen and economists had declared that it would. Coddled as a choice measure of reform by a party held together by the cohesive power of an inordinate greed for office, it proved a Pandora box of disasters unequalled and unutterable. And the four years these plagues were upon the land will be known in the annals of the future as the "black period of American history."

The Wilson law, conceived in sin, shapen in iniquity, brought forth in crime, its accoucheurs blind to the interests and manifest destiny of this great country, rocked in the cradle of fanaticism and nurtured upon the pabulum of party heresy and rancor, it was entirely within the natural order of things that it should become the prolific parent of immeasurable evils. It was an incendiary, applying the torch of destruction to the substance of the people. It was a robber, snatching clothing from the backs and food from the hands of the tolling masses. It was an evictor, driving men, women, and children into the woods and highways. It was a riot breeder, filling the streets with frenzied mobs yelling for work, bread, or blood. It was a monster, gorging itself upon the distresses and woes of a submerged people, in comparison with which the ancient Minotaur of Crete that fed on Athenian youths was a patron saint.

An inscrutable Providence permits nations to scourge themselves as well as each other, and this accounts for the blind infatuation that betrayed and misled the majority of American voters when they placed the Democratic party in charge of our national affairs in 1892. Intoxicated with the power so long withheld from them and in the insanity of their zeal to show themselves the masters of the situation, with precipitate fury and reckless abandon they addressed themselves to the task of obliterating every vestige of the Republican policy and legislation that had brought the country triumphantly through its most trying ordeals and added to that deliverance processes of recuperation and resources of wealth that secured incomparable prosperity and of substituting in their stead measures of reform and relief in consonance with Democratic maxims and the accepted standards of Democratic statesmanship.

THE REACTION WAS QUICK AND CRUSHING.

Industrial prostration, paralysis of business, financial distress, and private and open deals in bonds, representing \$262,000,000 to cover Treasury deficits and to keep the machinery of the Government in operation. There was no modification of these untoward conditions until the Democratic banner went down in ignominious defeat. The people repented of their folly in sackcloth and ashes, and prayed the God who emancipated ancient Israel for deliverance from a living death and the restoration of the possibilities and opportunities from which they had so blindly and perversely turned away. An answer to these fervid and persistent appeals came in the election of a Republican President and Congress.

THE BLIGHT AND CURSE OF DEMOCRATIC MAL- ADMINISTRATION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. W. P. BROWNLOW of Tennessee, in House of Representatives, March 25, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 60.

The Republican party recognizes the conservation and promotion of the people's interests as the paramount function of government. It makes vigorous and aggressive war against all tendencies to party aggrandizement to the detriment of the public service. In the phenomenal emergency now upon the country, and directly produced by the blight and curse of Democratic maladministration it is determined to reinstate that measure of tariff taxation whose wisdom and efficiency are attested in the happiness, affluence, and general advancement of the people.

Comparisons may be odious, but they perform a wholesome service in determining the relative merits and demerits of the matters compared. The Republican party courts a close and honest investigation of the results of protection in direct connection with those of its old antagonist.

Under protection financial, commercial, and industrial disturbances were rare, of short duration, and attended with no serious results affecting the general public. Under "tariff reform" disaster followed disaster in all departments of business, inflicting universal injury, and there was no day without a collapse and a panic. Failures, if they spread dismay, elicited no surprise and but a passing comment, and the general query was, "Who next, and what next?" Under protection there were no Treasury and bond deals. Under "tariff reform" Treasury deficit, was the unchanging status and bond deals the regular order of business. Under the McKinley law, that "crowning iniquity" which was so offensive to our Democratic friends, and who exhausted their stock of curses in damning it to everlasting infamy, the revenue was sufficient to meet every Government demand, and until overthrown by a Democratic Administration it annually enlarged the volume of circulation with the comfortable sum of \$48,000,000. Under a "tariff for revenue only," its immediate successor, there was a deficit of \$131,301,914. The total Treasury receipts during the first thirty months of the McKinley law were \$916,621,050, and during the first thirty months of the Wilson-Gorman law they were \$763,438,751; loss in thirty months under the Democratic "tariff for revenue only," \$153,182,299. During the first thirty months of the McKinley law the customs receipts were \$487,959,564, and during the first thirty months of the Gorman-Wilson law they were \$381,731,978; loss under a Democratic "tariff for revenue only," \$106,227,586. During the first thirty months of the McKinley law the internal revenue receipts were \$380,066,716, and under the Wilson-Gorman law \$356,728,475; loss under a "tariff for revenue only," \$43,338,241.

These cullings from the records of the Treasury are striking and eloquent. They compass the whole matter. They appeal to the sober sense and dispassionate judgment with the inexorable logic of actual facts, which are certainly more convincing than the current and cunning sophistries of "tariff-reform" advocates and free-trade economists. They should settle at once the fierce and prolonged contention between protection and a "tariff for revenue only." This brief excursion into the field of statistics discovers to us the cause of the

DEFICITS AND BOND DEALS.

during the unfortunate Administration of President Cleveland and the addition of \$262,000,000 to our national debt, which would have been decreased by twice that amount under the skillful financial management which always characterized Republican administrations. We now discover the prolific source of the iliad of our woes.

Protection means the utilization of idle forces, the full compass of natural advantages, solid progress, constant and sturdy growth.

"SO-CALLED TARIFF REFORM HAS NOT PROVEN SATISFACTORY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN F. LACEY of Iowa, in House of Representatives, March 23, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 70.

It is not necessary in this debate to attempt to prove that the recent experiment of so-called tariff reform has not proven satisfactory. Failures in business will occur and misfortunes will come under any system, *but the evidence points without controversy to better times in our country when the protective system has been fully recognized than when the opposite policy has prevailed.* I will not go back into remote history, but I have compiled a statement of the liabilities of failing debtors during the four years which have just closed, and also during the previous four years of General Harrison's Administration.

For the latter four years the amount increased nearly 50 per cent, as compared with that of the Harrison period.

Total liabilities of failing debtors in the United States during Harrison's and Cleveland's Administration.

HARRISON'S.

1889	\$148,784,331
1890	189,856,964
1891	189,868,638
1892	114,044,167
Total	\$642,554,100

CLEVELAND'S.

1893	\$346,779,859
1894	172,992,856
1895	173,196,060
1896	226,096,831
Total	\$919,065,639

But notwithstanding our recent experiences, we are again regaled with the old saws of the past.

We are gravely told that we propose "to make people rich and happy by taxing them." This hoary-headed phrase has done duty in many a free-trade campaign.

We are also told that the proposed bill will immediately increase the price of everything, and therefore it will be an injury to the people.

The same speakers who last fall were proposing to double the price of everything by changing the standard of value and who shouted "free silver and high prices" are now engaged in warning us that an increase in prices is a dangerous thing.

The issue between the two parties is a very simple as well as a very ancient one.

Our forefathers in 1789 set the wheels of this Government in operation. The first bill they passed was an act defining the kind of an oath that should be taken by United States officials, and it provided that Congressmen and other Federal officers should swear to support the Constitution. Many of the members of that First Congress had sat as members of the convention that framed the Constitution. The second act of that First Congress was a protective-tariff bill, and it recited in the preamble:

Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactuerers, that duties be levied on goods, wares, and merchandise imported: Therefore, *Be it enacted, etc.*

And yet, during the present debate, gentlemen have discussed the constitutional power of this Government to enact a tariff bill upon protective lines.

It is a striking fact that the first Congress that ever assembled should pass as its first law an act requiring an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and then, in the next bill, proceed to violate it by enacting a protective-tariff law. But President Washington celebrated the Fourth of July, 1789, by signing the first tariff law enacted upon the lines of the policy of Alexander Hamilton.

"DURING THE DEMOCRATIC LOW-TARIFF ADMINISTRATION THE RECEIPTS OF THE GOVERNMENT WERE INSUFFICIENT TO MEET THE CURRENT EXPENDITURES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. E. SAUERHERING of Wisconsin, in House of Representatives, March 31, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 37.

Our friends on the other side of the House tell us that low tariff or free trade will increase our trade with foreign countries. Now, what do the facts show? They show exactly the reverse to be the truth, strange as it may seem. And why, you ask, should not free trade increase our trade with foreign countries? I will tell you. You reduced the American people to a state approaching beggary and small capacity to buy. This is proven by statistics and can not be denied. In the first year under the McKinley law our foreign trade increased \$92,000,000, or 5.6 per cent. During the second year, 1892, it increased 12.8 per cent over that of 1890, or over \$210,000,000.

In 1893, under the threat of your Wilson bill, that \$210,000,000 shrank to less than \$67,000,000, and if the cause had continued all year, the figures would have gone below those of 1890. Your free-trade legislation decreased our surplus foreign trade of 1893 more than two-thirds, more than 68.1 per cent. Under your Wilson bill our foreign trade, our total imports and exports, fell off from the figures of 1890 \$100,000,000, or 6.1 per cent. In the next year it fell off \$107,000,000, and in 1896, when, by the growth of the population, it ought to have increased \$66,000,000, it had only got \$15,000,000 above that of 1890.

Now, let us glance for a moment at our national finances. The late civil war left this country encumbered with a national debt so large that figures fail to convey an adequate conception of its magnitude. It seemed impossible that this country could ever fully recover from this awful burden, or do much more than get started on the road to recovery during the next century. However, a start was made soon after the war, and every year a portion of the public debt was discharged, so that in 1892 we found we had already disposed of more than two-thirds of this enormous debt, thus again demonstrating the wonderful native resources of our land and our people. The report of the Treasurer shows that the revenue receipts from all sources for 1892, the last year of the Harrison Administration, amounted to \$425,868,260.22, and the expenditures for the same period amounted to \$415,953,806.56, leaving an excess of receipts over expenditures of \$9,914,453.66. During this year \$40,570,467.98 had been paid on the public debt, which had been reduced since March 1, 1889, by \$259,076,890, and the annual interest decreased by \$11,681,576.60.

Beginning with the first fiscal year of the Cleveland Administration, July 1, 1893, the daily balance sheets of the United States Treasury almost invariably shows an excess of expenditures over receipts. Every annual report of the United States Treasurer since that day shows a large deficit, as follows:

For fiscal year ending June 30—

1894	\$69,803,260.58
1895	42,805,223.18
1896	25,203,245.70

Which means that during the three years of Democratic low-tariff administration the receipts of the Government were insufficient to meet the current expenditures, to say nothing about the public debt, by \$137,811,729.46.

Nor were there any signs that this condition of things would stop as long as Cleveland and free trade remained in power.

"THE WILSON BILL."—"LET US OBSERVE ITS WORKINGS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. I. F. FISCHER of New York, in House of Representatives, March 23, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 20.

The workings of the Wilson bill have proved disastrous even to importers, for while it is true that the arrangements enabled them to bring goods into our market at lower prices than they could under a protective tariff, yet the misery which it brought to American homes and the panic it caused in our commercial affairs have left our people without money wherewith to purchase at any price, and one importer whom I know personally has confessed to me that he would rather pay \$5 more on every \$100 worth of goods under conditions existing under a protective policy (knowing he could bring them into this country and dispose of them amongst a prosperous people) than to save that impost and bring them into a poverty-stricken country where there is no market, as was the case during the existence of the Wilson tariff law.

The Democratic party, at the time of the adoption of the Wilson bill, promised much to the farmers of our country, and predicted that its enactment would insure the success of the Democratic party, which meant prosperity to them. They were to have the markets of the world thrown open to them under the beneficent workings of free trade. Let us observe its workings:

In 1892 we sold to the world 2,800,075 bushels of barley for \$1,751,445, while in 1895 we sold only 1,563,754 bushels for \$767,218, a falling off of 236,321 bushels and a loss of \$984,227.

In 1892 we sold to the world 637,972 bushels of beans and peas for \$945,767, while in 1895 we sold only 242,682 bushels for \$429,006, a falling off of 395,290 bushels and a loss of \$516,761.

To show you how farmers captured the markets of the world, I wish to call your attention to a few more figures. In 1892 foreign farmers sold to us 874,050 bushels of beans and peas of the value of \$957,824, while in 1894, under the Wilson-Gorman tariff, they sold us 1,535,913 bushels for \$1,548,749. Thus the American farmer on this one class of product suffered the loss represented by this difference, amounting to \$590,925.

In 1892 we sold in the markets of the world cattle of the value of \$35,099,095, while in 1895 we sold only \$30,603,796, a loss of nearly \$5,000,000. On the other hand, "the world" sold to us in 1892 \$47,466 of cattle, while in 1895 "the world" sold to us \$765,853, a gain for the foreign dealer of over \$718,000.

In 1892 we raised 70,626,658 acres of corn, amounting to 1,628,464,000 bushels, of the value of \$642,146,630, while in 1895 we raised 82,075,830 acres of corn, amounting to 2,151,138,580 bushels, of the value of \$567,509,106. Over 11,000,000 more acres of corn, producing over 500,000,000 bushels more in 1895 than in 1892, yet the smaller crop of 1892 was worth \$75,000,000 more than the larger crop of 1895.

In 1892 we exported flour of the value of \$785,494,928, while in 1895 we exported only \$751,651,928, a falling off of about \$23,000,000.

In 1892 we raised 150,000,000 bushels of potatoes on 2,411,500 acres, worth \$100,950,000, while in 1895 we raised 297,237,470 bushels on 2,954,952 acres, worth only \$78,984,901—nearly twice as many bushels, yet worth only about \$21,000,000 less than the smaller crop.

In 1892 we had 44,938,365 head of sheep, worth \$116,131,370. In 1896 we have only 38,298,783, worth only \$65,167,735, only a little over half.

In 1892 we sold to the world wheat to the value of \$161,399,132, while in 1895 we sold the same commodity to the value of \$43,805,663, a loss of over \$117,000,000.

"THE PARALYZING EFFECT OF THE LOW-TARIFF. PROPOSITION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.

If Democratic control and the low tariff which it brings with it are good for business, how was it that the number of telegraph messages sent fell from 76,000,000 in the year ending June 30, 1893, to 69,000,000 in 1894, and made no perceptible increase during Democratic control, increasing under Republican control and the prosperity which came with it until a total for 1902 was 89,000,000 as against an average of 70,000,000 annually during the national control by your party? Bank deposits are another measure of business activity and prosperity. The deposits in the banks of the United States, which averaged about four and one-half billion dollars in the years of Democratic control, were in 1902 nine and one-half billion dollars, having thus practically doubled under the prosperity which came to the country with the restoration of a protective tariff. *Savings-bank deposits alone increased from one and three-fourths billions of dollars in 1894 to two and three-fourths billions in 1902.*

INCREASED PROSPERITY OF FARMERS.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the increased prosperity of the farmers. This speaks so loudly for itself through the increased prices and increased demand, the cancellation of farm mortgages, and the general prosperity. Yet, I can not forbear mentioning the fact that the value of farm animals alone, as reported by the Department of Agriculture, fell from \$2,461,000,000 in 1892 to \$1,655,000,000 in 1897, but immediately began to increase upon restoration of protection and the demand for farm products which came with it, until the value of farm animals reported by the Department in 1901 was over \$3,000,000,000, or nearly double that shown in 1897. In other articles of farm production the increase in value has been equally striking, and with it the increase in the general prosperity of the farmers.

Still another evidence of the paralyzing effect of the low-tariff proposition which the Democrats are urging the country again to adopt is found in the fact that the tons of freight carried by the railroads fell from 730,000,000 in 1892 to 674,000,000 in 1894, and in 1900 was 1,071,000,000, and in 1901, 1,084,000,000 tons.

BUSINESS FAILURES WORSE UNDER DEMOCRATIC ASCENDENCY.

Business failures are another method by which we may measure the prosperity and general conditions of the country. In 1892, under Republican Administration, the liabilities of the failing business concerns of the United States were reported by Dun's Review at \$114,000,000; in 1893, the first year of Democratic control, and with the prospect of a change in the tariff, the liabilities increased to \$346,000,000, and in 1896 were \$226,000,000, while in 1901 they were \$113,000,000, and in 1902 \$117,000,000.

MONEY IN CIRCULATION.

Money in circulation is another measure of prosperity. *The Democratic party told us in 1896 that there could be no permanent increase in the circulating medium of the country, and therefore no general prosperity, without the free and unlimited coinage of silver, as well as free trade. Yet, notwithstanding that fact, the total money in circulation, which at that time was \$1,506,000,000, had under protection and the gold standard reached \$2,000,000,000 in 1900, and in 1903 was \$2,367,000,000.*

The fact that the manufacturing establishments of the country consumed during the entire period of your low tariff law an average of but about \$200,000,000 worth of imported raw material, and that they consumed \$375,000,000 worth last year under the protective tariff is a suggestion as to the relative activity and amount of manufactures turned out under the two systems.

"EFFECTS OF THE FREE-TRADE ECLIPSE."

Extracts from article entitled "Why first voters should be Protectionists," printed in daily Congressional Record, January 12, 1904.

In the light of the evidence presented no student of the question will be deceived for a moment by the charge that protectionists oppose the extension of foreign trade or that the effect of the policy has been to restrict its growth. The more the young voter investigates the subject the more thoroughly he will be convinced that it is only by strict attention to the development of our resources that we can hope to attain a position in the commercial world analogous to that once held by Great Britain.

The assertion has been repeatedly made that advocates of a protective tariff are hostile to external commerce; that they desire to build a Chinese wall about the country and exclude themselves from the comity of nations. The rank absurdity of the charge is at once made manifest by an examination of the tariff schedules prepared by protectionists, which provide for the free admission of all classes of articles which we are incapable of profitably producing for ourselves.

American protectionists are not opposed to foreign trade; they earnestly encourage its growth, but they expect it to develop along lines that will not interfere with the development of American industry. They seek to promote the free interchange of non-competing products. They believe that "by sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlet for our increasing surplus."

The country, under protectionist auspices, has for years been acting upon this sensible plan. When those who have framed protective schedules have found that tariffs were no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, they have been removed. That is the consistent history of Republican tariff legislation, and the results are visible in a constantly increasing volume of imports and exports.

The imputation of motives to protectionists which they never entertained has tended to cloud the minds of professional economists, but it has never for a moment interfered with the tendency of the system to refute their assertions. While free traders have amused themselves talking about the protection wall reared about the United States the external commerce of the country has grown at a rate which makes the growth of British trade seem snail-like.

In 1870 imports into the United States were valued at \$436,000,000; in 1902 they had increased to \$903,000,000. During the same period the exports increased from \$376,000,000 to \$1,355,000,000. British imports, which were \$1,259,000,000 in 1870, were valued at \$2,210,000,000 in 1902, while the exports rose from \$971,000,000 to \$1,363,000,000. The total value of the external trade of the United States was \$812,000,000 in 1870, and in 1902 it was \$2,258,000,000. In the same period British external trade increased from \$2,230,000,000 to \$3,573,000,000. The foreign trade of the United States increased \$1,446,000,000, while that of the United Kingdom showed an enlargement of only \$1,243,000,000.

These comparisons will serve to emphasize the denial that protection tends to exclusiveness, for they show that the United States, which has the reputation of being a nearly self-sufficing nation, has actually increased its dealings, both absolutely and relatively, with the outside world more rapidly than Great Britain—a notoriously dependent country, compelled by lack of raw materials and a deficient food supply to draw upon foreigners or go out of the business of manufacturing for export.

Having thus disposed of the stupid assumption that it is the purpose of protectionists to make a hermit nation of the United States, it may be judicious to explain that while they do not desire to discourage a rational external trade, they believe that the swiftest mode of promoting foreign commerce is through the development of internal production and trade.

Experience has demonstrated that whenever the latter is made the objective of statesmen foreign commerce expands more rapidly than under laws designed to tempt that result. The record of American exports and imports shows that every attempt to promote them by an approach to freedom of trade has caused them to shrink. Tariff legislation "for revenue only" has almost invariably been followed by a diminution of our foreign trade; devotion to the extension of domestic industry has produced the opposite result.

No one will attempt to dispute this assertion after examining the American Economist's graphic presentation of the "Effects of the free-trade eclipse," published in 1900, which brought out the fact I am dwelling upon more markedly than any other.

It showed that under a tariff levied for the prime purpose of promoting domestic industry our foreign trade rose from \$1,647,139,093 in 1890 to \$1,857,680,610 in 1892; that under the menace of an interference with protection it fell off to \$1,662,231,612 in 1896, and that after that date, owing to the stimulating influence of the Dingley Act, it steadily increased, reaching \$2,244,193,543 in 1900. And when the presentation is continued, as it doubtless will be next year, the total will probably exceed \$2,500,000,000—it was \$2,445,889,652 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903.

It can not be repeated too often nor emphasized too strongly that the true way to promote trade, both foreign and domestic, is that which protectionist statesmen have adopted. By stimulating the development of resources of all kinds and by employing the energies of the population in every practicable form of industry there is production on an enormous scale, and it is impossible for that to happen without there being a correspondingly large trade. Things when produced in abundance are exchanged. It is the sum of these exchanges that constitutes trade, and this fact should suggest to the most obtuse that the only solid foundation upon which a great commerce can be erected and maintained is domestic productivity. That assured, the rest and prosperity follow as a matter of course.

"THE GENERAL WRECK OF AMERICAN ENTERPRISE."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. W. P. BROWNLOW of Tennessee, in House of Representatives, March 25, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 62.

The American flock master had the upper hand of his foreign competitor in his home market. He could sell his crop to the American mills at a profitable figure, and his mutton was clear gain; the grade of the wool was superior, and the cloth into which it was manufactured was of the best quality. But a change came in 1894. The prosperity of the industry disappeared in the general wreck of American enterprise. The foreign wool grower displaced the American flock master in his own market. What he should have jingled in the pockets of the wool grower in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, South America, China, and other countries. Sheep and wool had gone down in price one-half. The balance was transferred to the wrong side of the ledger. Mr. John Bull, the venerable prophet and high priest of free trade, as long as his own interests are not interfered with, was the chief master of the situation; without let or hindrance he could dump the whole Australian wool clip, because he is the first mortgagee of the Australian sheep farms, on the American market and fill his pockets with American gold by the operation. During the McKinley tariff the average annual importation of wool was 133,647,812 pounds, valued at \$16,951,276. In 1895, when the country was just beginning to realize the glories and beauties of the Wilson-Gorman law, that put all grades of wool on the free list, the importation of wool was 248,889,217 pounds, valued at \$33,770,159. *It is safe to assert that the flock masters of the United States have lost the comfortable sum of \$40,000,000 by the free-trade-in-wool policy of the Democratic party.* This gold crossed the waters never to return, and is now scattered, a free gift from the Democratic party, among the foreign wool-producing nations. What a mighty help these forty millions would have been in paying the obligations of American debtors and canceling the mortgages on their farms. Whilst the American farmer is shearing his sheep the foreign sheep raiser, with the Democratic shears of free trade is shearing him, and he certainly realizes the fact when he remembers that *he got 60 cents a pound for his wool under the McKinley law of protection, and now under the Gorman Act of oppression and repression less than one-half of this amount is the top of the market.*

In 1893, when Cleveland was inaugurated the second time, the wool crop was 364,000,000 pounds. When he was returned to power, with a Congress in full sympathy and cooperation with him, the country was sure that the threat of free trade would be carried into execution. This feeling had a most depressing effect upon the wool industry. The purpose to put wool on the free list was declared at the beginning of his Administration, and the sheep raisers realized the fact that their harvest was about over. The price of wool began to decline rapidly and the owners began to put their sheep into the markets for mutton, so that the crop in 1894 shrank to 328,000,000 pounds, in 1895 fell off to 264,000,000 pounds, and in 1896 fell off in a corresponding proportion. In the first two years of Cleveland's Administration the decrease amounted to 110,000,000 pounds, inflicting a loss of \$60,000,000 to the American people. This decrease in the home clip had to be made up by importing foreign wool, or the American mills had to discharge their operatives and shut down. In consequence of this necessity the wool importation enlarged from 55,000,000 pounds in 1894 to 250,000,000, an increase of nearly 500 per cent.

It has always been the contention of the free traders that the effect of free wool would be to so reduce its price that woollen fabrics would not be adulterated by cheap admixtures. This is mere claptrap. In the last fiscal year of Harrison's Administration, closing June 30, 1894, the importation of shoddy was 175,744 pounds, and in the next fiscal year, ending June 30, 1895, under the Wilson-Gorman law, the importation of this adulteration was 14,772,690 pounds, an increase close in the neighborhood of 1,000 per cent. In 1895 the American mills were stocked up with 20,000,000 pounds of shoddy. In 1896 the Democratic Administration dealt in shoddy, waste rags, and other rascally adulterations on a still more stupendous scale.

"THE CRIME OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. C. STURTEVANT of Pennsylvania, in House of Representatives, March 31, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 107.

Mr. Cleveland said that the country needed an "object lesson." He gave it to our people, and, if I interpret the lesson of the election of last fall, they do not want any more of it. They know it by heart. The siren song of the free-trade speakers of 1892 lured the people with the false hope that, with free raw material, our manufacturers could capture the markets of the world. They promised to pay higher wages to labor and sell the products of that labor cheaper. No party had ever before had the audacity to make such a proposition, so absolutely contradictory to common sense; but that is what the Democratic party did, and on that proposition they led the unsatisfied and the simple-minded to the polls, like lambs to the slaughter. The Republican speakers warned them that free trade meant low wages and little work, an increased importation of foreign products and a decreased American production; that the use of foreign products meant the employment of foreign labor, and the employment of foreign labor meant the idleness of American labor.

Experience had taught this and common sense had confirmed it, yet the stampede went on and protection was doomed. Mr. Cleveland's election at once threw the manufacturing interests into a panic. They believed that the new Administration would carry out their pledge to repeal the McKinley law, and they knew that a business crash would follow. It was their duty to prepare for the storm, and they did it at once. They began by reducing expenses. They ceased buying raw material. They disposed of stocks on hand as best they could. They discharged part of their workmen, and reduced the wages or hours of those retained. They made every possible retrenchment to meet the new condition and escape absolute bankruptcy. That started the worst industrial panic the country had ever seen, and continued it with increasing intensity until McKinley was elected. I tell you, gentlemen, that though the act may have been done in the form and under the color of law, *the change wrought in the country by the tariff legislation, in the ruin it wrought, in the capital it destroyed, in the labor it made idle, in the army of tramps it recruited, and in the beggary it entailed on men, women, and children, causes it to rank, in the black annals of history, as the crime of the nineteenth century.* In the year 1893 the railroad stocks of this country depreciated to the extent of \$760,000,000, and men of wealth were made poor; nor did the rich alone suffer; the estates inherited by widows and orphans, many of them in amounts of a few hundred or a few thousand dollars, were reduced. The capital lost or rendered unavailable made sad inroads into the business interests and drove many to bankruptcy. Every class seems to have been under the free-trade ban. Like the locusts of Egypt, it has devoured all and spared none. Like the plague, it has been no respecter of persons. Its rule was strictly a case of equal ruin to all and special privileges to none. There were no exceptions, and even the soup houses were open to the rich and the poor alike.

Nearly every Democrat who has spoken on this bill has given as a reason for his opposition to it that "it will build up rich corporations and make the rich richer and the poor poorer." This is the cheapest kind of campaign trash, and is an insult to the intelligence of the American people to whom it is addressed. A rich man invests his money in business that he may become richer. *If this bill will make the rich richer, it will do so by making business better.* In the historic words of Flanagan, "That is what we are here for." I am sure that is what the members on this side of the House are here for, and I hope that the vote on this bill will indicate that some of the members on the other side are here for the same purpose. We have had an object lesson given us by the Cleveland Administration, in placing the country in a condition in which the rich could have no hope of becoming richer, but the poor could have increased facilities for becoming poorer. The result was that capital retired from business and labor was idle.

THE PANIC OF 1893 COMMENCED THE MORNING AFTER THE ELECTION IN 1892."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, Feb. 4, 1904.

What happened following the election in November, 1892, and what was the cause of it? In order that we may rightly understand that, we must recall the character of platform declaration upon which Mr. Cleveland came into power.

It will be remembered that in the platform of 1892 the Democratic party denounced the McKinley tariff law as a culminating atrocity—I think that is the phrase they used—and they demanded its immediate repeal and gave a pledge to the country that if they should succeed at the elections and have the power intrusted to them necessary thereunto, they would repeal that law and they would substitute a tariff-for-revenue-only law, which is only another name for free trade. They succeeded. The morning after the election it was announced to this country not only that Mr. Cleveland had been a second time elected President of the United States, but also that Congress would be Democratic in both Houses—a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House of Representatives.

So, Mr. President, the announcement of that election was an announcement that we were not only to have a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress, but a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress pledged to repeal the McKinley law, to change the industrial policies of the country, and substitute instead of the policy of protection the policy of free trade, or the near approach to it of a tariff for revenue only. What was the consequence? Every prudent business man in this country knew that if the industrial policies were to be thus radically changed, it would be well for him to consider what the consequences would be upon him in his business.

We commonly speak of the panic that broke upon the country in 1893 as the panic of 1893. But Mr. President, *that panic which broke upon us, apparently very suddenly, in 1893 was a panic that commenced the morning after the election in 1892.* That panic commenced when the thoughtful, prudent, and conservative business men of this country read the result of that election and commenced to study what would be its consequences.

If a man was a banker he knew that a radical change in our industrial policy made it necessary that he should consider what would be the effect upon him, and, not knowing the measure of the effect, or perhaps whether it would be good or bad, determined, as he went to his place of business that morning, that he would look over the list of bills receivable and see which of his debtors he should call upon to pay; and every manufacturer, as he went to his place of business, considered whether or not he could not shorten the pay-roll, and men who had given orders for materials to be manufactured commenced to consider whether they could not cancel the same or modify them.

So it went on until shortly it became known to every man in business that all his neighbors were feeling just as he was feeling, and when this feeling became general then came the breaking upon the country of that panic which brought us so much disaster and continued throughout the period of that Administration.

During two of the years of the Cleveland Administration the balances of trade were against us. During only two of the four years were those balances in our favor, and then only small balances they were. But the very moment that the Republican party was successful at the elections of 1896 business conditions began to improve, slowly, hesitatingly for some months, until the Administration had come into power, and until it could be made plain to the country that less than a majority of this body would be able to so legislate with respect to the tariff as to repeal the Wilson-Gorman law and substitute the Dingley law, as it is now known, in its stead.

But as soon as that was an accomplished fact, the wheels began to turn; men were called from idleness to employment; business conditions revived, and prosperity set in and has continued without interruption until now we have the greatest prosperity in the history of this or any other country on the face of the earth.

"THE GREATEST CALAMITY TO THE HUMAN RACE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. EBEN W. MARTIN, of South Dakota, in daily Congressional Record, Nov. 27, 1903.

I have taken the trouble to examine some of the official figures, and I am able to assure the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] that he was scientifically and historically accurate in a statement which he made upon the floor of this House in the month of February, 1902, when he said in our hearing that the second election of Grover Cleveland was the greatest calamity that has happened to the human race since the fall of Adam.

The last two and a half years of the Administration of Benjamin Harrison were under the operation of the McKinley tariff. During that entire Administration of Benjamin Harrison the receipts exceeded the disbursements of a Republican House and Senate by \$205,000,000, and during the Harrison Administration the Republicans were able to reduce the national debt in the sum of \$259,000,000. The first eighteen months of the Cleveland Administration only were under the McKinley tariff law. During those months it is true that the Democratic expenditures exceeded their receipts by several million dollars, but the discrepancy in the Treasury during that period was due less to the McKinley tariff than to the great and yawning disparity between the receipts and the budget of Democratic expenditures.

If the expenditures of the first year and a half of the Cleveland Administration had been no greater than for the like period of the Harrison Administration, there would have been a surplus of something like \$30,000,000 during Cleveland's Administration under the McKinley tariff. The fact stands out in history that upon the adoption of the Wilson-Gorman tariff, in August, 1894, the receipts began systematically to be reduced. There was no reduction, but an increase, in expenditures. There was not a year during the Cleveland Administration that the expenditures were not vastly in excess of the receipts; and taking the four years together the expenditures under their Democratic budget were \$187,000,000 in excess of their receipts.

The exact figures are as follows:

March 1, 1893, to March 1, 1894: Receipts \$323,463,100.76; disbursements, \$371,269,576.28; deficiency, \$47,806,475.52.

March 1, 1894, to March 1, 1895: Receipts, \$308,725,956.58; disbursements, \$366,650,441.79; deficiency, \$57,924,485.21.

March 1, 1895, to March 1, 1896: Receipts, \$325,254,564.51; disbursements, \$351,094,307.53; deficiency, \$25,839,743.02.

March 1, 1896, to March 1, 1897: Receipts, \$308,481,047.69; disbursements, \$364,559,067.55; deficiency, \$56,078,019.86.

For the four years: Receipts, \$1,265,924,669.54; disbursements, \$1,453,573,393.15; deficiency, \$187,648,723.61.

The McKinley tariff became operative October 6, 1890, and the Wilson-Gorman tariff, August 28, 1894.

During the period of the McKinley tariff, under the Harrison Administration, there was a surplus of receipts over disbursements of \$54,504,288.80. During the period of the Wilson-Gorman tariff of the Cleveland Administration, which was practically the last two and one-half years of that Administration, the expenditures exceeded the revenues by \$110,879,005.48. *It is evident, therefore, that the trouble with the Cleveland Administration was not the McKinley tariff. The trouble with that Administration was the inadequate revenue from the Wilson-Gorman tariff and extravagant expenditures in a period of profound peace.*

There is another side to this. Notwithstanding the Spanish war and the immense expenditures incident to it, and the wider responsibilities our Government has assumed, we have systematically reduced the national debt until the annual interest charge of \$33,000,000 bequeathed to us by the Cleveland Administration has been reduced to an annual interest charge of twenty-four millions. We have during this period issued something like \$445,000,000 of 2 per cent. bonds with which we have redeemed a large proportion of the 4 and 5 per cent. bonds of Cleveland's Administration and other outstanding 3 per cent. bonds. Our 2 per cent bonds are at a premium, so that the highest rate of interest you can realize on a Government bond purchased in the market to-day is 1.7 per cent.

DID CHEAPNESS PRODUCE HAPPINESS?"—"NO; IT PRODUCED MISERY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. N. JOHNSON, of North Dakota, in House of Representatives, March 24, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 207.

Mr. Cleveland taught the doctrine in 1887 that the tariff was a tax and prices were too high.

They held out to the laboring men of the country these promises of cheap bread, cheap clothing, cheap everything. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] yesterday was well within the bounds of Democratic orthodoxy when he said that for every dollar that under a protective tariff actually reaches the Federal Treasury five dollars stop in the coffers of the protected industries. That is Democratic doctrine. Four years ago many people believed it was sound and true.

Under a promise to stop this robbery and make everything cheap, the Democrats and Populists got control of the country. We agreed with them that if these theories were put into governmental operation they would produce cheapness, but we denied that cheapness meant happiness. That was the difference between us. The result was what we predicted. A tariff for revenue only resulted in cheaper wool, cheaper bread, cheaper everything; there was no doubt about that; but *did cheapness produce happiness, as they said it would? No; it produced misery, just as we said it would.*

Now, then, instead of admitting the folly of their philosophy, instead of coming to the altar as penitents, last fall they exploited another humbug to the people. [Laughter.] Now, then, these very same gentlemen who four years ago promised happiness through cheapness cry out against "falling prices," "shrinkage of values," and other synonyms for the "cheapness" they deliberately produced, and actually tried to make people believe that it was the remote and speculative act of 1873, and not the act of 1894, that gave us both cheapness and misery. Then the cry was, "stop the robbery, no matter if it stops our industries." Now the jugglery is to try and make the farmers and laborers believe that they will get higher prices and better wages if only paid in a depreciated currency. Then they were apostles of cheapness; now they are preachers of inflation. The producers of the country want the best dollar in the world; and if they can only get again the prices and wages, the markets and opportunities they had, even during the poorest years of Republican supremacy, they will be very thankful. In the tariff debate in 1892 I made a prediction which I will now read. It is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 22, page 3006. I then said:

Sheep industry, like every other industry, has its natural and unnatural enemies, against which it must be successfully defended before it can thrive and prosper. Sheep are constantly exposed to the danger of injury from vicious dogs and wolves, and scab and foot rot, and Democracy.

[Loud laughter and applause.]

The most destructive of all these is Democracy. The enactment of this law would be fatal to more sheep in a single season than have been destroyed by the combined depredations of dogs and wolves and scab and foot rot in twenty years.

[Renewed applause.]

I challenge search from one end of the Old Testament to the other for a prophecy that has been more literally fulfilled than this. [Laughter and applause.] At that time we had 47,000,000 sheep; now we have only 36,000,000. The destruction wrought is not measured by the loss of the 11,000,000 sheep that have had their throats cut; not only by the depreciated value of the survivors, amounting to \$63,000,000, but by the still greater loss in the depreciated value of the wool clip, amounting to \$99,000,000 in these four years.

"AFTER DEMOCRATIC SUCCESS IN 1892."—"CONFIDENCE FLED, AND THE COUNTRY WAS ENGULFED IN THE VORTEX OF COMMERCIAL RUIN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. E. D. CRUMPACKER of Indiana in House of Representatives, July 19, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 272.

The permanent redemption fund in the Treasury was never in jeopardy until after Democratic success in 1892. No one seriously questioned the ability of the Government to keep all of the currency at par with gold until after that fateful event, though the issue of silver and paper currency had more than doubled since the amount of the redemption fund was settled.

But, sir, a change, a fundamental change, in our industrial policy was decreed by the American people, and its effects were immediate and startling. The details of the policy to be inaugurated could not be known until the incoming Administration gave the country its proposed tariff-reform law, but it was known that the policy of protection would be superseded by some kind of a free-trade substitute. *Enough was known to create a condition of dense and impenetrable uncertainty. Enough was known to stifle enterprise and paralyze activity.* Importers, upon whose business operations the revenues of the country largely depended, reduced their importations to the minimum. This was in obedience to plain business law. A lower schedule of duties was to be enacted, and no prudent merchant or importer would attempt to carry any considerable stock of dutiable goods in the face of that fact.

All kinds of enterprise dependent on or affected by the tariff began at once to prepare for the advent of the new policy. The result was inevitable. "Coming events cast their shadows before them." A material decrease of importations resulted in a corresponding falling off of the revenues. This effect was noticeable during the last two months of the Harrison Administration. It was anticipatory entirely, and Secretary Foster, with characteristic sagacity, foresaw it, and advised measures to fortify the gold reserve, which would inevitably be endangered. The gold reserve is not a segregated fund, but is liable for the payment of general demands against the Government. It consists only of a general balance which the Government keeps in gold coin for the purposes of redemption, and thereby maintains all other currency at par with gold.

This fund fell from \$124,000,000 in November, 1892, to \$103,000,000 in February, 1893, and the tendency was still downward. It was obvious that the reserve could not be maintained at the minimum of \$100,000,000 in the face of a rapidly decreasing revenue, resulting from the falling off of importations under the influence of a proposed radical change in the tariff policy of the country; consequently Secretary Foster advised the issue and sale of \$50,000,000 of Government bonds, under a power vested in the executive department, to provide for the redemption of Treasury notes. The gold balance was greater in November, 1892, than in any other month during the year, excepting March. It was in a safe condition, and under a continuation of the Republican tariff policy there was nothing to excite apprehension or cause alarm.

But early in 1893 it became manifest that business principles were asserting themselves; that the revenues would become inadequate and the gold reserve be endangered. This uncertain and alarming condition, combined with former shipments of gold to Europe and general domestic overtrading, put in double the ability of the Government to keep the silver and paper currency at par with gold. It seemed likely that gold would go to a premium, and money holders made a mad rush upon the Treasury to secure that metal for the purpose of hoarding. *Confidence fled, and the country was helplessly engulfed in the awful vortex of commercial ruin. That fearful national disaster, sir, was the logical, the necessary result of the proposed repeal of the protective policy. The havoc was aggravated by contributory forces, but that cause precipitated the trouble. It was the judgment of economic law and the price of Democratic victory.*

THE ILLS NOW COMPLAINED OF ARE THOSE WHICH ARE THE PRODUCTS OF PROSPEROUS TIMES."

Excerpt from remarks of Hon. JOHN F. LACEY of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, January 21, 1904.

The Republican campaign maxim in 1892 was founded upon very satisfactory existing conditions. The people were very prosperous, labor was employed, business steadily increasing, and the slogan of the party of protection was then voiced in four words, "Let well enough alone!" Our Democratic opponents raised the battle cry, "Let us have a change!" If we insisted that we were "doing well enough," the answer was to the effect, "Then quit it." If we answered that we were "prosperous and in a sound, safe, and secure condition," the answer was, "Move on; never stand still."

The demand for "a change, constant change," was asserted with great force in every part of the country. We had a change. We moved out of 1892 into 1893. We passed from the light into outer darkness. What the people wanted was a change of rulers and a change of laws, coupled with the retention of existing good conditions. We got the change of rulers and the change of laws. This change they thought they wanted. They got not a change of conditions; a thing they did not want. They could at least say that they were not standing still; they were moving, but they were moving downhill. The country remembers these conditions. It can not easily forget them. But our adversity remained until the people once more returned to protection and declared for the gold standard and sound money. The law was changed, and the conditions responded with good cheer.

In 1896 our Democratic opponents did not have the heart to resume their assaults on the protective policy. Those four years were exceptionally calamitous to the farmer. It was thought that by the adoption of the Wilson law though we might lose somewhat on our home market, our exports would greatly increase so far as agricultural products were concerned. We threw away our great home market for the markets of the world. But the markets of the world did not respond. The Des Moines (Iowa) Register, a sterling protection newspaper, prepared from official sources a report of the loss of the farmers during those four years, which I will here insert in my remarks:

Four Years' Loss on Farm Crops.

Loss on farm animals.....	\$2,560,422,968
Loss on wheat crops.....	300,832,581
Loss on corn crops.....	363,725,658
Loss on oat crops.....	138,481,331
Loss on hay crop, three years.....	464,739,066
Loss on potato crops, three years.....	83,291,365
Loss on barley crops, three years.....	7,250,377
Loss on cotton crops.....	221,863,355
Loss on wool crops.....	111,272,023
Loss on tobacco crops, three years.....	29,873,517
Loss on rye crops, two years.....	1,864,142
Loss on buckwheat crop, two years.....	172,137

Total loss on four years' crops.....\$4,283,787,520

Loss on farm products—Exports.

Year.	Total exports.	Decrease from 1892.
1892.....	\$790,328,232	.....
1893.....	615,382,986	\$183,945,246
1894.....	628,363,638	170,965,194
1895.....	553,210,026	246,118,206
1896.....	571,899,845	228,428,387
Total loss on 4 years' exports.....	.....	\$820,457,033

Instead of the farmer's products being exported in an increased volume, as compared with the period of the McKinley Act in 1892, the four years showed the remarkable falling off of more than \$800,000,000. We threw away our home market and went skirmishing for the "markets of the world." We threw away the substance for the shadow. We found it a decreasing and alluring shadow.

The Democracy surrendered back their ill-used power in 1897, and the Republicans settled the money question by adopting the gold standard, and the tariff question by passing the Dingley law.

For six years these twin policies have been in successful operation. The ills now complained of are those which are the products of prosperous times. Increased capital and wealth have been accompanied by combinations which have been declared illegal by law. The present Administration is more vigorously enforcing laws against trusts and combinations than has any of its predecessors. The solution of the trust question is not to destroy capital, but to control its operations.

"THE UNITED STATES UNDER DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION HELPLESSLY INSOLVENT."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, November 27, 1903.

Upon the election of President Cleveland there was a practical suspension of income, of the revenues of the Government, into the Treasury of the United States. It was natural; it was inevitable. It would happen again if somebody other than Roosevelt should be elected President next year. It was inevitable because the Democratic party came into power with this same proclamation of hostility to the McKinley law.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it was inevitable, because trade stood still, paralyzed, waiting to see what the Democratic party would do; and so early in the month of February there was a condition of uncertainty as to whether the Treasury might be able to meet its requirements. Not during the Administration of Harrison. My friends are all wrong upon that, whether, projecting the conditions forward into a few early months of the Administration of the incoming President, there might not be a condition of inability upon the part of the Treasury to meet its requirements, and especially to maintain the gold reserve at \$100,000,000.

Thereupon Mr. Secretary Foster, after consideration of the whole subject and discussion with the President, approached the incoming Administration through its supposed Secretary of the Treasury.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to send to the Clerk's desk and avail myself of the brief period that it will take the Clerk to read a letter of Secretary Foster:

Hon. J. B. FORAKER,

POSTORIA, OHIO, October 28, 1903.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your favor of the 27th this moment received. Hammon's statement is quite vague. He says: "In 1893 when the Democratic party came into power the Republican Administration had bankrupted the Government. When Cleveland entered the White House there were bonds already signed by the Republican Administration. They had barely managed to tide over until we got into office, and then we had to take the stigma that came as the result of their unwise administration."

The charge that the Government was bankrupt when Cleveland came into power is ridiculous. The revenues up to that time, and until the end of that fiscal year, exceeded the expenditures. The usual charge is the one made by GAINES in the Nashville American, copied in the Enquirer of the 21st, that "Secretary Foster prepared plates for bonds to tide over a deficit. The facts are that as soon as it was known that Cleveland was elected, November, 1892, it became apparent that there was great danger, on account of importations being held back for lower duties, that the gold reserve would fall below \$100,000,000 required, not by law, but by implication of law. After consulting fully with Senator Sherman, I made up my mind that it was my duty to maintain the gold reserve even if I had to do it by the sale of bonds. The only bonds authorized were those of the resumption act of 1875, all bearing high rates of interest and running a long time.

I suppose to assist me, Senator Sherman introduced an amendment to an appropriation bill in the Senate authorizing an issue of a 3 per cent. short time bond. Mr. Carlisle, who was then known to be the incoming Secretary, was consulted by the Senator and approved Mr. Sherman's amendment. I passed the Senate by an almost unanimous vote. This was about the 22d of February. Upon its passage, fearing that I might be compelled to issue bonds for the purchase of gold, I directed the superintendent of the printing office to prepare plates for this bond—a better bond for my purposes than those already authorized. I did this upon the belief at the time that an act approved by the incoming Secretary that passed the Senate, receiving a large share of the Democratic votes of that body, would also pass the House. But in this I was mistaken. The House refused to pass it, and the plates were not prepared, and there were no bonds already signed, as stated by Mr. Hammon. But my letter directing the preparation is used in evidence that the plates were prepared and that a deficit existed.

To go a little further in this matter, I had fixed upon \$50,000,000 as the amount of gold I would buy, and I had an understanding with the bankers in New York to this effect, but they stipulated they would take the bonds in installments of \$10,000,000 a week. If this was done it would devolve upon Secretary Carlisle to execute a part of my contract. The bankers desired Secretary Carlisle's concurrence in the arrangement. In this emergency I called upon Senator GORMAN, stating the facts to him and saying that most of my Republican friends thought I had better not do anything in the way of the maintenance of the gold reserve, yet I deemed it my duty as Secretary of the Treasury to continue to do until the last hour of my term what I would do if I were to be continued in office. In this I was sustained by Senator Sherman.

Mr. GORMAN heartily approved and sent a messenger for Mr. Carlisle. Mr. Carlisle soon made his appearance, and seemed greatly pleased at what I proposed, and next day went to see Mr. Cleveland. Upon his return I was informed that he would execute the part of the plan that would devolve upon him, and that Mr. Cleveland also approved.

To sum up, the Treasury was not bankrupt at any time, and there was no deficit at any time, no plates for bonds, and no bonds were signed.

No bonds were sold. I managed to maintain the gold reserve, turning over to my successor about \$103,000,000.

I believe that if the Harrison Administration had been continued the revenues and the gold reserve would have increased and the condition then prevailing would have improved.

The panic and deplorable condition following Cleveland's election was wholly due to two causes: First, the known purpose of the Democratic party to adopt a revenue tariff, which at once affected the imports and paralyzed all industries and business, and, secondly, the known incapacity of the Democratic party then coming into power to agree upon efficient legislation afterwards so painfully demonstrated.

Very truly, etc.

CHARLES FOSTER.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Chairman, that seems to be candid. Secretary Foster looked forward into the future and saw that the Treasury of the United States must, under Democratic Administration, become hopelessly insolvent; and before the administration of Grover Cleveland closed we who were Members then of the House were called upon to vote for loans amounting in the aggregate to \$262,500,000.

FOLLOWING THE ELECTION IN 1892."—"CONFIDENCE WAS DESTROYED."—"A HALT WAS CALLED IN ALL THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEORGE W. STEELE of Indiana, in House of Representatives, March 25, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 123.

Following the election in 1892, there was a great change in the industrial outlook. Confidence was destroyed in anticipation of legislation inimical to the development of manufactures, and a halt was called in all the great industrial enterprises which were adding to the wealth and population of the State, and to the prosperity of its people. Merchants began to trim their sails like the mariner in the face of an impending storm, expenditures were curtailed, and the goods manufactured during the winter of 1892, in anticipation of a ready sale in 1893, became a glut on the market and went begging for purchasers. In the end the manufacturers were forced to sell the output of their mills at a price below the cost of production. It was under such conditions that the manufacturers of Alabama, who have been referred to, sold products abroad at ruinously low prices for the want of a better market at home.

As a necessary consequence, factories were closed by hundreds, and thousands upon thousands of wage earners were deprived of employment. Many of them took the road as tramps who would not have dreamed of so doing under the conditions which prevailed in this country prior to 1892. Some of them, who had before been the willing customers of farmers and gardeners, themselves became competitors of those whom they had formerly patronized, and raised vegetables in their own little gardens. There was a decreased consumption of agricultural products, caused by an inability of the factory employee to supply his real wants by purchase from the farmer, who also suffered. There was a decrease even in the amount of wheat consumed in the United States from 1892 to 1895 of over 2 bushels per capita, notwithstanding the greatly reduced price of this commodity.

The conditions prevailing in the Indiana gas belt from 1888 to 1892 came within my personal knowledge. I know that during that period all those who desired employment could obtain it at good wages in the multiplying manufactories of that section. Wage earners were buying lots and building their own homes, furnishing them tastefully, dressing their families well, sending their children to school, and providing for the wants of those who depended upon them in a liberal manner. They were accumulating money in savings banks and building and loan associations. Under such conditions they were willing and able to pay to the farmer and market gardener, the tradesman, merchant, and mechanic, a fair price for what he had to sell, and let me here bear testimony to the fact that there is no class of people which more cheerfully pays a fair price for articles of consumption than the employees of our manufacturing establishments when they receive fair compensation and steady employment.

I can look back over the four years to 1892, and see hundreds and hundreds of factories filled with thousands of happy and contented employees, great pillars of flame arising from the chimneys of busy factories, and can hear the roar of the furnaces and the whir of turning wheels, the surroundings of these employees in their homes denoting a generally diffused prosperity. Within a year of that time scores of great establishments stood idle, with dead furnaces and broken window lights denoting the blight which had fallen upon industry. In the homes of their idle employees there were evidences of poverty. Two and three families were crowded into houses formerly occupied by one. Homes they were building and paying for had to be sacrificed.

The effect of the reductions made by the Wilson-Gorman law on farm products is demonstrated by reference to the statistical report of the Secretary of Agriculture for the year 1896 in the State which I have in part the honor to represent, viz:

In 1880 the live stock of Indiana was valued at \$78,806,248, increasing steadily in value until 1893, when high-water mark was reached at \$113,785,244, an increase of \$34,978,996. From 1893 to 1896 there was a decrease from \$113,785,244 to \$67,301,956, a difference to the bad of \$46,483,288.

**"CLEVELAND WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT."—"THE
BUSINESS OF THIS COUNTRY WAS
EVERYWHERE PARALYZED."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. S. S. BARNEY of Wisconsin, in
House of Representatives, March 30, 1897, and printed in Ap-
pendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 13.*

Our Democratic friends were continually going up and down the country howling to the people about how they were paying taxes upon their hats, upon their coats, upon their shoes, and upon everything which they ate upon the breakfast table or upon the dinner table, and that they were lying down at night and sleeping upon a taxed bed, and were being robbed on all hands by this robber system of taxation. Yet, notwithstanding all this, during these twenty-five years the people of this country prospered as no people have ever prospered in the history of the whole world; and I undertake to say that *the material wealth of this country increased more rapidly in those years than it ever had before in this or any other country for a century.*

There is another fact to which I desire to call your attention in this connection, and that is that not only had the manufacturing interests and the business men of this country prospered during those times, not only had the farmers and the professional men prospered, but there never was a period in the history of the whole world when the common everyday laborer prospered as he did during all of that time; and I venture the statement, without any fear that it can be successfully contradicted, that there never was a time when a day's wages would buy more of the necessities, and even luxuries, of life than it would on the 1st day of January, 1892, and more, that *there was not a single man in this country, North, South, East, or West, who could not get employment at good, remunerative wages if he wished to work.*

In the campaign of 1892, which all of us well remember, our Democratic friends went up and down the country telling these same people, who were then prospering as they never had prospered before, that they were being oppressed; that they were being robbed by this system of taxation, and that all that was necessary to do in order to bring about complete happiness to the people of this country was to tear down this system of protective tariff and establish a tariff for revenue only. They were chanting the same song that they have been singing upon this floor ever since this bill has been under discussion. Well, the people of this country, prosperous as they were, were convinced that this was true, and in the Presidential campaign of that year voted for a change of American policy; voted in favor of a party which, for the first time in the history of this country, placed in its platform the statement that a tariff for protection was unconstitutional and therefore void; voted to place in power a party which was pledged to revise the whole revenue system of the country and to give us a tariff bill framed upon the principle of raising revenue as against that of both revenue and protection. Now, what was the result of that change? Within less than six months after the news flashed through the country that Grover Cleveland was elected President of the United States *the business of this country was paralyzed everywhere. Hundreds of thousands of men were turned out of employment; mills were closed; factories were stopped; banks were wrecked; business men failed, and desolation spread over the land where for years before that time there had been prosperity and good times; and from that day to this this pall of depression has continued to rest upon this country. Laboring men are out of employment; those who have employment are working upon short time and at reduced wages. Men who are willing to work are traveling our highways begging for bread, and for the first time in the history of this country, not long after the election of 1892, an army of tramps was even besieging the capital of this country.*

"THINGS TO BE REMEMBERED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

There can be no general prosperity in this country until we stop the conspiracy of those who would make gold the only standard of the world. (Bryan's First Battle, p. 41.)

If we are defeated in this campaign, there is nothing before the people but four years more of hard times and greater agitation and then victory will come. (Bryan at Baltimore, September 19, 1896.)

We know that victory did not come for Mr. Bryan in 1900, but was this defeat in 1896 followed by four years more of hard times? Let the unassailable figures answer.

	1897 (fiscal year).	1901 (fiscal year).
Exports.....	\$1,050,000,000	\$1,487,000,000
Imports.....	764,000,000	823,000,000
Government revenue.....	847,000,000	587,000,000
Factory production.....	10,000,000,000	14,000,000,000
Export manufactures.....	200,000,000	450,000,000
Postal receipts.....	82,000,000	111,000,000
Railroad mileage.....	184,591	198,787
Gold production.....	57,000,000	78,000,000
Silver production.....	69,000,000	77,000,000
Interest on public debt.....	34,000,000	29,000,000
Gold in Treasury.....	696,000,000	1,124,000,000
Deposits, national banks.....	1,613,000,000	3,044,000,000
Deposits, savings banks.....	1,935,000,000	2,650,000,000
Railroad earnings, net.....	369,000,000	558,000,000

Mr. Bryan predicted four years more of hard times unless the country went Democratic in 1896, but it went Republican, and instead of four years more of hard times, things got better each year, resulting in no decreases (except \$5,000,000 decrease in the yearly interest on the public debt), but in increases all along the line. Giving his prediction the full four years to become effective, analysis of the above figures shows increases in the fourth year as follows, under Republican policies and control:

	Increases 1901 over 1897
Exports	\$437,000,000
Imports	59,000,000
Government revenue	240,000,000
Factory production	4,000,000,000
Postal receipts	29,000,000
Production of gold	21,000,000
Production of silver	8,000,000
Gold in Treasury	428,000,000
Deposits, national banks	1,431,000,000
Deposits, savings banks	715,000,000
Railroad earnings, net	189,000,000
Total Republican increases	\$7,557,000,000

And the list of increases might be largely extended.

These results prove that Mr. Bryan's false prophecies and reckless assertions did more harm than good to the Democratic cause in 1896, and repeated their mischief with worse results to Bryan's party in 1900.

THINGS TO BE REMEMBERED.

Remember 1893-1896 and the days of industrial gloom.

Remember 1893-1896 and the thousands of capable mechanics looking in vain for work.

Remember 1893-1896 and the hundreds of thousands of laborers walking the streets from sunrise to sunset looking for the work which could not be found.

Remember 1893-1896 and the countless number of women and children waiting, faint with hunger, for the bread which never came.

Remember 1893-1896 and the heartsickness, the worry, the unpaid and unpayable debts, and all the many ills that attend the man out of work.

Remember 1893-1896 and the landlord waiting at the door for the rent money, which could not be provided.

Remember 1893-1896, when the factory whistle failed to blow for another day's work, another day's pay.

Remember 1893-1896 and the wives and children wanting clothes.

Remember 1893-1896 and the home comforts which were wanting.

Remember 1893-1896 and the un-American soup houses and other forms of charity necessary to relieve those who need no relief when they can get work.

Remember 1893-1896 and the delusive promises made by the Democratic party in the campaign of 1892.

Remember 1893-1896 and the fulfilled promises made by the Republican party in the campaign of 1896.

Remembering those Republican promises and their fulfillment in the years since, calling to mind the unfulfilled Democratic promises and the bitter years of 1893-1896, what will you gain by voting the Democratic ticket in 1904?

"THE LINE OF DEMARCATION."

"THE CONFEDERATE CONSTITUTION."—"NO DUTIES TO PROMOTE INDUSTRY."—"THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM."—"ADJUSTMENT OF IMPOSTS TO ENCOURAGE THE INDUSTRIAL INTEREST."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, page 4640 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

But I wish to put into my speech on this point, as marking the line of demarcation, just two things. In the first place, I will ask the Clerk to read section 8, paragraph 1, of the CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Sec. 8. The Congress shall have power—

"1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defense, and carry on the government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the treasury; *nor shall any duties or taxes on importations on foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry*; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States."

The Clerk read from the Republican platform of 1860:

"Sec. 12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, *sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country*; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence."

"THE BOY PROTECTIONIST."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. E. MASON of Illinois, page 4831 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

I am like the boy who hired his sister to make his shirts. Some one said, "You could have taken those shirts to the factory and had them made and saved \$2." "Yes," said the boy protectionist, "Sister Sally got a pretty fair price. She always pays me well for what I do for her. That two-dollar bill is still under the same roof with me, and if sickness or trouble or hard luck comes to any of our family that money is there in the house."

The free-trade boy calls his sister a New England tariff robber.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY." — THEY WANDERED FROM THEIR ORIGINAL POSITION.

Extracts from remarks of Hon. W. B. SHATTUC of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, March 31, 1900.

In 1856 the Democratic party announced in its platform that—

The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of progressive free trade throughout the world.

In 1860 they reaffirmed this proposition, and the people rejected their free-trade proposition by the selection of an electoral college which 59.4 was against them.

In 1864 they were so busy in declaring the war a failure that they omitted altogether to discuss the tariff question.

In 1868 they so far forgot their free-trade principles of 1860 that they declared in their platform for—

A tariff for revenue and such equal taxation under the internal-revenue laws as will offer incidental protection to domestic manufacturers and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

This led the people in that year to return an electoral college of which 72.7 per cent was adverse to the Democratic party.

In 1872 they wandered still farther from their original position in free trade, and announced in their platform that—

Recognizing that there are honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion in regard to the various systems of protection and free trade, we submit the subject to the people in their Congressional districts and the decisions of Congress thereon.

The electoral college in that year giving 81.9 per cent of its vote to the Republican candidate.

The abandonment of their original free-trade proposition having proved an utter failure, they, in 1876, concluded to return to their former position, and in their platform announced that—

We denounce the present [protective] tariff. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad and depleted the returns of American agriculture.

This assertion that the protective system was cutting down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad and depleting the returns of American agriculture reads queerly to-day in the light of subsequent history.

In 1880 the party declared for a "tariff for revenue only," taking care to make no detailed reference to protection or free trade. This platform and the candidate were rejected by an electoral college which gave to the Republican Presidential candidate 58 per cent of the total vote.

In 1884 the Democracy made another great wobble. It found its free-trade principles distasteful to the American public.

It therefore declared that—

The Democratic party is pledged to the revision of the tariff in the spirit of fairness to all interests; but in making reductions in taxation it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. Many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step careful of the labor and capital thus involved.

Strangely, in 1888, the Democratic party, notwithstanding the fact that they had in 1884 been successful upon a platform which promised protection to labor and capital, so far departed from the principles of that success as to say in its platform that—

We indorse the last annual message of President Cleveland as the correct interpretation of the platform of 1884 "upon the question of tariff reduction."

And as this message, thus indorsed as "the correct interpretation of the platform of 1884," was the celebrated free-trade message, the people in the election of 1888 rejected the Democratic party and its candidate by an electoral vote of which 58.3 per cent was in favor of the Republican protectionist candidate.

In 1892, by a series of misrepresentations and denunciations of the McKinley protective tariff, they succeeded in again inducing the voters to make one more experiment in free trade. The result of that election of 1892, which brought into power a free-trade President and Congress, was a lesson to the people of the United States which they are not likely to soon forget.

From 1892 to 1896, while the Democratic party was last in control, the depression of business, the suspension of manufacturing interests, and the sufferings of workingmen whose earnings depended upon business prosperity and activity, which had resulted from Republican protection in earlier years, formed a record such as this country had never seen and such as its voters are not likely to again desire to see.

"THAT TARIFF REVISION BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY—IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO EXAGGERATE THE DEVASTATION THAT FOLLOWED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. P. P. CAMPBELL, of Kansas printed in the Daily Congressional Record April 1, 1904.

In 1892, in the midst of plenty, surrounded by unusual conditions of prosperity, the Democratic party raised the old banner of opposition to the protective policy and again asked for an opportunity to revise the tariff. The policy of protection was then called a system of robbery that made the rich richer and the poor poorer and hothoused into prosperity one industry at the expense of another. The people had forgotten their country's history and said: "We'll try it." The depression and ruin that was inaugurated with that tariff revision by the Democratic party is vivid in the minds of all. It is impossible to exaggerate the condition of devastation that followed upon the ruins of every industry throughout the land. Banks suspended, factories closed, furnaces drew their fires, mills suspended work, agriculture was prostrated, industry of all kinds languished, values of farm products and farm animals went downward, farm values went to a low ebb, values of all commodities went down to the ruin of all industry.

There was little or no incentive to work upon the farm and nothing to do in the factory. This wreck of industry resulted in the loss of employment to more than 3,000,000 of workingmen, and those who were not let out of employment entirely were working upon less than one-half time. Railway employees, except those on scheduled trains were fortunate if they made one-third of their usual wages; coal miners were fortunate if they made one-fourth of their customary earnings, and factory operatives in all branches fared no better. Revenues were insufficient for expenses, and the Government took its bonds to the money lenders.

There were no complaints about trusts or combines. There was just one great organization brought into being during that period—Coxey's army—an army made up of men without work, who wanted something to do. These honest men had voted for tariff revision by the Democratic party. They were now marching upon Washington, demanding nothing but an opportunity to work.

These men, and all who went out of employment with them under the Gorman-Wilson tariff revision, had been, under the Republican policy of protection, large consumers of the best products in well supplied markets, but under the Democratic revised tariff they subsisted upon soup provided in large part by public charity. So sudden a change from a condition of employment that made possible a demand for better pay, as was done in 1892, to a condition of no employment at all, could only be repeated by again permitting the Democratic party to revise the tariff.

But, Mr. Chairman, it did not take long to get enough of the Gorman-Wilson tariff revision, and the election of 1896 called upon the Republican party to again give the American people the benefits of the protective policy.

The Dingley act restored that policy, and with that restoration came a return of prosperity. The whistles blew, and idle labor found its way to industries that were opening their doors throughout the land. Smokestacks throughout the country began again to emit in ceaseless streams the emblem of a country's prosperity and the hum of spindles made a song of gladness that echoed throughout the land. The 3,000,000 of men who went out of employment with the revision of the tariff by the Democratic party found employment in the enactment of the Dingley law by the Republican party, and a million and a half have been added to those who have employment in the industries of the country. Agriculture revived; banks rechartered and opened; industry of every kind acquired new life and energy. Every field of industrial life became a field of industrial activity. The railroads of the country added hundreds and thousands of men to their employees. * * *

The value of farm animals for the four years from 1889 to 1892 inclusive, was nine and three-quarter billions of dollars, in round numbers. The value of farm animals from 1893 to 1896, inclusive, was \$8,000,000,000, in round numbers—nearly two billions less. The value of farm products from 1889 to 1892, inclusive—that is, corn, wheat and oats—was five and a quarter billions of dollars, and the value of corn, wheat and oats from 1893 to 1896 was three and three-quarter billions of dollars; and the value of farm animals for the seven years following the enactment of the Dingley law was twenty and a quarter billions of dollars, and the value of corn, wheat and oats, nine billions of dollars.

"THE CLEVELAND BOND ISSUES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEORGE N. SOUTHWICK of New York, in House of Representatives, March 31, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 203.

To the present generation, therefore, the four Government bond issues during the four years of Democratic ascendancy at Washington which followed the triumph of November, 1892, were a fiscal anomaly. *Never before had it witnessed the issue of Government obligations in a time of profound peace; never before even a Treasury deficit at the end of a fiscal year.*

THE CLEVELAND BOND ISSUES.

Between March 4, 1893, and March 4, 1897, the Cleveland Administration issued bonds to the par value of \$262,315,400, on the sale of which the Government realized \$293,481,894. There were two issues each of \$50,000,000 of 5 per cent ten-year bonds and two issues of 4 per cent thirty-year bonds, one of \$62,315,400 and one of \$100,000,000. When 5 per cent shall have been paid on \$100,000,000 for ten years, and 4 per cent shall have been paid on \$162,315,400 for thirty years, it will be realized that the elevation of the Cleveland Democracy to power in 1892 cost the country, in the principal and interest of additional public debt, the enormous sum of \$507,093,880.

The Cleveland Administration during its four years of bond issues restored the public debt of the United States to the figures of 1886. It offset the steady reduction of the debt during the preceding seven years. On July 1, 1886, the principal of the public debt was \$1,783,438,697. On November 1 of the four years of bond issues the principal of the public debt made this exhibit:

November 1, 1893..	\$1,549,556,353	November 1, 1895..	\$1,717,481,779
November 1, 1894..	1,626,154,037	November 1, 1896..	1,785,412,610

Note the steady increase in the principal of the public debt as bonds were issued to raise money with which to pay current expenses and meet the constant deficit in the revenue!

A HIGHER ANNUAL INTEREST CHARGE.

Note also the steady increase in the most obnoxious of all our regular expenditures—interest on public debt—during the four years of bond issues! The total payments for interest during the fiscal year ending with June 30, 1892, were \$23,378,116. The four fiscal years following make this comparison:

June 30, 1893.....	\$27,264,392	June 30, 1895.....	\$30,978,030
June 30, 1894.....	27,841,406	June 30, 1896.....	35,385,029

Compared with the last full year of Republican administration, it will be seen that the Cleveland bond issues increased the annual charge for the 1896 year over the 1892 year by the enormous sum of \$12,006,913, a sum which amounts to nearly 2½ per cent of the entire annual expenses of the nation for all purposes.

SURPLUSES FOR OVER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

Permit me to call attention to the extraordinary showing made under the various revenue laws enacted by the Republican party from the close of the heavy war expenditures in 1866 down to the time when Mr. Cleveland and the Democracy were voted into power, pledged to overturn the protective system which had prevailed since the day when the signature of Abraham Lincoln gave the binding effect of law to the Morrill tariff bill of 1861. Every fiscal year's close, as already stated, netted the Treasury a surplus of revenues over expenditures. The surplus fluctuated from a maximum of \$145,543,811 in the year ending with June, 1882, to a minimum of \$2,341,674 for the year ending with June, 1893—the last fiscal year of a surplus. To my mind no greater testimonial to the capacity of the Republican party to manage the fiscal affairs of this great Government of ours wisely and well could be adduced or even desired than the record of the years intervening between 1866 and 1893.

DEMOCRATIC DEPRESSION AND DEFICITS.

I know of no more startling evidence of the incapacity of the Democratic party to administer the affairs of this vast and complex Government of the United States wisely and well than the wreck and ruin, the deficits and the bond issues, which marked the period beginning with March 4, 1893, and continuing for four years. Where, between 1866 and 1893, every Republican year produced an excess of national receipts over expenditures, between 1894 and 1897, every Democratic year produced a deficit.

"DEMOCRATIC INCOMPETENCY."—"THE SAME OLD FREE-TRADE HERESY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. ELMER J. BURKETT of Nebraska in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 30, 1904.

There never was an hour from the time that the civil war closed on an average, down to the beginning of the Administration of Grover Cleveland, when the Republican party did not pay off \$174,000 of the indebtedness of this country—every blessed hour that you and I have lived since the civil war. [Applause on the Republican side.] They paid that indebtedness because they had a surplus, and they had a surplus only because they did follow those rules. If the gentleman will go back six months previous to the time of the election of Grover Cleveland, he will find the *Northern American Review* and the *Forum* and the financial journals of the country with this sort of articles in them: "What shall we do with the surplus in the United States Treasury?" "What shall we base bank notes upon when the national debt is paid?" That was the problem during all those later years of the Harrison Administration.

Grover Cleveland was nominated and he was elected, and between that time and the 4th of March the income of this country was absolutely shut off, and why? Because business stopped. The people of this country understood, or thought they did, at least, the conditions under which they could bring goods into this country as soon as Grover Cleveland should be inaugurated and Democratic policies put into operation, and they absolutely stopped importation into the country, as the records show. As the importations were decreased, the revenues were decreased, the surplus decreased, and that last year, instead of having an enormous surplus, just as we had had every year before, in 1893 our income was cut down within two and a half millions of our expenses.

It was a close call, I admit, for a Republican Administration but it was a surplus. It was a pretty thin margin to skate on, but, sirs, thin as it was, close to the line as it was, it was miles and miles better than your sixty-nine millions of deficiency the next year.

After you had had control of affairs four years you handed them back to us, glad to escape the responsibility, and the very first thing that the Republican party had to do when it came into power after that Democratic Congress and that Democratic Administration was to appropriate in deficiencies, to pay the debts of this Government that your party did not have the money to pay to an amount of \$347,165,001.82. Not only that, but during those four years you went four times to the money markets of the world and you borrowed \$113,000,000, specifically to pay running expenses and issued bonds for it. You issued more bonds during that time but this amount is absolutely traceable to running expenses of the Government. In short, you borrowed \$113,000,000 on the bonds of the country and three hundred and forty-seven millions on other account and then left the Treasury empty and official salaries unpaid.

Now, that was the management of the Democratic party during the time they had the reins of government in their hands in this country. *Why should we expect you to do better in the future than you have in the past when you adhere to the same old free trade heresy?*

Now let me continue where I left off when interrupted. The last year I gave you was 1897, when you Democrats in time of peace had a deficiency of more than \$18,000,000. The next fiscal year, or that of 1898, was the first year under the McKinley Administration. It took us a little while to get our machinery started and then the Spanish war came upon us, and then the Philippine war, and they made millions of extra expense.

The first year of that Administration, or 1898, we had a deficiency of thirty-eight millions. In 1899 we spent eighty-nine millions more than our income. But there the story changed. In 1900 our surplus was nineteen millions; in 1901 it was seventy-seven millions; in 1902 ninety-one millions, and in 1903 our surplus was fifty-four millions. With that stupendous amount of surplus we have been paying our debts. We always do. That is also Republican policy. *When the Republican party turned the Government over into the hands of Democracy in 1893 the public debt, less cash in the Treasury, was exactly \$838,969,475.75. When you Democrats went out of office in 1897, after four years of peace that public debt was \$986,656,086.14.*

FROM BRYAN'S CHICAGO SPEECH.

"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TOSSED ABOUT ON THE HIGH SEAS OF DISRUPTION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. GILBERT N. HAUGEN of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, April 26, 1904.

I want to express my sympathy to the Democratic party in their hour of turmoil, confusion, and distress, wandering about like a rudderless ship encountering shoals and rocks, tossed about on the high seas of disruption, without issue or hope of reaching an agreement on either candidate or platform.

For the information of those who have cherished the hope of a reconciliation of the Democratic party, I read to you from Bryan's Chicago speech on the New York platform, the reorganized Democratic party and its prospective candidate—the party eulogized and defended by the eloquent gentleman from New York, Mr. COCKRAN, in his two hour free-trade speech of last Saturday:

PLATFORM FOR A DODGER.

The New York platform is a dishonest platform, fit only for a dishonest party. No one but an artful dodger would stand upon it. The submission of such a platform to the voters of a State is an insult to their intelligence, for it is intended to deceive them, and a deliberate attempt to deceive, especially so clumsy an attempt as this platform, is a reflection upon the brains of those to whom it is submitted.

This platform proves that the opposition to the Kansas City platform is not opposition to silver, but opposition to every needed reform and opposition to all that the masses desire.

I had expected that a platform prepared by Mr. Hill for Judge Parker would be evasive and lacking in frankness, but I did not conceive that any body of men calling themselves Democrats would present such a platform as a recommendation of a candidate. * * *

Can anyone doubt that with such a platform as was adopted in New York and with a candidate whose conscience would permit him to run upon such a platform—does anyone doubt that with such a platform and candidate the party would be mortgaged beforehand to the corporations that are now using the Government as a private asset and plundering the people at will? * * *

I for one am not willing that the Democratic party shall become the tool of the corporations. I am not willing that it shall be the champion of organized wealth.

ADVICE TO DEMOCRACY.

Let us drive out of the party every Democrat who betrays his trust, every official who would administer the office for his private advantage. Let us make Democracy stand not only for good government, for honest government, but for a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Indeed, you are entitled to sympathy. With this disruption in your ranks and your distracted condition, confronted with progress, prosperity, and a happy condition of the people, brought about under the seven years of Republican rule, Republican principles, and Republican policies, it is plain to you and to everybody that your defeat is certain next November. This is unfortunate for you, viewing it from a political standpoint; but how fortunate it is for the American people that we have such a clean, fearless, honest, patriotic President.

One who has labored so earnestly, conscientiously, and faithfully to fulfill his burdensome duties, always in thorough sympathy with the best interests of all the people, always pursuing his duty with fidelity, dignity, and rectitude of purpose, dominated by noble and lofty ideals; a statesman, a diplomat, fortified by a wealth of learning; a man whose character, success, record, both private and public, is without a stain of immorality, deception, fraud or corruption, his loyalty to principles, his devotion to truth, his untiring energy, his lofty ideals and conscientious work, entitle him to the respect and admiration of all.

Such is Theodore Roosevelt, the man whom the Republican party will present as its candidate in the coming election; and, gentlemen, you are wasting ink, time, and energy in circulating such absurd misrepresentations.

"MR. BRYAN'S ADDRESS."—"A DISHONEST PLATFORM FIT ONLY FOR A DISHONEST PARTY."

Extract from speech of Hon. E. de V. MORRELL of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, April 30, 1904.

Perhaps at this moment it would be well to read what Mr. Bryan says concerning the Sphinx in a speech delivered by him in Chicago on April 23, as reported in the Nebraska State Journal of April 24, 1904, his subject being "The New York Platform."

MR. BRYAN'S ADDRESS.

His address was chiefly as follows:

"By the platform adopted by the New York State convention, and taking this platform as a text I am sanguine enough to believe that I can prove to every unbiased mind that Judge Parker is not a fit man to be nominated either by the Democratic party or by any other party that stands for honesty or fair dealing in politics.

"What are the issues before the country? The trust question is certainly an issue, and yet there is nothing in that platform that gives any encouragement to the opponents of the trusts. There is not a word or syllable that binds a person elected on such a platform to do anything that the trusts are unwilling to have done. The Kansas City platform stated the party's position on the trust question, but the New York platform not only fails to indorse the last national platform, but also fails to propose any definite or positive plan of relief. * * *

"On the tariff question no issue is joined. It was reasonable to suppose that on this question, at least, something would be said, but Mr. Hill and Judge Parker seem to be as much afraid of the tariff question as of other issues.

"The money question is ignored entirely. No reference is made to bimetallicism at any ratio—not even to international bimetallicism, to which Mr. Hill seemed to be so attached in the Chicago convention. No reference is made to the measure now before Congress to melt up nearly \$600,000,000 legal tender silver dollars into subsidiary coin that is only a limited legal tender. Nothing is said about the asset currency which is a part of the scheme of the financiers. * * *

"The platform ignores the income tax; it fails to indorse the election of Senators by direct vote, and also omits the plank of the Kansas City platform denouncing the corporate domination in politics.

PLATFORM IS DISHONEST.

"The New York platform is a dishonest platform, fit only for a dishonest party. No one but an artful dodger would stand upon it.

"The submission of such a platform to the voters of the State is an insult to their intelligence, for it is intended to deceive them, and a deliberate attempt to deceive—especially so clumsy an attempt as this platform is—is a reflection upon the brains of those to whom it is submitted.

"The platform proves that the opposition to the Kansas City platform is not opposition to silver, but opposition to every needed reform and opposition to all that the masses desire.

"I had expected that a platform prepared by Mr. Hill for Judge Parker would be evasive and lacking in frankness, but I did not conceive that any body of men calling themselves Democrats would present such a platform as a recommendation of a candidate.

"If we are to take the New York platform as an indication of what the next Democratic platform is to be in case the reorganizers control the convention, then who will be able to deny the secret purpose of the reorganizers to turn the party over to predatory wealth?

QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

"The issue presented to-day in the trust question, and in all the other questions with which we have to deal, is the question between human rights and the so-called 'property rights'—or, more properly speaking, between ordinary people and the great corporations.

"I, for one, am not willing that the Democratic party shall become the tool of the corporations; I am not willing that it shall be the champion of organized wealth. And it is because I believe that the party has a higher mission than to be the exponent of plutocracy that I am protesting against the schemes of those who would put it into competition with the Republican party for the support of Wall street financiers. It is for this reason that I protest against mortgaging the party to the capitalists to secure an enormous corruption fund.

"If any who are present to-night or who read what I say think that I am trying to interfere with the Democratic success, let me answer that no Democrat is more anxious for the party to succeed than I am. No one has suffered more from dissensions and divisions in the party, and no one, I believe, is more eager for the country to enjoy the great benefits which a triumph of real Democracy would bring.

"But I do not desire that the party shall win offices only. If that is the only purpose of the party, let its principles be abandoned and its platform simply declare the party hungry for the patronage. The lesson of 1894 shows the folly of hoping to win by a surrender to the corporations, but even if success could be bought in such a way it would not be worth the price.

POOREST KIND OF PLATFORM.

"The New York platform is ambiguous, uncertain, evasive, and dishonest. It would disgrace the Democrats of the nation to adopt such a platform, and it ought to defeat as an aspirant for a Democratic nomination any man who would be willing to have it go forth as a declaration of his views on public questions. In Illinois, in Wisconsin, in Michigan, in Minnesota, in Indiana, in Ohio, and in every State that has not acted, it behooves the Democrats to arouse themselves and organize to the end that they may prevent the consummation of the schemes of the reorganizers.

"Their scheme begins with the rank and file of the party. It is to be followed up by the debauching of the public with a campaign fund secured from the corporations, and it is to be consummated by the betrayal of the party organization and of the country into the hands of those who are today menacing the liberties of the country by their exploitation of the producers of wealth."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY."—"FOR FREE TRADE."

Excerpt from speech of Hon. John DALZELL of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, April 30, 1904.

What is the attitude of contending parties on the subject of tariff revision or tariff reform? Is the Democratic party honest in its declarations of conservatism now made by so many of its leaders immediately preceding a Presidential election, or is the Democratic party still, as it always has been, under whatever pretense to the contrary, a party advocating the doctrine of free trade? It will be interesting, Mr. Speaker, for us to compare some of the declarations of Democratic party leaders heretofore made when not under the stress of a Presidential election with the declarations of those of the same parties and others made in the stress of a Presidential election. I will now call attention very briefly to the declarations of at least a few gentlemen who are on record in 1897, when the Dingley bill was under discussion, and who are also on record during this present session of Congress. I refer first to my genial friend from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], and I quote from a speech made by him in 1897. While Mr. CLARK, a gentleman from North Carolina, then a Member of this House. Mr. LINNEY, was on the floor making a tariff speech, he said:

Is there a member of this House who would have the duties stricken

Referring to the duties of the Dingley bill.

The distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], who cuts a comely figure here, would, I undertake to say, like to have them put on a free list, because he would, if he could, with the arm of a giant, tear down any custom-house in these United States, if I understood him correctly.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Just so, exactly.

Mr. LINNEY. Yes; he says he will do it.

Subsequently Mr. CLARK obtained the floor himself, and, in course of his speech, said this:

Mr. Chairman, after nine days of sore travail at least one truth has been brought forth on the Republican side of this House, and that by the gentleman from North Carolina when he said that I would destroy every custom-house in America. He is entirely correct. *If I had my way to-day, I would tear them all down from turret to foundation stone, for from the beginning they have been nothing but a den of robbers.*

Then he went on to say:

I repeat, so that all men may hear, that I am a free trader, and proudly maintain my stand with Sir Robert Peel, Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Henry George. I may be an humble member of that illustrious company, but it is better to be a doorkeeper in the house of honest free traders than to swell in the tents of wicked protectionists.

Now, I desire to call attention to the declarations of another gentleman whose influence in this House is not surpassed by that of any man. My friend the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], the minority leader on the floor, on March 24, 1897, during the same discussion of the Dingley bill, said:

The home market! This fetich with which the ignorant among the agricultural classes have been conjured to aid in cutting their own industrial throats. * * * What is lacking, Mr. Chairman, is not at the manufacturers' end of the line of exchange. It is at the consumer's end of the line, and the consumer is chiefly the farmer. What is lacking is the ultimate purchasing power. By years of iniquitous class legislation, both in the way of customs duties and in the way of currency revolution, you have succeeded in "killing the goose which laid the golden egg." * * * As a Democrat who believes in free trade, or the nearest possible approach to it, I rejoiced in the passage of the Wilson-Gorman bill. Not because the chief features of it were Democratic—for, on the contrary, they were progressive—but because the act contained the income tax. * * * There was within it a germ from which something approaching free trade might come by evolution.

But, Mr. Speaker, the latest declaration of the policies of the Democratic party were had here on Saturday last. A distinguished and eloquent orator—I may say one of the most distinguished and eloquent of whom I know anything—a representative of Tammany, a citizen of the great State of New York, regarded as the pivotal point in the coming Presidential campaign, instructed and delighted for a period of two hours in a very able speech. It was for free trade without pretense; frank, open, manly free trade. No pretense was held out that any laborer of this country, that any farmer of this country, that any manufacturer of this country, could hope for anything by way of tariff from the Democratic party. He declared that tariff in any shape or form was simply public plunder. He unfurled the banner of free trade and invited his Democratic brethren to follow him, and such enthusiasm, so much cheering, so much approval as he received in this House I have never heard on any previous occasion. I assume, therefore, that he speaks for his party.

"SPEECHES OF MR. COCKRAN." "WHAT BRYAN STANDS FOR."—"TO PARALYZE DUSTRY."—"FOR PROSPERITY, FOR JUSTICE."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOHN DALZELL of Pennsylvania
in daily Congressional Record, April 30, 1904.*

Mr. Speaker, I desire now to call the attention of the House to what was the conception of the gentleman from New York [COCHRAN] of his duty in the McKinley campaign. I read an interview in the New York Journal of August 3, 1896:

Q. What is your opinion of the present political situation?—A. I regard it as the gravest in the history of the country, exceeding in importance the crisis of 1860. The secession movement was but an attempt to divide this country between two governments, each of them designed to protect property within the limits of its jurisdiction. The movement launched at Chicago is an attempt to paralyze industry by using all the powers of Government to take property from the hands of those who created it and place it in the hands of those who covet it. This is a question of morals as well as of politics. No political convention can issue a valid license to commit offenses against morality, and I decline to follow Mr. Bryan's crusade against honesty and the rights of labor.

Q. Do you mean that you will actively oppose the Democratic party or abstain from active support of it?—A. In a contest for the existence of civilization no man can remain neutral. Whoever does not support the forces of order aids the forces of disorder. If I can do anything to stop a movement the success of which I would regard as an irreparable calamity not only to this country but to civilized society everywhere, I shall certainly do it.

Now, why did the gentleman from New York abandon the plane of his moral purpose of 1896 and indulge in this campaign in 1900? There have been some excuses given for it; but I give Mr. COCHRAN's own excuse. Take the last Congressional Directory and you will find that he says in his autobiography:

In the election of 1900 he supported the Democratic candidate for President on the ground that the result could not in any way affect the coinage of the country, owing to the complexion of the Senate, while he believed the defeat of the Republican party would of itself have sufficed to expel imperialism from our political system.

In other words, if the Republican party had not been in power in this House he would not have been with you Democrats. [Laughter and applause.] He says to himself. But he favored Mr. Bryan because he was opposed to imperialism. Opposed to imperialism! Now, look you. He was in favor of the debasement of the currency; he was in favor of the destruction of the Supreme Court; he was in favor of the nullification of the President's powers; he was in favor of a disturbance of the fundamental conditions of civilized society, because he was opposed to imperialism! He was in favor of everything that he was opposed to in the McKinley campaign, because he was opposed to a policy which would not have existed had it not been for the influence of Col. William Jennings Bryan, who procured the necessary votes to ratify the Spanish treaty in the Senate.

Now, I have here some extracts from speeches of Mr. COCHRAN made in the Bryan campaign.

[Extract from the Chicago Inter-Ocean, September 30, 1900.]

COCKRAN'S SPEECH AT CHICAGO FOR BRYAN.

The gentlemen who talk from the Republican platform talk of prosperity as if the prosperity of the country was shown by the price of securities in Wall street.

Now, that is one evidence, but by no means conclusive. The conclusive evidence of prosperity, the one which never can betray or mislead, is the rate of wages paid to laborers. Now, I do not say that with any expression of special affection for the man who works with his hands, but because labor must produce the fund from which its wages are paid. If the wages are high, its production must be expensive. When production is expensive commodities are abundant, and when commodities are abundant prosperity must be general, and when prosperity is general you and I and all of us must share. Now, prosperity is forced to find openings for commodities fairly distributed among those who produce them. I say that Mr. Bryan's election will make for that form of prosperity, and I say, moreover, that no real value in this country will be depreciated by his election.

[COCHRAN'S speech at Prospect Hall in closing the campaign in Kings County, N. Y. From the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, November 3, 1900.]

WHAT BRYAN STANDS FOR.

Mr. COCKRAN says:

"Mr. Bryan in this campaign stands for peace; he stands for disarmament; he stands for the employment of every person in this country in the cultivation of the soil of the country or the things which are produced from the soil; he stands for the employment of every dollar of capital in the production of productive industry. He must therefore stand for abundance of commodities, for prosperity, for contentment, as he stands for justice."

W. BOURKE COCKRAN."—"GREENBACKER, SOUND-MONEY MAN, FREE-SILVER MAN."

Extracts from speech of Hon. JOHN DALZELL of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, April 30, 1904.

What is the gentleman's history? [He started out as a greenbacker. Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] He traveled up and down the State of Maine endeavoring to persuade those Yankees that the best way to get money was to get it from a Government printing press. He advocated fiat money, a hundred cents of fiat on the dollar. Yet in the McKinley campaign he could not join the other side! He could not stay with the McKinley side, because he was for sound money! [Laughter on the Republican side.]

For sound money in 1896; traveling all over the continent in support of Bryan in 1900; greenbacker, sound-money man, free-silver man. He has been a Bryanite, and an anti-Bryanite.

But my friend has been a Tammanyite, and as such he has been a member of Congress. He has been an anti-Tammanyite, and as such he ceased to be a member of Congress. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] The gentleman is a Tammanyite again, and now again is a member of Congress. [Renewed laughter.]

On October 29, 1903, the New York Tribune published an article entitled "A denial accepted, with specifications," and I want to read it to you: Mr. COCKRAN has evidently been deeply incensed by the charge that he was willing to sell his oratory to the fusion cause in this campaign and had actually been hired for a large price by Tammany. We give him the full benefit of his indignant denial that he has received money for his speeches in behalf of Tammany. But he should have refrained from utterances calculated to create an impression that the Tribune invented that story and gave it all its circulation. What we did in the article printed last Saturday morning to which he has angrily referred, was to publish a current report, which we expressly described as such, and which, as a matter of fact, had appeared in print the afternoon before and was repeated in several morning newspapers simultaneously with its publication in the Tribune. It was a report, moreover, which was pretty generally credited, for reasons which Mr. COCKRAN, in his calmer moments, surely has dismlement enough to appreciate.

When his present excessive heat has passed off he should be willing to confess to himself that it was utterly natural to suppose that he must have accepted a pecuniary compensation for adopting a course so amazing and so abhorrent. There was no process of logic by which to account for his unpaid devotion on his part to Tammany this year. If by a long series of political somersaults Mr. COCKRAN had not accustomed the public to associate him with the class of men whose services in the line of campaign speaking are procurable on a cash basis, the circumstances of the present campaign were such as almost of necessity to suggest the idea which he vents.

Mr. COCKRAN's assaults on Bryan in 1896 were unbridled, and he voted for McKinley. In 1900 he flopped over and gave Bryan his support. Four years after Tammany had raised him from obscurity, or something worse, he was its darling, but at length, owing to causes of which Mr. Browne seems to have knowledge, he incurred Croker's disdain and became an enemy of the organization. In 1897 he cheerfully voted for General Tracy, but two years ago he had got far enough back to support Mr. Shepard, with whom Tammany was trying to mask its infamies.

Until within a few weeks, as he now acknowledges, he disapproved every single thing that Murphy was doing; but in obedience to his creed of non-partisanship in local politics is a heresy, he suddenly embraced Murphy and all that Murphy stands for. The fervor with which Mr. COCKRAN attempted on Tuesday night to give an appearance of moral consistency to this harlequin record justifies us in crediting his assurance that now, as always, his speeches are gratuitous; but it would be a piece of monstrous audacity for anybody to pretend that there was no excuse for the contrary impression commonly entertained last week.

In find also in the newspaper of his colleague [Mr. HEARST], under date of October 26, 1897, the following in lines one-eighth of an inch large across the top of the page:

COCKRAN HIRED TO STUMP FOR TRACY—COCKRAN WILL STUMP FOR TRACY—CONSENTS AT LAST TO THE FERVENT ENTREATIES OF WALL STREET.

W. BOURKE COCKRAN is to take the stump for General Tracy. The Tammany Hall Demosthenes yesterday finally agreed to assist Senator LATT.

Mr. COCKRAN was seen at his office, at No. 31 Nassau street, last evening, and said:

"Yes; I am going to speak for General Tracy. I am very busy. No: there is to be only one speech. It will be delivered either on Friday or Saturday night. I don't know where, but I can't speak before then or after. I got a letter from the committee.

"Am I to be paid? Oh, you'll have to see the committee. I am very busy."

[Laughter on the Republican side.]

And last of all I find in the Philadelphia Press of April 25 of this year, over the signature of an entirely responsible and accomplished newspaper reporter, Mr. Walter Wellman, the following:

WHO PAID COCKRAN?

BOURKE COCKRAN's indignant denial that he was paid for the speeches which he made against free silver in 1896 is understood to refer to any payments alleged to have been made to him by the Republican national committee. Mr. COCKRAN is wholly in the right. The Republican national committee did not pay him a cent and had no dealing with him in that campaign of any sort. Probably Mr. COCKRAN would not deny that he was paid \$15,000 for fifteen speeches by the Palmer-Buckner campaign committee.

"THE STOCK IN TRADE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS OPPOSITION TO THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. G. W. RAY of New York, printed in daily Congressional Record, May 31, 1900.

The stock in trade of the Democratic party is opposition to the protective tariff of Blaine, McKinley, and Nelson Dingley, the champions of the people and of Republicanism. Not a calamity that can befall mankind; not a disease that flesh is heir to but attributed to protection. Even war, pestilence, famine, and explosion are evils having their origin and propagation in protection. Democracy is to be relied upon. The committee examined this contention carefully and in a non-partisan spirit. It has no merit. Protective tariffs have little, if anything, to do with monopoly. Monopolies and combinations to control production, trade, and prices grow to alarming proportions and were the subject of denunciation and governmental decrees in free-trade countries hundreds of years before protective tariffs were suggested or devised.

Free trade would be an incentive to monopoly and illegal combination. Our protective system has not only stimulated and protected competition, but it has protected the people against foreign monopoly. Should it be claimed that but for the existence of wealth there would be no capital to combine and therefore no monopoly that protection has enabled our citizens to thrive and prosper, business, keep money at home and bring it from abroad, and so aggregating capital engage in great enterprises and form and capitalize great corporations necessary to the growth of the nation, some of which sometimes overstep the bounds of legitimate business and seek to stifle competition and control prices and production, we must be compelled to plead guilty.

If the true remedy for the evils of monopoly and "combines" is to destroy capital, tear down manufactories, deprive labor of employment, cripple the market for agricultural products, and impoverish the American people, then let us open wide the door for free trade and the product of foreign labor. Let the factories and workshops in the United States close their doors. Let the tide of exportation of American goods cease to flow and let each incoming wave bring to our shores the ships of Europe richly laden with the finished product of her labor. Let us return to the days of 1895 and 1896, when, under the operations of Democracy, in three years' time the deposits in national banks declined \$1,000,000. In April last we exported \$43,459,765 more than we imported, showing that balance in our favor, that addition to our wealth. Free trade, even a Wilson bill, would end all this prosperity.

Mr. Speaker, by abandoning protection and reducing all people to penury, closing all our industrial enterprises, we might possibly escape the exactions of some of the monopolies created and doing business in the United States, but not to our advantage. The great corporations would then crowd out the lesser ones having small capital, and combining together, and also with foreign monopolies, would absolutely crush industrial enterprise in the United States, and our people would be at the mercy of uncontrolled and uncontrollable foreign corporations and combinations. The old remedy of controlling crime was to drown the world, and so the deluge came. On one pair of each species of living creatures was permitted to survive.

The opponents of this joint resolution seem to think that the true remedy for the evils resulting from the existence of industrial trusts, combination, and monopolies is to destroy the agencies of which they may be created. Destroy wealth, therefore, and still all industrial enterprise, and monopoly will be impossible! Destroy all mankind, the guilty and innocent alike, and crime will cease to exist! This is the argument.

Mr. Speaker, we are not suffering because the manufacturers of Europe are not permitted to compete with our industrial enterprises and seize our markets if possible, but for the reason that competition among our own people is prevented. By this proposed amendment we purpose to remedy evils that would be unrestrainable by any possible legislation if tariff duties should be removed from imported material entering into the products of these combines or trusts.

The proposed remedy would only aggravate the disease. It is not suggested by any, save those who are opposed to the protective policy of the Republican party. When we observe the present prosperity of our people, study the history of legislation, reason from cause and effect, and contemplate the magnificent growth of the nation in education, religion, enterprise, and material wealth, we are more than content with the operation of protective-tariff laws.

Labor

G

"THE LABOR QUESTION."—"RECORD OF THE RE PUBLICAN PARTY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, the subject of the record of the forthcoming candidate whoever they may be, on the two great tickets of the country for President, touching the labor question will be very important and will attract great attention during the campaign. I point with great pleasure to the record of Theodore Roosevelt in this behalf. I challenge criticism. I challenge disapproval. I call for approval by the American people. I also point to the record of the Republican party. * * *

Slavery.—The great revolution which exalted labor and freed the country from the curse of slavery was accomplished by the Republican party against the fiercest opposition possible by the combined forces of the Democrats and their allies. Still true to its original ideals of freedom, the Republican party, after a lapse of forty years since the emancipation proclamation of Lincoln, abolished slavery in the Philippine Islands. (Act passed by a Republican Senate and Republican House and signed by President Roosevelt July 1, 1902.)

Involuntary servitude of foreigners.—In 1874 the Forty-third Congress which was Republican in both Houses, prohibited under heavy penalties the holding to involuntary services of any person forcibly kidnaped in any other country.

Peonage.—The act abolishing this kind of forced labor was passed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, when both Houses were Republican, by a large majority, March 2, 1867.

The coolie trade.—The legislation prohibiting the coolie trade is the work of the Republicans. The act of 1875 closed our doors to the paupers and criminals of Europe, and the exclusion act of 1882 stopped the immigration of the Chinese. Upon the annexation of Hawaii in 1898 the immigration of Chinese thereto was prohibited by a Republican Congress, as was the migration of those already in Hawaii from the islands to continental United States. In President Roosevelt's Administration the Chinese-exclusion law have been extended to the entire island territory of the United States. (Act passed by the Fifty-seventh Congress and approved April 29, 1902.)

The importation of foreign laborers under contract was first prohibited in 1885, but, owing to defective provisions for enforcing the law, continued almost unchecked until the amendments made in President Harrison's Administration. (Acts of the Fifty-first Congress, which was Republican in both branches, and of the Fifty-second Congress, signed March 3, 1891, and March 3, 1893, respectively.)

The law abolishing the contract system of labor for United States convicts passed the House March 9, 1886, and the Senate February 28, 1887. All the votes against the bill were Democratic.

The law providing for the construction of new United States prisons and the employment of convicts therein exclusively in the manufacture of such supplies for the Government as can be made without the use of machinery was passed by the Fifty-first Congress, which was Republican in both branches, and signed by President Harrison. (Chapter 529 of the acts of 1890-91.)

Protection of seamen.—This was accomplished by the Forty-second Congress, when both Houses were Republican, and the Forty-third Congress also Republican.

Inspection of steam vessels.—Accomplished by the Fortieth Congress which was controlled by the Republicans.

Inspection of coal mines in the Territories.—Provided for by the Fifty-first Congress, both Houses being under the control of the Republicans; approved by President Harrison.

Safety appliances on railways.—The original act providing for automatic couplers and power brakes on locomotives and cars used in interstate traffic was passed by the Fifty-second Congress, and signed by President Harrison March 2, 1893. Owing to decisions of the courts, new legislation became necessary, and the Fifty-seventh Congress (Republican) passed a greatly improved law, which was signed by President Roosevelt March 1, 1903.

The first eight-hour law in this country was enacted by the Fortieth Congress and approved by President Grant in 1868. It applied to all artisans and laborers employed by the Government.

In the Fiftieth Congress (1888) the eight-hour day was established for letter carriers. The bill passed the Senate, which was Republican, without division.

In President Harrison's Administration the eight-hour law was extended to include persons employed by contractors on public works. (Chapter 352 of the acts of 1892.)

The act creating the United States Bureau of Labor was passed by the Forty-eighth Congress (1884) and signed by President Arthur. In the Fiftieth Congress (1888) the Bureau was removed from the Department of the Interior and made an independent Department of Labor, all the votes cast against the bill being Democratic. In 1903 a Republican Congress established the Department of Commerce and Labor and made its head Cabinet officer.

THE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN MUST BE PROTECTED IN HIS STANDARD OF WAGES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

EXTRACTS FROM THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES.

Under this caption are included extracts from the messages of Theodore Roosevelt while Governor of New York and as President of the United States, besides excerpts from his most important addresses on the rostrum. I stamp him as a man of broad views, one worthy of the confidence of every right-thinking citizen.

WHAT ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH ORGANIZED LABOR.

It must always be a peculiar privilege for any thoughtful public man to address a body of men predominantly composed of wage-workers, for the foundation of our whole social structure rests upon the material and moral being, the intelligence, the foresight, the sanity, the sense of duty, and the wholesome patriotism of the wage-worker. This is doubly the case now, in addition to each man's individual action you have learned the great power of acting in combination. It would be impossible to overestimate the reaching influences of and, on the whole, the amount of good done through your associations. * * * In our cities, or where men congregate in masses, it is often necessary to work in combination—that is, through organizations—and here it is that we can see the great good conferred by organizations, by trade unions. (Speech on September 3, 1900, at Chicago Labor Day picnic.)

At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished changes of the tariff, the American workingman must be protected in his standard of wages—that is, in his standard of living—and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. Our laws should in no event afford advantage to foreign industries over American industries. They should in no event do less than equalize the difference in conditions at home and abroad. The general tariff policy to which, without regard to changes in it, I believe this country to be irrevocably committed is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference in labor cost here and abroad: in other words, the recognition of the need for full development of the intelligence, the comfort, the high standard of civilized living, and the inventive genius of the American workingman as compared to the workingman of any other country in the world. (Address at Logansport, Ind., September 23, 1902.)

AMERICAN WORKERS TAKE PRIDE IN THEIR WORK.

American wage-workers work with their heads as well as their hands. Moreover, they take a keen pride in what they are doing, so that, independent of the reward, they wish to turn out a perfect job. This is the greatest of our success in competition with the labor of foreign countries. (Message to Congress, December 3, 1901.)

WISE LABOR LEGISLATION OF MORE BENEFIT.

On no subject is it more important to have wise and sound legislation where the interests of labor are concerned. When such legislation is enacted it probably accomplishes more real benefit to the community than can be accomplished by any other kind of law, but crude and hasty labor legislation either wholly fails to accomplish anything—being so drawn as to be ineffective—or else works harm instead of good to the very people supposed to be benefited. (Message to New York Assembly, April 3, 1899.)

TO SHIELD THE INTERESTS OF WAGE-WORKERS.

It is not only highly desirable, but necessary, that there should be legislation which shall carefully shield the interests of wage-workers and which shall discriminate in favor of the honest and humane employer by removing the disadvantage under which he stands when compared with unscrupulous employers who have no conscience and will do right only under fear of punishment. (Address on "National Duties" at Minnesota State Fair, Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.)

THE DUTY TO PROTECT THE WAGE-WORKERS.

During the past year very valuable labor measures have been enacted in New York, and they are well enforced. * * * Additional legislation will undoubtedly from time to time become necessary, but many vitally needed measures have already been put upon the statute books. As experience shows that defects these will be remedied. A stringent eight-hour labor law has been enacted. This is working well as a whole. In nothing do we need to exercise cooler judgment than in labor legislation. Such legislation is absolutely necessary, alike from the humanitarian and the industrial standpoints. It is as much our duty to protect the weaker wage-workers from oppression as to protect helpless investors from fraud. (Annual message to the New York Legislature, January 3, 1900.)

CHEAPNESS AT SACRIFICE OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

It is even more important to reach contractors who do the State work than to reach the public servants of the State proper. Cheapness secured by the employment of gangs of men under the padrone system is cheapness for which the State pays altogether too dearly, for it is obtained at the cost of sacrifice of good citizenship. It is therefore just that the ordinary employee of the State and of contractors who do State work should work for eight hours and should receive a rate of wages not less than that paid for other labor of the same kind where the structure is to be put up, this interfering with the purchase of a finished product. (Memorandum filed January 12, 1899, with approved assembly bill regulating hours of labor on public work in New York State.)

PRISON LABOR.

A recent decision of the court of appeals has decided unconstitutional the law which provides that there shall be a mark on prison-made goods indicating that they are such. This matter should receive the attention of the Legislature in order that some means may be devised whereby the free laborer shall not be brought into competition with prison labor. (Annual message to the New York Legislature, January 2, 1899.)

**"THE RATE OF WAGES IS FROM 50 TO 100 PER CENT
HIGHER HERE THAN IN ANY COUNTRY
IN EUROPE."**

*Extracts from remarks by Hon. JOHN SHERMAN, of Ohio, printed
in daily Congressional Record (50th Congress, 1st Ses., page 204)*

The quality and quantity of food of laboring men is confessedly better and greater here than in Europe. The rate of wages from 50 to 100 per cent higher here than in any country in Europe and in some industries much higher. The President does not compute this, but appeals to the manufacturer, who has been represented as a robber, a conspirator, and extortioner, not to reduce the wages of the workingman, but to pay him out of "surplus profits"—profits very often found on the wrong side of the ledger—profits yielded on the average less than legal interest on the money.

What workingman does not feel that this is sheer mockery that the inevitable result is to reduce his wages by inviting a competition with pauper labor? He must share the fate of his employer and divide with him the loss. The all-sufficient answer the President is that the American laborer does not travel eastward across the ocean to better his condition, *but the European laborer comes to America, where labor is respected and the laborer is better fed, paid, and clothed than in any part of Europe or Asia.* Whether this shall continue to be true depends upon the action of Congress supporting or repealing this protective policy.

PAGE 205:

Sir, the question before us is one purely of wages. If wages in the United States were no greater than in England, France, and Belgium, our chief competitors, we would, no doubt, now compete with all the world in all metallic and textile fabrics. Is it wise in this country to pursue a policy that will compel the reduction of wages of laboring men employed in manufactures to the standard now general in European countries? We know from documents furnished by our consuls the rate of wages there.

The Senator from Maine [Mr. Frye], in a recent speech made in Boston, gives in detail the most striking information gained by him from personal observation and inquiry in the workshops of several countries of Europe as to the low, starving rates of wages, and degradation of labor existing there. *God forbid that such injustice and wrong shall ever exist here. Our free institutions could not survive such scenes. Manufactories conducted upon such a basis would be an unmitigated curse. Cheapness purchased at such a price would be crime. And yet without protective duties we must either abandon our manufactures or reduce wages to the European standard.* What more evidence do we need than the hundreds of thousands of people who come to us annually from European countries, bearing the most indisputable testimony to their poverty, their sufferings, and their distress?

SAMUEL GOMPERS

It should be our purpose to endeavor to prolong this era of more general employment."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, June 9, 1900.

1893.

"Since August of this year we have been in the greatest industrial depression this country has ever experienced. It is no exaggeration to say that more than 3,000,000 of our fellow-toilers throughout the country are without employment and have been so since the time named. This lamentable industrial condition is attributed by many to various causes, and it seems to me that the accurate statement of them here is both requisite and appropriate, so that we may be better enabled to so frame our legislation that it may tend to a proper solution of the problem dependent upon the wage-workers for solution. Never in the history of the world has so large a number of people vainly sought for an opportunity to earn a livelihood and contribute to the support of their fellows. In a society where such abnormal conditions prevail there must of necessity be something wrong at the basic foundation."

1897.

"That terrible period for the wage-earners of this country which began in 1893 and which has left behind it such a record of horror, hunger, and misery practically ended with the dawn of the year 1897. Wages had been steadily forced down from 1893 till toward the end of 1895, and it was variously estimated that between two million and two and a half million wage-earners were unemployed. IT IS AGREED BY ALL THAT THE WAGE-EARNERS ARE THE PRINCIPAL CONSUMERS OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS, AND IT NECESSARILY FOLLOWS THAT A REDUCTION IN WAGES INVOLVES A DIMINUTION IN THE POWER OF CONSUMPTION, AND CONSEQUENTLY A PROPORTIONATE DECREASE IN PRODUCTION, AND, NATURALLY, ALSO IN THE FORCE OF LABOR REQUIRED FOR THE PRODUCTION. A REDUCTION OF WAGES, THEREFORE, RESULTS IN AN INCREASE IN THE ARMY OF THE UNEMPLOYED, and any circumstance or combination of circumstances that will check reductions in wages, and hence the diminution of consumption by the masses, is a humane act, based on the soundest laws of economics and of progress."

1899.

"The revival of industry which we have witnessed within the past year is one for general congratulation, and it should be our purpose to endeavor to prolong this era of more general employment and industrial activity. In this effort no power is so potent as organized labor, if we but follow a right and practical course. IT IS BEYOND QUESTION THAT THE WAGES OF THE ORGANIZED WORKERS HAVE BEEN INCREASED, AND IN MANY INSTANCES THE HOURS OF LABOR EITHER REDUCED OR AT LEAST MAINTAINED. The report which your officers are enabled to submit to this convention, so far as the growth and progress of our movement during the past year are concerned, is of a most gratifying character. At last we are realizing some of the fruits of the years of unceasing sacrifice, devotion, and uninterrupted work of our fellow unionists."

The first of these quotations by Samuel Gompers is taken from page 11 of the Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor Convention, held on December 11, 1893, during the last Democratic Administration of our national affairs.

The second statement, that of 1897, is taken from a signed article by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, published in New York on January 1, 1898. I would draw your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the difference noticed by the president of the American Federation of Labor within less than a year of the inauguration of President McKinley and the present Republican Administration.

The third quotation is from the report of President Gompers at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Detroit on December 11, 1899. It is a standing memorial to the benefits derived by American labor under a Republican Administration and Republican laws that are designed to protect our wage-earners and enable them to secure the highest possible rate of wages in return for the labor which they have to sell.

It is but right to state here that Mr. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, is now, and always has been, an uncompromising Democrat. His frank and unsolicited testimony to the better conditions of labor under a Republican Administration should, therefore, have some influence with our friends on the other side.

"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT WANT AMERICAN LABOR TO WORK FOR THE LOW WAGES THAT FOREIGN LABOR IS WILL- ING TO WORK FOR."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. S. GREENE of Massachusetts, in
daily Congressional Record, April 28, 1904.*

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I introduced in the House of Representatives in February, 1903, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session, a joint resolution providing for a joint commission to investigate the policy of international navigation. This resolution provided that the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives should be authorized and directed to appoint a joint commission of the two Houses of Congress, to consist of five Senators and nine Representatives, of whom at least two members of the Senate and four Members of the House of Representatives should belong to the minority party, to which was to be added the President pro tempore of the Senate, and said commission were to be authorized and directed before the meeting of the Fifty-eighth Congress to investigate our present policy of international navigation, to trace its effect upon our merchant marine, to consider how we might constitutionally encourage it in the foreign trade, thereby regaining our lost position on the sea and effect a renewed development of our shipping power. And said commission were authorized to make a full and complete report of such investigation and submit its conclusions thereon, together with a bill for its consideration, to the Fifty-eighth Congress to investigate our present policy of international navigation.

The bill H. R. 7056 embodies the same features that were included in the joint resolution which I presented to the Fifty-seventh Congress. *

We have the commerce to carry, the means with which to build the carriers, the materials for shipbuilding, the skill and the labor unequaled and in the greatest abundance ready for employment in shipbuilding. Why then, do we not build the ships? Simply because investment in American-built ships under present conditions is unprofitable. So, capital being unwilling to invest in American-built ships, our materials are unused, our skill and labor are unemployed. The result is that foreign materials, foreign skill, and foreign labor supply us with the ships that are employed in doing our foreign carrying. The free trader says that this is a natural and proper condition; that if the foreigner will do our shipbuilding more cheaply than our own people will do it, that it is to our advantage to employ the foreigner and use our labor in employment that is profitable.

These same free traders, however, would have foreigners spin our cotton cloth, because they are able to do it more cheaply than our own people are. Nevertheless we place a high duty on imported cotton manufactures, in order that our own people, even at higher prices, shall have employment in the manufacture of cotton.

The suggestion, therefore, that it is to our advantage to have aliens build our ships, because they can build them more cheaply than we can, if a good one, should be equally good applied to cotton manufacturing. If foreigners can manufacture cotton cheaper than we can, why should they not? The answer is that *the American people do not want American labor to work for the low wages that foreign labor is willing to work for in cotton manufacturing*; they desire to maintain unimpaired the American standard of wages in cotton manufacturing, and if it is more costly the American people are quite willing to bear the higher cost, feeling and believing that the country is stronger, safer, and more contented with its labor earning good wages.

For the same reason the American people will be willing to have the ships required for our foreign carrying trade built in the United States. *The people do not ask nor do they wish that the American labor employed in building ships shall work as cheaply as the foreign labor that is employed in building ships any more than they wish or desire that American labor employed in making cotton goods should work for the same wages that foreign cotton operatives receive.* To be sure, we could get the ships we need by buying them abroad and putting them under the American flag and running them with foreign officers and foreign crews and feeding them the same cheap way that the officers and men employed on foreign ships are fed, but that is not what is back of the demand for an American merchant marine.

Our Democratic friends have a warm feeling for alien labor; they abhor and detest the protective system, so they tell us to buy our ships abroad, because they are built more cheaply abroad, and put them under the American flag. They say let us have "free ships," and "free ships" means nothing unless it means alien-built ships. And that is all that the Democrats seem to stand for—the employment of underpaid foreign labor instead of the employment of properly paid American labor.

"IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE TO RECONCILE FREE TRADE WITH TRADES UNIONISM."

Extract from speech of Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, at Liverpool, printed
in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

[From the London Daily Telegraph.]

FROM SPEECH OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AT LIVER- POOL, OCTOBER 27.

"TRADES UNIONISM AND FREE TRADE."

"I want you to bear in mind that it is absolutely impossible to reconcile free trade with trades unionism. You can have one or you can have the other, but you can not have both, and I am glad to say that in saying that I have the support of a trades unionist with whom I have disagreed upon almost every other question, Mr. Keir Hardie. Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Keir Hardie said: 'Free trade in the abstract is all but an impossibility. There is no member of this House who supports trades unionism who can claim to be a consistent free trader.' [Cheers.] And then he goes on to say, 'trades unionists of this country have no intention of allowing the sweating and underpaid laborers of continental nations to enter into competition with them.' [Hear! Hear!] Is that your opinion? [Yes!] Well, they are brave words. You won't have them? Well, then, you will not be free traders. [Cheers.] There is no getting out of the dilemma. The gentlemen who oppose me because they say I am a protectionist, and who then go down to the House of Commons in order to catch workingmen's votes in Radical constituencies, declaring themselves supporters of alien emigration and the prohibition of prison-made goods, of shorter hours, and so on, these men—well, they are inconsistent. [Cheers.]

"The Trades Union Congress was not always of the opinion of the congress that met this year. In 1888 the parliamentary committee offered a report in which it said this: 'The demon of cheapness'—the present trades congress makes a god of cheapness; the parliamentary committee in 1888 spoke of it as a demon—the demon of cheapness has pervaded our whole system, and while the cheapness of goods has been a matter of wonder purchasers seldom or never give a thought to the human blood and muscle that has been ground up in the production of the article.' [Hear! Hear!] That is admirable, and if I had time I could preach a sermon from it [voices, 'Go on!'] and I think it would be well to preach that sermon before the present Trades Congress. [Laughter.] My first point, therefore, is this, that it is not only the consumer you have got to consider; the producer is of still more importance, and to buy in the cheapest market is not the sole duty of man, and it is not in the best interest of the working classes.

LEGITIMATE OBJECTS OF TRADES UNIONISM.

"Now, what are the legitimate objects of trades unionism? In my opinion there are five. In the first place, to enable workmen by union and combination among themselves to meet employers on equal terms, and to bargain with them. If there were no trades unions and no combination, capital would be too strong. Labor would be at the mercy of capital, and it is to prevent that, among other things, that trades unions were founded. Then, the next object is to secure the highest wages which are consistent with the conditions of each trade to raise the standard of living, and to prevent unfair competition; to insist on proper precautions for the health and safety of those employed, and, lastly, to provide for those of their fellows who, owing to temporary illness or misfortune, are deprived of their means of livelihood. Now, these are legitimate objects, in my judgment, and I heartily approve of all of them, although I have not always been able to approve of all the methods by which they have been sought to be obtained. But one thing is certain, while we have done much to secure these objects while the mass of the people, to whatever class they belong, have sympathized with them, and have passed legislation, such as the factory acts, the mines acts, the truck acts, the compensation to workmen act, the fair wages clauses, the prohibition of prison-made goods, and a number of other minor acts of the same kind, every one of these measures is opposed to the strict doctrine of free trade.

"Free trade says you are to buy in the cheapest market; free trade says you are not to interfere with the freedom of independent man, not to prescribe to an employer what he shall or shall not do, but leave him free to bargain as he likes with his work people. And, on the other hand, you are not to make combinations which tend in the slightest degree to destroy the liberty of the workman to sell as high as he pleases. Those are the doctrines of free trade, and all these doctrines we have put aside now for twenty years in our endeavor to benefit the condition of the workman and to raise the standard of living; and it is a little too much now to come down and tell me that I am a heretic; that I ought to be put out of the congregation, forsooth, because I will not allow to be sacred and inspired these doctrines that those who accuse me have abandoned long ago. But there is another most important point which I want working people to consider. Grant all this legislation, and much more of the same kind, I warn you it will be absolutely futile unless you are prepared to go further.

"Now, what is the good, I ask in the name of common sense, of prohibiting sweating in this country if you allow sweated goods to come in from foreign countries? [Loud cheers.] If you insist on limitations of hours and upon precautions for security, bear in mind that all these things add to the cost of production, to the difficulties of the manufacturer in selling his goods, and unless you give him some increased price, some increased advantage, in compensation, then he can not carry on competition any longer. All these conditions in the long run will result, not to your advantage, for you will have no work to do, but to the advantage of the foreigner, who is not so scrupulous, and who conducts his work without any of these conditions. I say, then, if it were possible to calculate exactly what these precautions cost over and above similar precautions taken in other countries with which we are competing, we should be justified without the slightest infraction of the true principles of free trade in putting on a duty corresponding to that cost. [Cheers.]

HON. BENJ. BUTTERWORTH OF OHIO.

**"PRICES HAVE BEEN REDUCED, WAGES
CONSTANTLY ADVANCED."**

*From remarks of Hon. BENJ. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio, in daily
Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

Workingmen find opportunity for increased comfort in the fact that the prices of things needful in life have been constantly reduced while the rate of wages paid has been constantly advanced, mounting up 25, 50, 75, 100, and in many instances 300 per cent above what it was when the economic philosophy of our Democratic friends held sway in the Government.

Doubtless nine out of ten of the communications received by gentlemen upon this floor from their constituents protesting against the assault in the Mills bill upon the industries in which those constituents are employed, refer to the difference in cost of production between their shops, mills, or factories and the cost of similar articles imported from foreign countries as due to the increased wages paid in the United States. In the production of the greater part of the output of our manufacturing establishments labor contributes the larger share; such contribution ranging from 10 to over 90 per cent.—Page 4393.

With us the paramount question is, shall those who contribute to our prosperity by their labor, the wage-workers, be remitted to the condition of those upon the other side of the water, or shall they continue to share, as now, in the profits resulting from a union of capital with labor in the field of productive effort?—Page 4393.

I will engage to go with you, Mr. Chairman, into any shop or factory in my district where the workmen I have alluded to are employed, and select a man at random, and you will not find one who can not read the Constitution of his country in one language or two languages, or who does not understand the rights it secures and the obligations it imposes. Go with him to his home. In that home you will find not merely the ordinary comforts and conveniences of life, but also the incontestible evidence of education and refinement. Books and music will be found there. The daughter of that household will be found not only equal to the discharge of the duties which pertain to housewifery, but, taking her place at the piano, she will discourse the rarest music from Wagner, Beethoven, and other masters in that science. Upon the walls you will find paintings which are the handiwork of the members of that family. There will be found worthy example upon the part of the parents and filial piety on the part of the children.—Page 4394.

ENGLISH WORKMEN RECEIVE HIGH WAGES."— "BUT AMERICAN WORKMEN RECEIVE WAGES FROM 50 TO 100 PER CENT. HIGHER."

Extract from *LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH*, printed in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

In politics and commerce alike Cobdenism means disintegration. The tariff in America and Germany is nothing more or less than a method of securing an adequate measure of national combination in the interests of national industry. If they will not give free trade for free trade, you must meet their unity by your unity. * * *

Both in the United States and Germany, income has increased much faster than in this country. That can not be denied. If you are referred to the savings banks, the reply is exactly similar. The working classes in the United States and Germany have been increasing their savings faster than the working classes here. You have increased your output of iron and steel, and your import of raw materials for textile manufacture; but that does not alter the fact, as we have previously shown, that the United States and Germany have increased their iron and steel production so much faster that you now hold the third place, where only twenty years ago you held the first. And if you point again to the volume of your imports, the answer is that, in respect of the best kind of imports—raw material—all the leading protected countries are increasing their industrial consuming power far more rapidly than yours has increased.

You buy, indeed, far more sea-borne food, because you have diminished your internal agriculture, and you buy more foreign manufactured goods than any other country because you are the only nation which admits competitive manufactures free. *English workmen receive high wages under free trade. But American workmen receive wages from 50 to 100 per cent. higher under the tariff.*

When Bismarck broke with free trade in the determination to secure the German market for German enterprise, his countrymen were leaving the shores of the fatherland at the rate of 200,000 a year. Conditions at home have been so much improved, in spite of conscription and jackboot militarism that emigration from the fatherland is now little more than 20,000 a year. The Iron Chancellor was told exactly as Mr. Chamberlain is now, that if free imports were abandoned the foreign trade of Germany would be ruined. The actual result is that Germany has doubled her foreign trade. It is a very remarkable circumstance that when the German Government introduced the new tariff it also referred to the savings banks, the income tax, the increase in shipping, the general rise in the standard of life, and all the rest of it; but it applied all these arguments of our Cobdenites with at least as much force in precisely the opposite sense in these terms:

"Strengthened by protection, our industries have been able to increase their production, and have thereby afforded fuller employment and rising wages to the working classes.

"With the larger turnover the traffic on our railways, rivers, and canals has grown and our merchant marine has experienced a considerable and constantly increasing expansion, and its freight services for foreign countries have been a source of great profit to Germany. At the same time the investment of German capital in foreign enterprises has increased. Emigration has very substantially diminished. The effect of the growing wealth of the nation may be seen by the visible progress in the conditions and in the life of the broad masses of the people, especially of the workingmen. The improvement in the standard of life may be seen in the large proportion of taxpayers who pay upon moderate incomes; from the improved yield of the income tax; from the growth of savings-bank deposits; from the expansion of life insurances, and from the rising consumption of the more expensive articles of food."

THE AMERICAN WORKMAN THE MOST PROSPEROUS, BEST FED, AND BEST CLOTHED.

This is the German testimony. It turns inside out all the favorite Cobdenite arguments of the moment. But take the American testimony. Mr. Carnegie proved in his latest book, *The Empire of Business*, that the cost of living in the United States has been much exaggerated, and after a number of detailed demonstrations of his point, he summed up as follows:

"How are we to account for the general impression still lingering in Britain that the cost of living is higher in the United States? Simply for this reason, that while it is true that a pound sterling in the United States to-day will purchase more of the necessities of life for the masses of the people than it will in Britain, and while the American workman has great advantages over his fellow British workman in consequence, still it does not follow by any means that the American workman lives as cheaply as the Briton—far from it. He has much higher wages. The report of the Senate committee, recently made, shows that the average percentage of American wages obtained by the British workman is only 66 per cent.—not much more than half—the principal handicrafts being made the basis of comparison. Having higher revenues, the American is not content to live without what would be considered luxury in any of the old countries of Europe. He earns more and he spends more."

By comparison with twenty years ago, the nation is better off. But on the same comparison our two protected rivals, having nothing but the tariff system in common with each other, are better off still. We are progressing, but at a relatively feeble rate. We are progressing, and still the rate of progress is slowing down. We are progressing, but not enough to prevent being driven down by the two great protected countries to the third place in the world's commerce, long before the twentieth century has entered upon its second quarter.

"EARNINGS OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

RAILWAY LABOR.

The average yearly earnings of all railway employees in the United States, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission, have ranged between \$565 and \$570 in the last six or eight years. Reports from twenty-seven companies, employing more than 90 per cent. of all the railway men in Great Britain and Ireland, showed that in the first week of December 1902, the average earnings were \$6, which would make the average yearly income not more than \$312. On the state railways of Prussia the average annual wages of the employees in the budget of 1898-99 were \$335, exclusive of shopmen and trackmen, whose earnings, being considerably smaller, would, if included, bring down this average. In France more than 80 per cent. of the railway employees receive less than \$1 per day, the average in fact being about 75 cents, which would make the annual earnings lie between \$230 and \$270, according to the number of working days.

UNITED STATES.

[From Statistics of Railways of the United States, published by the Interstate Commerce Commission.]

Year ended June 30—	Number of employees on June 30.	Amount of salaries and wages (to 99 per cent of all employees)
1895.....	785,034	\$445,508,261
1896.....	826,620	468,824,381
1897.....	823,476	465,601,381
1898.....	874,558	495,055,618
1899.....	928,924	522,967,496
1900.....	1,017,653	577,264,841
1901.....	1,071,169	610,718,701
1902.....	1,189,315	676,028,392

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Number and per cent. of men (adults) employed by principal railway companies, at specified weekly rates of wages, 1891.

[From Bulletin of United States Department of Labor, January, 1899.]

Weekly rate of wages.	Number	Per cent
Under 10s. (\$2.48).....	210	0.1
10s. to 15s. (\$2.48 to \$3.65).....	8,186	2.6
15s. to 20s. (\$3.65 to \$4.37).....	123,962	29.4
20s. to 25s. (\$4.37 to \$6.08).....	90,472	28.8
25s. to 30s. (\$6.08 to \$7.30).....	49,307	15.7
30s. to 35s. (\$7.30 to \$8.52).....	20,782	6.6
35s. to 40s. (\$8.52 to \$9.73).....	8,953	2.8
40s. to 45s. (\$9.73 to \$10.95).....	9,974	3.2
45s. to 50s. (\$10.95 to \$12.17).....	1,397	0.4
50s. to 60s. (\$12.17 to \$14.60).....	891	0.3
60s. (\$14.60) or over.....	436	0.1
Total.....	314,520	100.0

More than one-half of the employees receive under \$6.08 a week, and the most numerous class are those who earn from \$3.65 to \$4.87, weekly.

Average weekly earnings of British railway employees in the first week of December.

[From Ninth Annual Abstract of Labor Statistics, by the British Labor Department.]

	Number of companies.	Number of employees.	Average wages.	
England and Wales.....	15	383,883	s. 25	d. 5¼ = \$6.10
Scotland.....	5	45,240	23	1¼ = 5.53
Ireland.....	7	19,506	19	3¼ = 4.65
1902, United Kingdom.....	27	448,429	24	11¼ = 6.00
1901, United Kingdom.....	27	440,557	25	0¼ = 6.01
1900, United Kingdom.....	27	440,347	25	0¼ = 6.02
1899, United Kingdom.....	27	431,858	25	3 = 6.06
1898, United Kingdom.....	27	412,304	24	7¼ = 5.92
1897, United Kingdom.....	27	398,108	24	4¼ = 5.86

"MUTUAL INTERESTS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR."

Extracts from remarks of President ROOSEVELT at Syracuse, N. Y., printed in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

In speaking on Labor Day at the annual fair of the New York State Agricultural Association, it is natural to keep especially in mind the two bodies who compose the majority of our people and upon whose welfare depends the welfare of the entire State. *If circumstances are such that thrift, energy, industry, and forethought enable the farmer, the tiller of the soil, on the one hand, and the wage-worker, on the other, to keep themselves, their wives, and their children in reasonable comfort, then the State is well off, and we can be assured that the other classes in the community will likewise prosper.* On the other hand, if there is in the long run a lack of prosperity among the two classes named, then all other prosperity is sure to be more seeming than real.

It has been our profound good fortune as a nation that hitherto, regarding exceptional periods of depression and the normal and inevitable fluctuations, there has been on the whole from the beginning of our Government to the present day a progressive betterment, alike in the condition of the tiller of the soil and in the condition of the man who, by his manual skill and labor, supports himself and his family, and endeavors to bring up his children so that they may be at least as well off as, and if possible better off than, he himself has been. There are, of course, exceptions, but on the whole the standard of living among the farmers of our country has risen from generation to generation, and the wealth represented on the farms has steadily increased, while the wages of labor have likewise risen, both as regards the actual money paid and as regards the purchasing power which that money represents.

Side by side with this increase in the prosperity of the wage-worker and the tiller of the soil has gone on a great increase in the prosperity among the business men and among certain classes of professional men, and the prosperity of these men has been partly the cause and partly the consequence of the prosperity of farmer and wage-worker. It can not be too often repeated that in this country in the long run we all of us tend to go up or go down together.

If the average of well-being is high, it means that the average wage-worker, the average farmer, and the average business man are alike well off. If the average shrinks, there is not one of these classes which will not feel the shrinkage. Speaking broadly, it is true that if prosperity comes all of us tend to share more or less therein, and that if adversity comes, each of us, to a greater or less extent, feels the tension. Unfortunately, in this world the innocent frequently find themselves obliged to pay some of the penalty for the misdeeds of the guilty, and so if hard times come, whether they be due to our own fault or to our misfortune, whether they be due to some burst of speculative frenzy that has caused a portion of the business world to lose its head—a loss which no legislation can possibly apply—or whether they be due to any lack of wisdom in a portion of the world of labor, in each case the trouble once started is felt more or less in every walk of life.

It is all-essential to the continuance of our healthy national life that we should recognize this community of interest among our people, *The welfare of each of us is dependent fundamentally upon the welfare of all of us,* and therefore in public life that man is the best representative of each of us who seeks to do good to each by doing good to all; in other words, whose endeavor it is, not to represent any special class and promote merely that class's selfish interests, but to represent all true and honest men of all sections and all classes and to work for their interests by working for our common country.

We can keep our Government on a sane and healthy basis, we can make and keep our social system what it should be, only on condition of judging each man, not as a member of class, but on his worth as a man. It is an infamous thing in our American life, and fundamentally treacherous to our institutions, to apply to any man any test save that of his personal worth; or to draw between two sets of men any distinction save the distinction of conduct, the distinction that marks off those who do well and wisely from those who do ill and foolishly. There are good citizens and bad citizens in every class as in every locality, and the attitude of decent people toward great public and social questions should be determined, not by the accidental questions of employment or locality, but by those deep-set principles which represent the innermost souls of men. The failure in public and in private life thus to treat each man on his own merits, the recognition of this Government as being either for the poor as such or for the rich as such, would prove fatal to our Republic, as such failure and such recognition have always proved fatal in the past to other republics. *A healthy republican government must rest upon individuals, not upon classes or sections. As soon as it becomes government by a class or by a section it departs from the old American ideal.* * * *

Men sincerely interested in the due protection of property, and men sincerely interested in seeing that the just rights of labor are guaranteed, should alike remember not only that *in the long run neither the capitalist nor the wage-worker can be helped in healthy fashion save by helping the other;* but also that to require either side to obey the law and do its full duty toward the community is emphatically to that side's real interest.

There is no worse enemy to the wage-worker than the man who condones mob violence in any shape or who preaches class hatred; and surely the slightest acquaintance with our industrial history should teach even the most short-sighted that the times of most suffering for our people as a whole, the times when business is stagnant, and capital suffers from shrinkage and gets no return from its investments, are exactly the times of hardship, and want, and grim disaster among the poor. If all the existing instrumentalities of wealth could be abolished, the first and greatest suffering would come among those of us who are least well off at present. The wage-worker is well off only when the rest of the country is well off; and he can best contribute to this general well-being by showing sanity and a firm purpose to do justice to others.

**"AS LABORERS WE GET MORE MONEY THAN ANY
OTHER PEOPLE IN THE WORLD."**

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. HENRY M. TELLER, of Colorado
in United States Senate, printed in daily Congressional
Record (50th Congress, 1st Session, page 2206).*

They pay in Great Britain two and a half times more to support their paupers than they do to sustain their public schools. And yet we are told that the American laborer should adopt English methods and that we should open the door so that the products of English labor may come here and compete with ours. Nay, Mr. President, not only the English laborer, but the laborer of India, the laborer of China, the laborer of Japan, the pariah of India, who pays for labor to cultivate his field six cents a day—he is to be put in competition with American labor. The Chinaman, who works for six cents a day is to be put in competition with American labor; the Japanese, who considers himself most magnificently paid if he gets fifteen cents for fifteen hours' labor, a cent an hour, is to be put in competition with American labor.

Mr. President, we are told that we can compete with the world. So we can if we live as those people live. So we can if we adopt European methods, if we live without meat, without butter, and without milk; if we live as they do in London, six families in one room where, as Mr. Chamberlain said, tens of thousands never know the luxury of milk. As laboring people, we eat three times more meat than European people. We wear better clothes, and spend more money on ourselves and our children, as laboring people, than any other people in the world; while, as laborers, we get more money in proportion to the payment of a dime than any other people in the world.

PAGE 2205:

Mr. Duncan writes: "For work done by the week, in all classes of work, American wages are as nearly as possible double those paid in Great Britain."

If it is not true that the American laborer gets better pay, gets better compensation for his labor, than any other laborer in the world, why is it that since 1860 there have come to this country 9,129,943 foreigners? Why have they come? Why have they sought this region if it is not to better their condition? They are laboring people. They do not flee entirely from bad government, and they did not come, as it is frequently said here and elsewhere, to get our cheap lands. Why should more than 700,000 Canadians, with cheap lands in Canada, come to the United States? They do not come for that purpose at all. Where do they go when they come? They go to the manufacturing States and the manufacturing cities, where labor is compensated where it is well paid. I have before me the census reports showing where they go. Of the 6,679,943 foreigners in the United States in 1880, how many were found in the State of Alabama? Nine thousand seven hundred and thirty-four. In Arkansas only 10,350. Does anybody say that Arkansas and Alabama do not present an attractive field for the agriculturist? Texas only had of this great number of people a comparatively few, 114,616 only. Examination of the report will further show that Boston had 114,000 of them; that Massachusetts, without any agricultural grounds for them, had 443,491; that Baltimore had 56,136; that St. Louis had 105,013; and New York had 478,694.

HON. NELSON DINGLEY, JR., OF MAINE.

OUR PATRIOTIC POLICY MAINTAINING OUR HIGHER WAGES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. NELSON DINGLEY, of Maine, printed in daily Congressional Record (50th Congress, 1st Session, page 3921).

Driven to the wall, the last refuge of the free trader is in the assumption that our protective policy has nothing to do with maintaining our higher wages, but that these are the result of our cheap and abundant natural resources.

Undoubtedly cheap land and abundant natural resources did secure better rewards for labor in the United States than in Europe before any single manufacturing industry was established here. But is there any one who believes that our wages of labor would have gone on increasing from decade to decade, as they have, if we had not increased the opportunities of and demand for labor by introducing manufacturing industries and diversifying our employments? And how could we have successfully established and maintained these industries with our wages of labor from the start higher than in Europe, and this superiority of wages constantly increasing as new industries were opened, if we had not adopted the policy of encouraging home industries by placing protective duties on such imported articles, made by cheaper labor of Europe, as would come into ruinous competition with similar articles which we were seeking to make at home?

PAGE 6756:

After twenty-seven years' protection of wool-growing, woolen cloth is 30 per cent cheaper than it was before the war under non-protection. There never was a time when clothing was so cheap, and the workingman can buy a coat in the United States for two-thirds the labor that he can buy a similar coat in Great Britain. In addition to this loss, the destruction of the wool-raising in this country would have a serious effect on the supply of meat and increase the price of mutton which now forms so large a part of the meat supply of the people. And beyond this, whatever tends to discourage sheep-raising injuriously affects the fertility of our farms, for it is well known that sheep have a most beneficial influence in renovating worn-out lands on which they are pastured.

PAGE 6417:

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] has said that the farmers are not protected. Mr. Chairman, my district is largely composed of farmers. I knew that district when almost its sole industry was farming, and I know it to-day since manufacturing industries have come in. And I say that there is not a farmer in my district who does not appreciate that the building up of manufacturing industries there has obtained for him a better market—a home market—and higher rates for his products than he had before. I know that farmers forty years ago found it almost impossible to obtain cash for the products of their farms. They went out and bartered them at almost any price to obtain those things that they were compelled to have.

That condition of things has been altered. The farmer now has a ready market for all of his products at good prices near his home.

"THE COST OF LABOR HERE AND IN EUROPE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. P. FRYE of Maine, page 652 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

With all these advantages we cannot compete successfully with the countries of Europe. Why not? There is, there can be but one answer, we are handicapped by the cheap labor there.

Why, is labor a factor in production sufficient to overcome all of our advantages? Undoubtedly it is. Labor, on the average, makes one-half the cost of all production. I do not mean to assert that the cost of a yard of cheap cotton cloth is one-half labor, but iron ships, machinery, furnaces, forges and factories are 90 per cent. labor. A year or two since I was in the Waltham Watch Factory. The superintendent showed me some watch screws so fine that the naked eye could not see the thread. I asked him to figure out their cost by the ton. He complied, and found it to be a little over \$4,600,000, seven times more precious than gold, and yet laying in the earth the ore was not worth more than one dollar and a half. Whether the labor converting the ore into the screw was one or two dollars a day would make a marvelous difference in its cost. But the free trader insists that after all there is not much difference between the cost of labor here and in Europe; that the living is not so expensive there as here. Now, this is a question which must be settled according to the facts. It is fundamental, vital; and a mistake in its determination may be fatal to our industries.

"SIX DOLLARS' WORTH OF RAW MATERIAL AND THE MANUFACTURED PRODUCT WORTH \$4,000!"

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. D. OWEN of Indiana, page 5651 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Twenty tons of iron ore asleep in the hillside; \$5 is its full value. Here are 4 tons of coal in another hill; that is \$1. Now, we have \$6 invested, and I will let the Pennsylvania Railroad shops at Altoona build a steam-engine from raw material. They build it properly, so as to get the best service, and when that engine is completed and on the track for us it has cost \$4,000. Six dollars' worth of raw material and the manufactured product worth \$4,000! Not made for sale, but cost to the company from its own raw material to the hour of putting the engine on the track an expenditure of \$4,000. This is their own cost, and it is one of the most conservative and thoroughly business-like organizations in the world. Six dollars is the value of the raw material; \$3,994 is the dominion of labor.

LABOR AND CAPITAL."—"THE TENDENCY IS TO EMPLOY ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, June 3, 1900.

LABOR AND THE TRUSTS.

"Down with the trusts," is one of the slogans of the Democratic party this year, and its agents will endeavor to capture the laboring man's vote because they say that trusts lower the wages of the workers.

But what is the truth? *Not one single instance can be cited where a large industrial institution, employing hundreds or thousands of people, has attempted to reduce their wages.* Neither can it be shown that a single one of the hundred national and international trade and labor unions of this country is fighting the large combinations. Instead of fighting them, they are getting closer together every day. *The growing tendency between labor and capital has been toward annual conferences to determine wage scales, hours of work, and conditions of employment. The tendency is to employ arbitration and conciliation in the settlement of differences.* This method has long been in vogue between the railways and their employees, with the steel-rail makers, with the wire-nail makers, with tin-plate manufacturers, with the steel-beam producers, with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, with the newspaper publishers, with the employing book and job printers, and with the International Typographical Union. The more that labor and capital concentrate their interests individually, so much the more are they endeavoring to concentrate their interests collectively. Large and small labor unions, instead of fighting industrial combination, find it to their interest to join hand in hand with them. There is no better combination in the United States to-day than the American Federation of Labor.

Speaking for the vast army of wage-earners employed in the iron, steel, and tin industry, Theodore Schaffer, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, before the Federal Industrial Commission, has declared that the effect of trusts had been beneficial to them. "As a general rule," he said he believed that the members of his organization "would prefer to deal with combinations and large corporations rather than with smaller independent mills." His experience was that he always received fair treatment in negotiating with these combinations, and he was certain "they did not prevent competition."

Democratic politicians "point with pride" to the fact that there have been more labor disturbances and strikes in the past year or so than in the four years of Democratic administration. Why all these strikes then?

The average wage-worker never thinks of going on strike on a falling market, and certainly not on a falling market under Democratic rule. When business is stagnant and factories are silent and the land is full of unemployed labor, the voice of the agitator is lost in the general murmur of distress and there are no strikes, because there is little employment.

Every labor organization in the country, be it large or small, for the past two years reports steady employment for its full membership, increased pay, shorter working hours, and a general improvement in all its conditions. The whole world is engaged in paying tribute to the wonderful productivity of our farms and factories—telling a marvelous tale of American prosperity, proving conclusively the general distribution of the flood of wealth being poured into this favored land.

"WAGES HIGHER, PRICES OF LIVING LOWER."

Extract from remarks of Hon. O. H. PLATT of Connecticut, page 1015 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Mr. President, the laborer of this country is better off than he ever was before. With wages higher on the average, with the price of living lower on the average, he is in this respect immensely better off than anywhere else in the world. The wage-earners in this country own more property than all the other wage-earners of the world put together. Nay, more, I think I would not overstate the matter if I make it stronger. I see my friend, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Aldrich] sitting by me. *The wage-earners in Connecticut and Rhode Island own more property than the wage-earners of the whole world outside of the United States.* This effort to make the laboring man believe that he could live as well and as cheaply here under a system of free trade as he lives now under a system of protection is not worthy of even a free trader, in view of all the statistics and the refutations which have been made.

"TIN PLATES."—"IF PRODUCED IN THIS COUNTRY 24,000 PEOPLE COULD BE EMPLOYED IN THIS INDUSTRY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. SAMUEL J. RANDALL of Pennsylvania, page 5686 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

How far-reaching is this whole matter! It has relation to an enormous production of iron ore, or limestone, coal, coke, pig-iron, and every article connected with its production, and why should not all these be encouraged and produced in the United States? I think \$17,000,000 a year is too much money to go out of this country when the people of the United States, without harm to the consumer, in my judgment, and without ultimately enhancing the price of these commodities, can produce the very articles themselves. We have within five years contributed \$100,000,000 to England, and have drained our country to that extent.

How does it affect the producing interests of the country? Does it affect the labor of the country—the wage-earner? To-day there are coming to the United States \$17,000,000 in value of tin-plates. If those tin-plates were produced in this country twenty-four thousand people here could be employed in this industry. The labor in Great Britain and Wales required to produce the tin plates we consume amounts, I am advised, to \$9,000,000, and it is only fair to conclude if we produced those tin-plates in this country the laborers engaged in that work would receive from it some ten or twelve millions of dollars.

"THE GREATEST ADVANTAGE OF PROTECTION IS TO BE SEEN IN THE CONDITION OF LABOR."

Extract from remarks of Hon. EZRA B. TAYLOR of Ohio, page 6931 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

The greatest advantage of protection, however, is to be seen in the condition of labor under its mantle. Wages are not only higher than in England, Ireland, Italy, Hungary, Poland, and other free-trade or semi-free-trade countries, but the condition of the laborer is infinitely more bearable and hopeful. He may live comfortably and respected, and he may educate his children and expect them to become worthy, useful, and leading citizens. They are eligible to all places under the Government, capable of any business enterprise, and may hold any social position. This state of things exists only where protection is general, and it is that only in the United States. Goods are cheap in Italy, in Hungary, and in Poland, but labor is cheaper, and the laborer cannot buy. The laboring man emigrates from free-trade countries to protective ones, not from protective countries to free-trade ones.

"PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. B. CHEADLE of Indiana, page 4601 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Mr. Chairman, I have heard gentlemen upon the other side of the Chamber declare that protection does not protect the laborer here in America. I am not a theorist, and yet if the great industrial system of protection to American labor does not protect it I have wondered why it was that hundreds of thousands of men and women left their homes in Europe every year and emigrated to America to become citizens of the Republic and co-workers in its manifest destiny. Sir, do you believe that all these thousands come here to be made slaves? Would they flee from the oppressions of Europe to become still more oppressed here by an industrial system that is talked about, studied, and prayed for in every humble cottage in Sweden, Germany, Ireland, wherever there is a resolute heart that yearns for larger liberty, better wages, and a greater margin of profit from daily toil?

"THE WORKINGMAN'S PARADISE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. WOODBURN of Nevada, page 4003 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

It placed the American laborer and mechanic upon a plane so elevated that it is an insult to common intelligence to institute a comparison of their condition with the white slaves of Europe.

It has made America the workingman's paradise. Here he drinks in knowledge gratis from the sparkling fountains of education. To him lies open every avenue that leads to wealth and political station. He feels he is a man, a sovereign, an integral part of this Republic, one of the pillars on which it rests. He is so different in manner and dress from foreign workingmen that the myriads of foreign visitors to the Centennial Exposition looked in vain for the laborers of America.

"THE FEAST TO WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY INVITES THE PEOPLE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, page 3688 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Such are the utterances of British statesmen, and that is the feast to which the Democratic party invites the people of this country. But before accepting the invitation let us ask some of these same British statesmen what free trade has done for the people of Great Britain.

Thomas Carlyle declared only a few years ago that—

"British industrial existence seems fast becoming one huge poison swamp of reckless pestilence—physical and moral—a hideous living Golgotha of souls and bodies buried alive. Thirty thousand outcast needle women working themselves swiftly to death. Three million paupers rotting in forced idleness; and these are but items in the sad ledger of despair."

What a picture that is for American working men and women to contemplate, and what a feast is that to which free trade invites them?

"FREE TRADE IS AGAINST THE POOR MAN."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. LOUIS E. McCOMAS of Maryland
page 3839 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

To-day every old soul-driver of the South is a free-trader. Free trade is against the poor man and in favor of the rich man when it lets the rich man buy what he wants abroad and employ the foreign workers at lower wages in place of the American producer who stands ready with his capital, the workman's skill, his practical knowledge, his industry, his strength, his health. In this country to-day the working man has the ballot to defend him against the competition of underpaid workmen and plethoric capital in Europe, and Coolie and Chinese labor in Asia, for all of them by cheap ocean freights are now brought near our door.

"EVERY AVENUE OF HONOR, OF PREFERMENT, AND OF DISTINCTION OPEN TO THE LABORER HERE."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY M. TELLER of Colorado
page 2206 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

Will the Senators who talk about free trade point me to a nation on the earth that has accumulated money as we have accumulated it? Will they point to a nation in the world where labor is so well paid, where it is so much respected, where every avenue of progress, every avenue of honor, of preferment, and of distinction is open to the laborer as it is here, where the people have engaged in such magnificent enterprises and accomplished them, where the great charities have been managed and kept alive as nowhere else? Why, Mr. President, we have sent relief abroad to suffering Ireland, and we have sent it to other nations of the world. The missionary people in this country send more than \$6,000,000 a year to the heathen, and the laboring girls who work in kitchens and the boys who work in stables every year send to Ireland more than \$15,000,000 to save their kindred from the effects of free trade in Ireland; and so as is suggested to me by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Edmunds], their own condition is 100 per cent. better than it ever was anywhere else, or than is that of their kindred at home. More than three and a half millions of Englishmen, including the Irishmen in the number, have sought an asylum in this country and are here. Do you want to apply English methods, to put your labor where the English put theirs? If they are better off there why do they not stay there, why do they come here, and why are they coming here whenever they can, and why is it that they never return?

"COMPETITION OF THE PAUPER MILLIONS OF EUROPE UNDER A FREE-TRADE POLICY."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. JOSEPH N. DOLPH of Oregon,
page 2116 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

If the labor of this country cannot stand the competition of the Chinese upon the Pacific coast, and a few thousand imported Italian laborers upon the Atlantic coast, how could it stand the competition of 404,000,000 of Chinese, 40,000,000 of Japanese, the 60,000,000 of the population of India, and the pauper millions of Europe, under a free-trade policy.

"A TARIFF TO EQUALIZE LABOR CONDITIONS HERE AND ABROAD AND PROTECT AMERICAN LABOR."

Extract from remarks of Hon. E. L. HAMILTON of Michigan, in daily Congressional Record, April 14, 1904.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were few or no American labor organizations.

About 1825 labor began to be more conscious of itself as a distinct entity, and labor unions began to be formed.

Local unions increased in number and gradually, as means of transportation and communication increased, labor began to organize itself into national unions and to think of political action as a means of social betterment.

There were strikes, a Labor party, a Reform party, an Anti-monopoly party, indictments of trades unions for conspiracy, and fights between union and non-union men as early as the decade between 1830 and 1840.

In those days the laboring man rightly wanted shorter days and better pay, and he wanted his pay in good money at stated intervals instead of now and then at the option of his employer, and he wanted a lien for his pay on the products of his work.

He works eight and ten hours now instead of twelve and fifteen then. He gets his pay in good money now, although he came near lapsing into bad money in 1896, and labor laws are framed for his protection.

For years the Republican party has materialized in practice the profound truth lately expressed by Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, at Boston, that "no industry, no country, has ever become great, or ever can become great, founded on the poverty of its workers." [Applause on the Republican side.]

In its policy of protection to American labor and American industries one of the strongest arguments of the Republican party has always been the labor argument.

That is, first, if a foreign-made commodity can be laid down in American markets cheaper than a home-made commodity by reason of cheaper wages abroad, then we ought to maintain a tariff to equalize labor conditions here and abroad and protect American labor.

Second, if by protection we can produce a commodity which we are not producing, we ought to maintain a tariff to create and foster the production of that commodity.

Third, That behind protection existing industries have been multiplied and new industries have been created which, by competition among themselves have reduced the price of commodities even below the tariff imposed, so that from the vantage ground of a protected market we are not only supplying our home market, but are shipping a surplus abroad, whereby we have sustained the wages of labor at home, multiplied employment, stimulated invention, increased the purchasing power of every American, given the American farmer a constantly increasing market at his door, and made the American man the best all-around man that walks the earth to-day. [Applause on the Republican side.]

PROTECTION AND PROSPERITY.

The history of protection is a history of prosperity. The history of free trade or approximate free trade is a history of depression.

From the first tariff law down to now, when, with the railroads of the United States we could put a girdle around the globe at the equator, have enough left to parallel the railroads of Europe, and keep their tracks hot with the traffic of our prosperity, there has never been a time when American capital and American labor have been "deflected" from any profitable pursuit, except when the Democratic party has been in power. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Chamberlain, of England, has also recently described protection. In his Glasgow speech, October 6 last, he says:

Now, what is the history of protection? First, there is tariff and no industries. Then gradually primary industries for which the country has natural facilities grow up behind the tariff wall. Then secondary industries spring up; first of necessities then of luxuries, until at last all the ground is covered.

I put this description over against that of the gentleman from Mississippi.

"First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."

PROTECTION AND MANHOOD.

In this connection Mr. Chamberlain further said:

The vast majority of the workmen in the colonies are protectionists, and I am disinclined to accept the easy explanation that they are all fools.

In its policy of protection to American labor and American industries the Republican party has always held the quality of American manhood above the cost of a fabric, and in the long run this policy has not only dignified American labor, but has reduced the cost of commodities to the point where the humblest artisan of to-day can commonly have the things which the wealth of kings could not command a few years ago. Not only that, but this policy has put money into the pockets of labor with which to buy these things. [Applause.]

Extract from remarks of Hon. WILLIAM McKINLEY of Ohio, page 4753 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

I beg to cite, against the unsupported statements of the gentlemen who have already spoken upon the other side, the testimony of American workingmen whose opportunity for information from experience in both countries, and otherwise, makes their evidence incontrovertible. From the statements made March 10, 1886, before the Committee on Ways and Means Mr. Roger Evans, workingman, speaking upon the same subject, said:

"Of course you must not gauge the American workingman by the amount of coarse bread and meat which will be necessary for him to subsist upon. It cannot be. The American workingman must have other things than those. He must be fed and clothed and be able to maintain his family as becomes the dignity of an American citizen."

Another, Mr. Philip Hagan, spoke as follows:

"The produce on which I lived in England came mostly from the United States, and certainly I ought to get it as cheap here as in England. I worked for 5 shillings a day in England, and I get 14 shillings a day here. Consequently, I am able to send my children to school, and they are getting an education, which their father did not get under a free-trade government. I want to see these children raised up and educated as citizens."

Mr. Thomas P. Jones said:

"It has been shown here to-day, and, as I think, very clearly, that this tinkering with the tariff is not for the best interests of the country; is not for the best interests of the wealth-producers, of the men who built up this country. Then, gentlemen, I take it that it is your duty to throw this bill to the dogs. If you will, in spite of our remonstrances, go on destroying our interests and shutting up the industries of the country, our working people will be ere long sufficiently educated to step forth and say, '*Gentlemen, thus far shall you go, and no farther.*' We will elect men and send them here to legislate for our interests if you will not do so. We have the power, gentlemen, and you know it."

"HOMES OF LABORING MEN, HOMES OF THRIFT AND COMFORT AND NEATNESS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, page 3688 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Go to Leeds, England, and see the condition of the working people there, and then tell me, men of the South, do you want the laboring men of the United States reduced to their level? A few years ago the inspector of police in Leeds was asked if he knew a single instance in that great industrial city of 320,000 souls where a workingman—a skilled artisan, mechanic, engineer, carpenter, or mason—owned the house in which he lived and the ground on which it stood, and the reply was: "If I was on my oath in court I should be obliged to answer no."

Now come with me to any New England town or city and see the homes of the mechanics and laboring men, homes of thrift and comfort and neatness, and then insist, if you will, that the laboring men in Europe are as well paid and as prosperous as they are in this country; but you must not expect to deceive intelligent workingmen by such false and misleading statements.

"LEGISLATION IN THE INTEREST OF HUMANITY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. Grosvenor of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

Woman labor.—Next to children, the greatest victims of abuse by greedy employers when unrestrained by law are women. Investigations have shown that their condition is sometimes pitiful where employers are given free scope in their employment. Their protection in the interest of humanity and morals has also been the subject of legislation in nearly all civilized countries. In the United States, twenty-seven States have legislated upon this subject. Of these twenty-seven States, twenty-two are Republican and five are Democratic! Reducing these figures to a proportionate basis, we find that 82 per cent. of the Republican States and only 19 per cent. of the Democratic States have laws regulating woman labor.

Seats for females in shops.—Legislation on this subject needs no comment. Any man who has a daughter or sister employed in a shop or store, and every physician, knows what a hardship it is to a woman to be compelled to stand all day at a bench or behind a counter. Fortunately, in thirty-one States legislation has been enacted, requiring employers to provide seats for females. Of these thirty-one States, twenty-three are Republican and eight are Democratic.

Sweat-shop legislation.—There is no greater menace to the health of the working people, and nothing which tends more to lower and degrade human beings, than to crowd them together in small, filthy workshops, where they are often compelled to work, eat, and sleep without regard to health or morals, and where the hours of labor are often so long that the victims, who are usually foreigners unacquainted with our language, are shut out from all opportunities for education or betterment of any kind. The scenes observed in these shops by official investigators have been revolting beyond description. Long ago efforts were made to regulate these so-called "sweat shops," and twelve States have enacted laws looking to this end. Of these twelve States, eleven are Republican and one is Democratic. Nothing more need be said on this point.

Truck system.—This legislation prohibits employers from paying their employees in scrip or orders on their company stores and which are not redeemable in cash. At present twenty-three States have such laws in force, of which fourteen are Republican and nine are Democratic, or 61 per cent. of all the Republican and 39 per cent. of all the Democratic States.

Mediation and arbitration.—State boards of mediation and arbitration have been established in fifteen States to aid in the adjustment of industrial disputes. Of the fifteen boards eleven are in Republican States and only four in Democratic States.

Free employment bureaus.—One of the great needs of wage-workers who are engaged for only a week or day at a time is some agency that will assist them in obtaining a situation when they are out of work. Private agencies have so frequently exploited their poverty by extorting registration fees for situations that are never procured, that churches and charitable societies now support free employment agencies in many leading cities. A few years ago State and municipal governments also entered the field and now there are public employment bureaus (free) in fourteen States, of which twelve are Republican and only two Democratic.

Employers' liability laws.—Since the introduction of steam and machinery workmen are exposed to such great risks of death and injury that enlightened States have enacted legislation which requires employers to furnish safe work places and appliances, and makes them responsible, in damages, for any injury that may befall an employee through their negligence. Twenty-seven States now have employers' liability laws, most of them relating to railways. Of the twenty-seven States fifteen were Republican and twelve Democratic in the last national election.

Eight-hour law.—For many years labor organizations have been endeavoring to secure legislation prohibiting labor on Government works or public contracts for over eight hours per day. They have succeeded thus far in securing such legislation in twenty-one of the forty-five States of the Union. Of these twenty-one States sixteen are Republican and five are Democratic. In other words, of the twenty-eight Republican States, 60 per cent. have enacted the eight-hour law, and of the seventeen Democratic States only five, or 29 per cent., have yielded to the demands of the labor organizations in this regard.

"THE SWEAT-SHOP SYSTEM."—"GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

UNECONOMIC, UNWHOLESOME, AND UNAMERICAN SWEAT-SHOP SYSTEM.

Governor Roosevelt's opinion concerning the evils of sweat-shop labor, that he formed while member of assembly as a result of his searching inquiry into the unhealthy tenement-house system of manufacturing cigars, did not undergo a change during the seventeen years that intervened between 1882, when the investigation was made, and 1899. In truth his views on the subject in the latter year, when he urged the legislature to adopt radical measures to suppress the harmful system, were even more pronounced than those to which he gave utterance while serving as an assemblyman. These were his ideas in 1899, as expressed in his annual message:

Another very important phase of this subject is the sweat-shop system, which is practically the conversion of the poorest class of living apartments into unwholesome pest-creating and crime-breeding workshops. Laws have been enacted by the legislature to suppress this vile phase of industrial life in our large cities by prohibiting the use of dwellings for the purposes of manufacture. Although the law is quite explicit and the intention of the legislature obvious, great difficulty has been experienced in its effective enforcement. It is everywhere agreed that this tenement-house or sweat-shop system is degrading to the unfortunate individuals engaged in it and to the social and moral life of the community in which it exists. How to enforce the law on this subject has perplexed the statesmen of other countries and States as well as our own.

The most effective and uninquisitive means yet devised for accomplishing this end is that recently adopted by Massachusetts, viz., providing that buildings used for manufacturing purposes must have a permit or license, such license or permit to be granted only on conditions that the appointment of the building fulfill the requirements of the law for manufacturing purposes. These permits or licenses ought to be granted by the board of factory inspectors, who should be held responsible for the proper inspection of the buildings and the enforcement of the law.

There are several reasons why this simple method would be effective. It would at once classify buildings used for manufacturing purposes, as a building so used without a permit would be violating the law. It would prevent much friction, because all requirements of the law would have to be fulfilled before the building was used. This would be a great advantage in the erection of new buildings, as proper conveniences, including accessible fire escapes, guarded elevators, and other appointments would be required and easily furnished when new buildings were being erected or when old ones were being changed for manufacturing purposes.

Nor does this involve any radical innovation. It is simply applying the recognized principle upon which boards of health now everywhere act in requiring that the plans for erecting new buildings or alterations of old ones must be submitted to the building and health department and a certificate of approval granted before the building can be erected, alterations made, or the premises occupied. Legitimate manufacturers will not object to this, because they are desirous of furnishing safe and wholesome appointments for their employees. Only those who desire to evade the law and disregard the common demands of sanitation, domestic decency, and wholesome industrial methods will object, and it is these the law desires to reach.

I submit this to the serious consideration of the legislature, and suggest that an amendment to the law embodying this idea be adopted, to the end that the *uneconomic, unwholesome, and un-American sweat-shop system* shall disappear from our industrial life.

Though the governor's ideas were not embodied in their entirety in the law that ensued, it contained the essential features recommended by him. Its provisions made it unlawful to manufacture, alter, repair, or finish articles of clothing, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes, cigars, or umbrellas in a room or apartment in any tenement or dwelling house, or in a building situated in the rear of a tenement or dwelling house, without a license from the factory-inspection department.

The law has worked admirably. From the time that it went into effect—September 1, 1899—according to the records of the New York Bureau of factory inspection, up to September 30, 1903, the date of the issuance of the last annual report of that bureau, the efficiency of the act in interfering with sweat shops was fully illustrated by the fact that altogether 10,439 licenses were refused to applicants because of the insanitary condition of their living rooms or of other parts of the buildings, while 3,814 licenses were revoked for similar reasons. These latter house shops doubtless would now be in operation were it not for this law and the strict manner of its execution. In the time above mentioned there were 1,901 instances where goods were tagged in tenement workrooms wherein the law had been violated, and a large number of prosecutions and convictions have resulted from its enforcement. At the close of last September there were in New York State 30,890 licensed work places, which have undergone at least one critical inspection each year.

FIGURES OF SURPLUS EARNINGS REFUTE THE STATEMENT THAT THE COST OF LIVING HAS INCREASED MORE THAN WAGES AND INCOMES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

These figures of surplus earnings refute most emphatically the statement that the cost of living has increased more than wages and incomes. *I am quite willing to admit, however, that it does cost us all more to live than it did during free-trade times. It costs more to wear shoes than to go barefoot. It costs more to live in a comfortable house than in a single barely furnished room. It costs more to eat meat twice or three times a day than oatmeal, corn bread, or free soup. It costs more to wear well-made and fashionable clothes than it does to dress in rags and shabby raiment. It costs more to send the children to school and college than it does to have them in the street. It costs more to buy books and magazines and newspapers than it does to go without. It costs more to have a sewing machine than it does to work with the needle. It costs more to use gas and coal than it does to use candles and coke. It costs more, far more, to live as does the fully employed, well-paid workman in protection times than it does the idle or poorly paid laborer of free-trade times. It costs more, far more, to maintain the American standard of living than it does the hand-to-mouth existence of one-third the laborers of free-trade England and the entire population of some countries of continental Europe.*

HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING MADE POSSIBLE.

This high standard of living, now reached and maintained by all classes of our people from one end of the country to the other, is made possible because of the fact that as a people we are doing almost all of our own work, and for this work are being most handsomely remunerated. When the millions of working people, so called, as well as the more wealthy classes, are consuming the farmers' products and are able to pay for them a reasonable and profitable price, then our thirty millions of agriculturists and their families reap the benefit which is reflected back in their own consumption of manufactures, and the luxuries and conveniences that go to make up the comforts of the American home.

The laboring classes of this country were more prosperous during the year 1903 than ever before in our history. This will be seen, in the first place, from figures showing the savings of the people. The aggregate deposits in our savings banks amount to \$3,000,000,000, and to show the amount of money in these banks during the past few years I introduce the following table:

June 30:

1893	\$1,785,150,957
1894	1,747,961,280
1895	1,810,597,023
1896	1,907,156,277
1897	1,939,376,035
1898	2,065,631,298
1899	2,230,366,954
1900	2,449,547,885
1901	2,597,094,580
1902	2,750,177,290
1903	2,935,204,845
1904 (estimated)	3,176,000,000

Deposits in savings banks.

It will be seen that more savings were withdrawn than were deposited in 1894, the year of the Wilson-Gorman tariff law, and that the increase for the next year or two was very slight. Since 1897, however, when the Dingley tariff became operative, the increase each year has been large and continuous. For the six years it amounts to \$1,000,000,000, almost two hundred millions of this being added in 1903. This indicates that our laboring classes, whose surplus earnings for the most part are found in our savings banks, had all that was necessary during last year and considerable besides, and it puts out of commission the so-often asserted Democratic claim that the cost of living has increased much more than the income of the people.

**"THE ATTACKS ON A PROTECTIVE TARIFF ARE AIMED
AT THE WAGES OF LABORING MEN."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. J. S. MORRILL of Vermont, page
3020 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

The attacks on a protective tariff, however masked or disguised, are aimed at the wages of laboring men, and are not removed by the vain-glorious assumption of free-trade orators, destitute of all sympathy for manual labor, that Americans can do more work per day than the people of any other country. If it were true, then this extra wear and tear of human life should not go unrewarded; but it is not wholly true. *Foreign workmen not only work for less pay but more hours for a day's work than are required here.* The output of a great part of manufacturers is, moreover, inexorably regulated by machinery with fixed speed or revolutions for perfect work. The best machinery is eagerly sought after and quickly distributed throughout the world. It is the lower and unequal wages of foreign workmen alone with which Americans have to contend. We should not, however, for any consideration impair the superior physique of American workmen by compelling them to perform greater tasks than are allotted to any other people.

**"WAGES IN MASSACHUSETTS 77 PER CENT HIGHER
THAN IN GREAT BRITAIN."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. NELSON DINGLEY, JR., of Maine,
page 3920 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

For many years free traders denied the fact that wages are much, if any, lower in Great Britain than here. But since the investigations of Col. Carroll D. Wright, a few years ago, then commissioner of labor for Massachusetts, but now Commissioner of Labor of the United States, which showed that on an average wages in Massachusetts are 77 per cent. higher than in Great Britain, running from 38 per cent. in cotton manufacturing (where less skill is required in most grades of cottons made in this country than in other manufacturing industries) to over 100 per cent. in industries requiring a high degree of skill, the claim has been set up that whatever advantage a workingman may have in this country over a similar workingman in Great Britain is offset by the increased cost of living.

**"THE WORKSHOPS OF EUROPE."—LOW STARVING
RATES OF WAGES."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN SHERMAN of Ohio, page
205 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.*

Sir, the question before us is one purely of wages. If wages in the United States were no greater than in England, France, and Belgium, our chief competitors, we would, no doubt, now compete with all the world in all metallic and textile fabrics. *Is it wise in this country to pursue a policy that will compel the reduction of wages of laboring men employed in manufactures to the standard now general in European countries?* We know from documents furnished by our consuls the rate of wages there.

The Senator from Maine, [Mr. FRYE], in a recent speech made in Boston, gives in detail the most striking information gained by him from personal observation and inquiry in the workshops of several countries of Europe as to the low, starving rates of wages, and the degradation of labor existing there. *God forbid that such injustice and wrong shall ever exist here. Our free institutions could not survive such scenes. Manufactories conducted upon such a basis would be an unmitigated curse. Cheapness purchased at such a price would be crime. And yet without protective duties we must either abandon our manufactures or reduce wages to the European standard.* What more evidence do we need than the hundreds of thousands of people who come to us annually from European countries, bearing the most indisputable testimony to their poverty, their sufferings, and their distress?

THE LABORING CLASSES OF THIS COUNTRY MORE PROSPEROUS DURING 1903 THAN EVER BEFORE."

Extracts from remarks of Hon J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

Since the enactment of the Dingley law wages have not only increased in a large measure, but employment as well. For nearly seven years now almost every man in the United States who has wanted work and was worthy to have it could not only obtain it for six days in a week and fifty-two weeks in a year, but he has been paid for that labor at a rate never before known in this or any other country. There have been times in this period when it has been impossible to obtain the necessary help to harvest our crops, manufacture our goods and care for their transportation and distribution.

It is neither my province nor purpose at this time to say a single word for or against labor unions, or for or against the many strikes which have had such a serious result upon our laboring classes. I wish only to emphasize the fact that when a hundred men or a hundred thousand men are voluntarily idle for weeks or months, the loss is by no means confined to them alone, but involves other hundreds or other hundred thousands that are compelled to be idle because of the action of the men on strike.

It has been most conservatively estimated that the strikes of the year 1903 lessened the purchasing power of the people by fully \$1,000,000,000.

I propose to show by a few figures that, in spite of what idleness there may have been and in spite of what loss of wages and decreased purchasing power may have resulted, the laboring classes of this country were more prosperous during the year 1903 than ever before in our history. This will be seen, in the first place, from figures showing the savings of the people. The deposits in our savings banks amount to over \$3,000,000,000 and to show the amount of money in these banks during the past few years I introduce the following table:

Deposits in Savings Banks.

June 30:	June 30:
1893.....\$1,785,150,957	1899.....\$2,230,366,954
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1895.....1,810,597,023	1901.....2,597,094,530
1896.....1,907,156,277	1902.....2,750,177,290
1897.....1,939,376,035	1903.....2,935,204,845
1898.....2,065,621,298	1904 (estimated) 3,176,000,000

It will be seen that more savings were withdrawn than were deposited in 1894, the year of the Wilson-Gorman tariff law, and that the increase for the next year or two was very slight. Since 1897, however, when the Dingley tariff became operative, the increase each year has been large and continuous. For the six years it amounts to \$1,000,000,000, almost two hundred millions of this being added in 1903. This indicates that our laboring classes, whose surplus earnings for the most part are found in our savings banks, had all that was necessary during last year and considerable besides, and it puts out of commission the so-often asserted Democratic claim that the cost of living has increased much more than the income of the people. But these savings-banks deposits are only a part of the laboring man's surplus. There are the large sums invested in building and loan associations; there are the instalments paid upon the home, and perhaps upon the furniture, which is being acquired from year to year and from month to month; and there are also the premiums paid upon the life-insurance policy.

The exhibit made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is indeed marvelous. The outstanding insurance of this company at the end of 1893 was \$353,177,217. Ten years later, at the end of 1903, it was \$1,423,814,457, a gain of almost \$1,000,000,000. The gain in 1903, its greatest year, was \$398,889,074. The exhibit of the Prudential Insurance Company also shows a most remarkable increase, the gain for 1903 being \$293,408,942, of which \$190,386,294 was in the industrial department. These two companies alone have \$2,273,000,000 of outstanding insurance, a large portion of it being in the industrial departments, and written during the past seven years. But though these figures illustrate the large amount of insurance taken out last year and other recent years chiefly by the working classes, the same wonderful increase of business was shown by our other great insurance companies among all classes of our people. The year 1903 was by far the largest known, proving beyond question that the American people—farmers, mechanics, clerks, merchants, manufacturers, and professional men—not only added largely to savings and other surplus, but were able more than ever before to take out life insurance, the best mode of saving and providing for the future.

These figures of surplus earnings refute most emphatically the statement that the cost of living has increased more than wages and incomes.

"WAGES PAID IN THE UNITED STATES COMPARED WITH THOSE PAID IN GREAT BRITAIN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. I. F. FISCHER, of New York, in House of Representatives, March 23, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record Vol. 30, page 21.

I desire to read here a table collated by Mr. Nathaniel McKay, under date of August, 1896, showing wages paid in the United States compared with those paid in Great Britain.

Mr. McKay is a gentleman who had devoted much time and energy to the investigation of matters of this character, and from my knowledge of the man, I have no hesitancy in declaring my belief in the absolute truthfulness of the statement:

In the United States a blacksmith receives 102 per cent more than in England.

In the United States a bricklayer receives 125 per cent more than in England.

In the United States a carpenter receives 165 per cent more than in England.

In the United States a calker receives 126 per cent more than in England.

In the United States a conductor (express) receives 349 per cent. more than in England.

In the United States a car driver receives 38 per cent more than in England.

In the United States an engineer (locomotive) receives 191 per cent. more than in England.

In the United States a fireman receives 188 per cent more than in England.

In the United States a machinist receives 138 per cent more than in England.

In the United States a plasterer receives 111 per cent more than in England.

In the United States a plumber receives 143 per cent more than in England.

In the United States a telegraph operator receives 103 to 154 per cent. more than in England.

In the United States a train dispatcher receives 315 per cent. more than in England.

<p> Laboring men in London..... Trades union societies, 519..... Average pay of English workmen..... Average pay of American workmen..... </p>	<p> 1,912,000 1,000,000 \$1.80 \$3.88 </p>
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"THE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN LIVES BETTER THAN THE EUROPEAN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

LOWER PRICES IN THE UNITED STATES THAN IN ENGLAND.

The claim is often made that while wages are higher in the United States the cost of living is correspondingly cheaper in Great Britain. That this statement is erroneous can be proved by official statistics obtained simultaneously in both countries. In 1892 the Senate Committee on Finance made an extensive report on "Retail prices and wages" in leading cities of the United States and Europe at different periods from June, 1889, to September, 1891. Among the cities considered in this report were St. Louis, Mo., and Manchester, England, cities for which wage comparisons have just been made.

A comparison of the prices of articles of identically the same description, obtained at the same time, namely, June, 1889, and September, 1891, in both cities, shows that instead of the necessary commodities of life being higher in the United States than in England, they are, on the contrary, as a rule much lower. This is shown in the table which follows. A glance at this table shows that most of the necessary food products, such as bread, eggs, lard, bacon, roast beef, hams, mutton, milk, starch, and canned vegetables, were much lower in St. Louis than in Manchester, while the prices of the few remaining food products averaged about the same in both countries.

With regard to clothing and cloth goods, we find that men's hosiery, cotton shirts, sheetings, shirtings, and cotton and woolen dress goods of the same description and quality were cheaper in St. Louis than in Manchester; that carpets, flannels, and cotton underwear averaged about the same, and that only in the case of men's hats was there any decided difference in favor of the Manchester purchaser.

Household articles, such as earthenware, glassware, and cutlery, were nearly the same in price in St. Louis as in Manchester, with a very slight difference in some cases in favor of the latter city. On the other hand, furniture costs from about one-fifth to one-half as much in the United States as in Great Britain, so that for the cost of one bedroom set in Manchester one could buy from two to three sets in St. Louis, and for the cost of one dining table at Manchester a whole dining-room set could be bought in St. Louis.

But the question may be asked, "If the American workingmen earn so much more and pay so much less for what they consume, why are they not all wealthy and contented?" The answer may be found in the statement of the eminent French scientist, Prof. Emile Levasseur, in his work on "L'Ouvrier Americain" (The American Workingman). After summing up the conditions of labor in America as compared with Europe he says that wages in the United States are about double the wages in Europe; that objects of ordinary consumption by working people (excepting dwelling houses) cost less in the cities of the United States than in those of Europe; *that the American workingman lives better than the European; that he eats more substantially, dresses better, is more comfortably housed and more often owns his dwelling, spends more for life insurance and various social and beneficial associations, and, in short, has a much higher standard of life than the European workingman.*

"LABOR LEGISLATION IN REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC STATES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC STATES.

There is no better way of judging the merits of a political party than by the laws which are passed by the legislators who are elected to office from its ranks. With regard to legislation for the protection of the workers, much remains to be done before they received their full measure of protection and justice; but, as can be shown by the statistics of the different States, nearly all protective labor legislation in the United States was first enacted by Republican States and then adopted by way of imitation by the Democratic States. At the present time the proportion of Republican States having protective labor legislation is much greater than that of Democratic States. This is plainly shown in the tables.

Labor bureaus.—There are few agencies which have done more toward giving a clear insight into the problems of labor and capital, that have brought employer and employee nearer together, that have furnished the laboring people with facts for arguments in favor of protective legislation, than bureaus of labor and labor statistics. The table shows that at present there are 33 State labor bureaus in the United States. Of these, 23 are in Republican States and 10 are in Democratic States. Reducing these figures to a proportionate basis, we find that 23 out of 28 Republican States, or 82 per cent., have labor bureaus; 10 out of 17 Democratic States, or 59 per cent., have labor bureaus.

Factory-inspection service.—It is well known to all working people that protective labor laws are practically a dead letter in any State unless there is a factory-inspection service organized for the purpose of searching out and bringing to justice persons who violate such laws. It is easy enough to enact protective legislation, but it is another thing to enforce it. If a State, therefore, enacts such laws and fails to organize a service for their enforcement, it is betraying those whom it pretends to favor. Let us again observe the tables: We find that twenty-one out of twenty-eight Republican States, or 75 per cent., have established factory-inspection services. We also find that three out of seventeen Democratic States, or 18 per cent., have factory-inspection services. In examining the other subjects of labor legislation which follow we must not lose sight of the fact that only three of the Democratic States have factory-inspection services organized for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the labor laws which will be under consideration.

Inspection of mines.—Public inspection of mines is required on the same grounds as inspection of factories. The tables show that fifteen of the twenty-eight Republican States and nine of the seventeen Democratic States have established this service.

Child labor in factories.—Ever since the introduction of the factory system, over a century ago, the greatest sufferers from the greed of inconsiderate and cruel employers have been the helpless children, who often at a tender age are placed in factories and are ruined physically, morally, and mentally by their work, their surroundings, and their loss of opportunity for education. It is a principle recognized in all civilized countries that children under 12 years of age should not be employed in factories, and in nearly all European countries laws have been passed placing a limit of 12 or 14 years upon such child labor. In our country thirty-one out of the forty-five States prohibit the employment of children under 12 years of age from working in factories. Of these thirty-one States twenty-one are Republican and ten are Democratic. In other words, 68 per cent. of all the Republican States and only 32 per cent. of the Democratic States have laws prohibiting children under 12 years of age from working in factories.

Child labor in mines.—Twenty-four States prohibit the employment of children under 12 years of age in mines. Of these, sixteen are Republican and eight are Democratic States.

A MAN EARNS DOUBLE AS MUCH IN AMERICA AS IN ENGLAND."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. D. OWEN of Indiana, page 5547 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

A man earns double as much in America as in England and the purchasing power of a dollar is very nearly equal. The total cost of supplies for a family in America is about 5 per cent. more than in England. The official statistics show that the price of ordinary family supplies are not more than 5 per cent. in the excess here. Now, you do not comfort a worker greatly to tell him that if he will vote for you he can buy for 95 cents what now costs him a dollar, especially if you "tell the truth" that at the same time instead of getting a dollar for a day's work he will get 50 cents. *He is too good at figures to surrender 50 cents in order to save 5 cents.* Now, this 5 per cent. more that a man's family costs him here than in England can be paid for the entire year by the extra American wages he receives in two weeks. That is, in two weeks' work the amount of wages he receives above what he would get in England pays the 5 per cent. extra expenses for one year. For the other fifty weeks of the year he can save his extra wages and still furnish his family the same things that it would require the whole of his wages to supply if he lived in England. In other words, if the families lived just the same, *the American wage-worker will at the end of the year have fifty weeks of the extra American wages in his pocket. The English workman will not have a dollar.*

TO GET THE BEST WORK OUT OF MEN.—DIVERSIFY INDUSTRY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. THOMAS B. REED of Maine, page 4669 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

There is only one way to get the best work out of men, and that is to give each the work he can do best. You can only accomplish this by diversifying industry. To diversify industry completely in a country such as ours, there is only one way given under Heaven among men. To enable the American people themselves to supply all their wants you must give and assure to the American people the American markets. What does this phrase mean in practical life? It means that we, the nation, say to capital, "Embark yourself in the manufacture of such and such articles, and you shall have a market to the extent of the American people."

Capital then says to labor, "Go with me into this new field, all of you who like this work best, and we will share the results." Then begins a new industry. Multiply this by hundreds, and you have a community where *every man honestly minded will get what on the whole suits him best, and the nation will get the greatest amount of work from the greatest number.*

"WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT TWICE AS HIGH AS IN EUROPE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

Owing to the vastly superior resources of the United States and the wise legislation which has protected American industries and thereby maintained the American standard of living, wages in the United States are, on the average, about twice as high as in Europe. The following table shows the average daily wage in certain cities of Europe and America, according to statistics gathered by the United States Bureau of Labor:

Year.	Great Britain (27 quotations).	Paris, France (21 quotations).	United States (25 quotations).
1870.....	\$1.30	\$1.06	\$2.20
1876.....	1.40	1.12	2.10
1886.....	1.39	1.26	2.40
1896.....	1.49	1.33	2.40
1902.....	1.45	1.34	2.20

The latest comparative statistics of wages are contained in an official report made by the statistical office of the board of trade and published by order of Parliament in August, 1903. The data relate to years between 1895 and 1902 (mainly to years between 1898 and 1901) and pertain to fifteen skilled occupations in the chief city and other cities in the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany, and the totals are as follows (corrected to a standard year):

Country.	Average weekly rates for 15 skilled trades in—	
	Chief cities and towns.	Other cities and towns.
United States.....	s. 75= \$18.00	s. 69 d. 4= \$16.00
Great Britain and Ireland.....	42= 10.00	36 0= 8.00
France.....	36= 8.65	22 10= 5.50
Germany.....	24= 5.75	22 6= 5.25

WAGES NEARLY TWICE AS HIGH IN NEW YORK AS IN LONDON.

It therefore appears that the average wage for the fifteen trades is nearly twice as high in New York as in London and more than twice as high as in Paris and three times as high as in Berlin. In the smaller cities the superiority of the United States is equally marked, as may be seen in the following comparison:

	Germany.	France.	Great Britain.	United States.
Capital cities.....	100	151	175	311
Other cities and towns.....	100	100	159	300

The fact that wages in the United States range three times as high as in Germany in the skilled trades is accompanied by similar evidence for unskilled labor. Thus the German Government report on workingmen's insurance against sickness and accident (a compulsory system conducted by the Government) showed that on January 1, 1902, the average daily wage of adult male laborers in the thirty-three large cities was only 67 cents, in fifty-eight small cities (places with a population of from 10,000 to 20,000 each) 52 cents while in the agricultural districts it was 49 cents in the west and 33 cents in the east.

The average family income was 23 per cent. larger than that in Great Britain, 48 per cent. larger than that in France, and 78 per cent. larger than that in Germany. But since 1891 wages have risen more rapidly than in France or England.

"THE PRESENT SCALE OF WAGES WAS UNKNOWN DURING ANY DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. CHARLES E. FULLER of Illinois in daily Congressional Record, February 8, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, I have observed that in the great district which I represent and which is one of the greatest agricultural and also one of the greatest manufacturing districts in the West—the great factories of that district, Mr. Chairman, during Democratic times, when Cleveland was President and the Democratic party controlled both branches of Congress, were closed or running at half time and with half force. Hundreds and thousands of men in that district were out of employment and could find no work to do; but when Mr. McKinley was elected in 1896, when the Republican party again came into power, when the odious Wilson bill was repealed and the Dingley bill became the law of this land, once more the doctrine of protection was declared as the doctrine under which this Government should be conducted, those factories opened up, the smoke started again from the chimneys that had been smokeless before, the people again went to work, and during the days since 1896 and since 1897, when Mr. McKinley was inaugurated as President, a period of prosperity started and has continued since in that district and in that State and throughout this country such as the world has never known before in the history of this or any other country.

My earliest recollections were of another Democratic period, when James Buchanan was President of the United States, but I have no recollection that in those days we had very much prosperity "in spite of a Democratic Administration." In fact, my recollection and my reading of history both tell me that during that period of free trade or low tariffs, when the doctrine of protection had been relegated to the rear, in "spite" of all that, prosperity was not in evidence to any considerable extent. Listen a moment to what so good a Democratic authority as James Buchanan himself had to say upon that subject. In his message to Congress, December 8, 1857, he used this language:

The earth has yielded her fruits abundantly and has bountifully rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Our great staples have commanded high prices, and up to within a brief period our manufacturing, mineral, and mechanical occupations have largely partaken of the general prosperity. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interests, is at the present moment in a deplorable condition. In the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions of agriculture and in all the elements of material wealth we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want.

Those were the good old Democratic times, and such were the conditions that existed in spite of such fact.

Comparing Republican times of to-day with any period of Democratic ascendancy of which I have any knowledge, I say again, Yes, we are proud of the record of the Republican party. [Applause on the Republican side.]

I believe the high rate of wages of the laboring man in this country is due to the fact that under protective tariff laws the factories of this country are enabled to run and to give employment to all men who desire employment. I believe that when you have a policy of free trade or a revenue tariff only and the factories are compelled to close and the laboring man is without work that then in the surplus of labor you can hire men at anything that will permit them to live. Labor unions never increased wages when there was no work to be had.

Mr. VAN DUZER. Then, why is it that under the high-tariff system existing at the present time the wages of the men in the silk mills and in the steel factories are being reduced? Why is it that throughout New England, where you have protection as the policy of the Republican party, wages to-day are on a decline, and the workingman is receiving less than he did two or three or four years ago?

Mr. FULLER. Oh, I can answer that without any trouble whatever. The price of wheat is not always the same; sometimes it goes up and sometimes it goes down. The law of supply and demand to a great extent governs these things. Wages may be high to-day, and next year or next month they may be lower. They are higher now than they ever were in Democratic times. Wages will not always be on the same high plane that they were last year or the year before. But wages are to-day higher upon the average, very much higher, than in any other country in this world to-day, and that I believe is due to the fact that the Republican party is in power, that a Republican tariff law is upon the statute books of the United States, and that the doctrine of protection prevails. Certain it is that the present scale of wages was unknown in this country even during any Democratic Administration.

"UNION LABOR IN GOVERNMENT WORK."—"PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ATTITUDE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

In his first message to Congress, in 1901, President Roosevelt recommended that "provision be made to render the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain," and also that the Government should provide in its contracts that all work for it should be done under "fair" conditions.

By this expression it is understood that the President meant that no contract should be given or no contractor employed by the Government who would not agree to pay the union scale of wages; in other words, no contractor should, in any way, be allowed to obtain a contract from the Government by lessening the price paid the employees for their labor to a point less than the "fair" or union scale of wages or by working more than the usual number of hours per day which had been fixed for the trade.

While thus favoring the union standard of wages and hours in Government work the President recognizes the illegality of any discrimination for or against members of a union. Thus in the case of William A. Miller, who complained that he was removed from his position of assistant foreman in the Government Printing Office, in violation of the civil-service law, because he had been expelled from Local Union No. 4 of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, the President ordered Miller's reinstatement and explained the rule governing public employment in the following communication to Secretary Cortelyou, in whose charge the President placed the investigation:

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 13, 1903.

MY DEAR SECRETARY CORTELYOU: In accordance with the letter of the Civil-Service Commission of July 6, the Public Printer will reinstate Mr. W. A. Miller in his position. Meanwhile I will withhold my final decision of the whole case until I have received the report of the investigation on Miller's second communication, which you notify me has been begun to-day, July 13.

On the face of the papers presented, Miller would appear to have been removed in violation of law. There is no objection to the employees of the Government Printing Office constituting themselves into a union if they so desire, but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce.

Please communicate a copy of this letter to the Public Printer for his information and that of his subordinates.

Very truly yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU, Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 14, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. CORTELYOU: In connection with my letter of yesterday, I call attention to this judgment and award by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission to its report to me of March 18 last:

"It is adjudged and awarded that no person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership to any labor organization, and that there shall be no discrimination against or interference with any employee who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization."

I heartily approve of this award and judgment by the Commission appointed by me, which itself included a member of a labor union. This commission was dealing with labor organizations working for private employers. It is, of course, mere elementary decency to require that all the Government Departments shall be handled in accordance with the principle thus clearly and fearlessly enunciated. Please furnish a copy of this letter both to Mr. Palmer and to the Civil Service Commission for their guidance.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU, Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. Palmer, the Public Printer, on Wednesday, July 16, notified Mr. Miller that he had been reinstated and might report for duty any day.

On September 29, 1903, the President gave a hearing to members of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor on the subject of pending labor legislation. Following is the official account of the hearing:

SEPTEMBER 29, 1903.

Pursuant to the request of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, the President granted an interview this evening to the following members of the executive council of that body: Mr. Samuel Gompers, Mr. James Duncan, Mr. John Mitchell, Mr. James O'Connell, and Mr. Frank Morrison, at which various subjects of legislation in the interests of labor, as well as Executive action, were discussed. Concerning the case of William A. Miller, the President made the following statement:

"I thank you and your committee for your courtesy, and I appreciate the opportunity to meet with you. It will always be a pleasure to see you or any representatives of your organizations or of your federation as a whole.

"As regards the Miller case, I have little to add to what I have already said. In dealing with it I ask you to remember that I am dealing purely with the relation of the Government to its employees. I must govern my action by the laws of the land, which I am sworn to administer, and which differentiate any case in which the Government of the United States is a party from all other cases whatsoever. These laws are enacted for the benefit of the whole people, and can not and must not be construed as permitting discrimination against some of the people. I am President of all the people of the United States, without regard to creed, color, birthplace, occupation, or social condition. My aim is to do equal and exact justice as among them all. In the employment and dismissal of men in the Government service I can no more recognize the fact that a man does or does not belong to a union, as being for or against him, than I can recognize the fact that he is a Protestant or a Catholic, a Jew or a Gentile, as being for or against him.

"In the communications sent me by various labor organizations protesting against the retention of Miller in the Government Printing Office the grounds alleged are two fold: First, that he is a non-union man; second, that he is not personally fit. The question of his personal fitness is one to be settled in the routine of administrative detail, and can not be allowed to conflict or to complicate the larger question of governmental discrimination for or against him or any other man because he is or is not a member of a union. This is the only question now before me for decision, and as to this my decision is final."

In the foregoing statement of policy President Roosevelt merely reiterated his well-known conviction that the law must be administered with absolutely no discrimination.

"THE PROTECTIVE POLICY GIVES THE LARGEST POSSIBLE REWARD TO LABOR."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. WILLIAM McKINLEY, of Ohio,
in House of Representatives, and printed in daily Con-
gressional Record, May 7, 1890.*

The accumulations of the laborers of the country have increased, and the working classes of no nation in the world have such splendid deposits in savings banks as the working classes of the United States.

Listen to its own story. The deposits of all the savings banks of New England in 1886 equaled \$554,532,434. The deposits in the savings banks of New York in 1886 were \$482,686,730. The deposits in the savings banks of Massachusetts for the year 1887 were \$302,948,624, and the number of depositors was 944,778, or \$320.67 for each depositor. The savings banks of nine States have in nineteen years increased their deposits \$628,000,000. *Our operatives deposit \$7 to the English operative's \$1.* These vast sums represent the savings of the men whose labor has been employed under the protective policy, which gives, as experience has shown, the largest possible reward to labor. * * *

With a debt of over \$2,050,000,000 when the war terminated, holding on to the protective laws against Democratic opposition, we have reduced that debt at an average rate of more than \$62,000,000 each year, \$174,000 every twenty-four hours, for the last twenty-five years, and what looked to be a burden almost impossible to bear has been removed under the Republican fiscal system until now it is \$1,020,000,000, and with the payment of this vast sum of money the nation has not been impoverished. The individual citizen has not been burdened or bankrupted. National and individual prosperity have gone steadily on, until our wealth is so great as to be almost incomprehensible when put into figures. * * *

Notwithstanding the complaint that is made about the decadence of our foreign commerce, Mulhall informs us that Great Britain's proportion in the foreign commerce in 1830 was 27.2 per cent. of the commerce of the world; but in 1870 it had fallen to 24.5 per cent., and in 1880 Great Britain's proportion was but 21.2 per cent. In 1830 the United States had but 3.7 per cent. of the commerce of the world; in 1870 it had risen to 9.2 per cent.; and in 1880 she had 11.5 per cent. of the foreign commerce of the world.

While Great Britain lost between 1870 and 1880 13 per cent. of her trade the United States gained 22 per cent. And if the United States would give the same encouragement to her merchant marine and her steamship lines as is given by other nations, this commerce on the seas under the American flag would increase and multiply. When the United States will expend from her treasury from five to six millions a year, as do France and Great Britain, to maintain their steamship lines, our ships will plow every sea in successful competition with the ships of the world.

"IF ANYBODY MAKES A PROFIT OUT OF US, WE PREFER THAT IT SHALL BE THOSE WHO GIVE GOOD WAGES TO AMERICAN WORKMEN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. D. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania, in House of Representatives, March 25, 1870. (Congressional Globe, Appendix, page 214, 41st Congress, 2d Session.)

PROOF THAT PROTECTION CHEAPENS GOODS.

The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Kerr) speaking of my argument on Bessemer rails, said that as America produced but 30,000 tons per annum, the establishment of her works could have had no influence upon the price of English rails, because the quantity produced was relatively so small. I propose to illustrate the fallacy of that argument by the contents of the little box I hold in my hand. So long as America was unprepared to make Bessemer steel no Englishman would sell a ton of rails for less than \$150. I have told the story to this committee once, and will not now repeat the details. But when in 1865 the works of Griswold & Co., at Troy, New York, and the Freedom Works, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, were ready to deliver Bessemer rails, Englishmen, who had been swearing that they could not sell them at less than \$150 a ton immediately offered them at \$130. And when our works increased from two to six they dropped their price down to \$100, and, if necessary, they will drop it to \$50, or until they force the owners of our establishments to abandon the production and apply their premises and machinery to some other use.

Their policy is to crowd out our works; or, as Lord Brougham advised in 1815, just after the close of our war, "to spend any amount of money to strangle in the cradle the infant industries the exigencies of the war had called into existence in the United States." *They will spend any amount of money to crowd out these five or six Bessemer rail-works, and then put the price up to figures that will be satisfactory to themselves.*

I said I would illustrate the argument by the contents of a small box I hold in my hand. It contains a very few small articles and specimens of the material of which they are made. They are gas-tips, of a kind that till quite lately were made exclusively in Germany. They then sold in our market at from \$6 to \$12 per gross. I cannot tell you whether this afforded so grand a profit as Bessemer rails did at \$150 gold per ton. But, as recent events prove, it must have paid splendidly. Since the close of the war there has been found in the interior of Tennessee a deposit of talc, of which these are specimens (holding up small pieces). This is carried, not in foreign ships, but by our transportation companies, to Boston, giving business to our railroad companies between the heart of Tennessee and Massachusetts. There Yankee ingenuity converts the talc into gas tips, which will not corrode, such as the Germans make, and for which they had the monopoly of our market. These American men have embarked a large capital in this enterprise and employ many people in Tennessee and Massachusetts. They are busy making these little gas tips and creating a market for Western grain, and converting newly-arrived laborers from Europe into well-paid American workmen.

What effect has their enterprise had on the price of porcelain gas tips? The German manufacturers who could not sell them for less than \$6 to \$12 a gross now suddenly drop their price and are flooding the market with them at \$2 a gross. At this price they will soon destroy their Yankee rival and regain their old monopoly.

Now, are we wrong when we say that if anybody makes a profit out of us we prefer that it shall be those who feed on American wheat, wear American wool, give good wages to American workmen? The little gas-tip illustrates the truth that American competition cheapens small foreign commodities quite as well as the weightier article of steel rails.

CONSTANT EMPLOYMENT AND WELL PAID LABOR PRODUCE GENERAL PROSPERITY."

Extract from speech of July 25 and 27, 1846, by Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER of Massachusetts, in the Senate of the United States. (Congressional Globe, pp. 1143, 1151, 29th Congress, 1st Ses.)

But, sir, before I proceed further, I will take notice of what appears to be some attempt, latterly, by the republication of opinions and expressions, arguments and speeches of mine, at an earlier and later period of my life, to place me in a position of inconsistency on this subject of the protective policy of the country. Mr. President, if it be an inconsistency to hold an opinion upon a subject of public-policy to-day in one state of circumstances and to hold a different opinion upon the same subject of public policy to-morrow, in a different state of circumstances, if that be an inconsistency, I admit its applicability to myself. * * * * The interest of every laboring community requires diversity of occupation, pursuits, and objects of industry. The more that diversity is multiplied or extended the better. To diversify employment is to increase employment and to enhance wages. And, sir, take this great truth; place it on the title page of every book of political economy intended for the use of the United States; put it in every Farmer's Almanac; let it be the heading of the column in every Mechanics' Magazine; proclaim it everywhere, and make it a proverb, that *where there is work for the hands of men there will be work for their teeth*. Where there is employment there will be bread. It is a great blessing to the poor to have cheap food, but greater than that, prior to that, and of still higher value, is the blessing of being able to buy food by honest and respectable employment. *Employment feeds, and clothes, and instructs. Employment gives health, sobriety, and morals. Constant employment and well-paid labor produce in a country like ours general prosperity, content, and cheerfulness. Thus happy have we seen the country. Thus happy may we long continue to see it.* * * * * I hope I know more of the Constitution of my country than I did when I was twenty years old. I hope I have contemplated its great objects more broadly. I hope I have read with deeper interest the sentiments of the great men who framed it. I hope I have studied with more care the condition of the country when the convention assembled to form it. * * * * And now, sir, allow me to say that I am quite indifferent, or, rather, thankful, to those conductors of the public press who think they cannot do better than now and then spread my poor opinions before the public.

"TO DIVERSIFY EMPLOYMENT IS TO INCREASE EMPLOYMENT AND TO ENHANCE WAGES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, May 16, 1894.

Daniel Webster made one of his greatest speeches, running through three days, July 25, 27 and 28, 1846. He said:

"The interest of every laboring community requires diversity of occupations, pursuits, and objects of industry. The more that diversity is multiplied, even extended, the better. To diversify employment is to increase employment and to enhance wages. And, sir, take this great truth; place it on the title-page of every book of Political Economy intended for the use of the United States; put it in every Farmers' Almanac; let it be the heading of the column of every Mechanics' Magazine; proclaim it everywhere, and make it a proverb that *where there is work for the hands of men there will be work for their teeth*. Where there is employment there will be bread. It is a great blessing to the poor to have cheap food, but greater than that, prior to that and of still higher value, is the blessing of being able to buy food by honest and respectable employment. Employment feeds and clothes and instructs. Employment gives health, sobriety, and morals. Constant employment and well-paid labor produce, in a country like ours, general prosperity, content and cheerfulness."

"You indulge in the luxury of taxing the poor man and the laborer! That is the whole tendency, the whole character, the whole effect of the bill. One may see everywhere in it the desire to revel in the delight of taking away men's employment. It is not a bill for the people or the masses. It is not a bill to add to the comforts of those in middle life, or of the poor. It is not a bill for employment. It is a bill for the relief of the highest and most luxurious classes of the country, and a bill imposing onerous duties on the great industrious masses, and for taking away the means of living from labor everywhere throughout the land."

In a speech in Albany, in August, 1844, he said: "In Colonial times, and during the time of the Convention, the idea was held up that domestic industry could not prosper, manufactures and the mechanic arts could not advance, the condition of the common country could not be carried up to any considerable elevation, unless there should be one government to lay one rate of duty upon imports throughout the Union; regard to be had, in laying this duty, to the protection of American labor and industry. I defy the man in any degree conversant with the history, in any degree acquainted with the annals of this country from 1787 to 1789, when the Constitution was adopted, to say that protection of American labor and industry was not a leading, I might almost say, *the leading motive South as well as North, for the formation of the new government. Without that provision in the Constitution it never could have been adopted.*"

In a speech on the 8th of July, 1833, he said: "From the close of the War of the Revolution there came a period of depression and distress on the Atlantic coast, such as the people had hardly felt during the sharpest crisis of the war itself. Ship-owners, ship-builders, mechanics, artisans, all were destitute of employment, and some of them destitute of bread. British ships came freely, and British ships came plentifully; while to American ships and American products there was neither protection on the one side, nor the equivalent of reciprocal free trade on the other. The cheaper labor of England supplied the inhabitants of the Atlantic shores with everything. Ready-made clothes among the rest, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet, were for sale in every city. All these things came free from any general system of imposts."

"UP-TO-DATE METHODS OF PROTECTION."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record.

THE MOSELEY COMMISSION.

Mr. Moseley's commission was composed of twenty-three men, secretaries or leading officers of the trades unions representing the principal industries of the United Kingdom. Among the associations represented were cotton spinners, engineers, compositors, bookbinders, iron and steel workers, carpenters, shipbuilders, plasterers, paper makers, tailors, furnishing tradesmen, cutlery operatives, boot and shoe makers, lithographers, printers, leather workers, iron founders, bricklayers, shipwrights, weavers and several general trades councilors and federations. Each of these twenty-three representatives of great labor organizations was required to present a report upon his observations of conditions in the industries of the United States. Mr. Moseley himself, on the opening page of the report, says:

* * * In the United States one hears a great deal against "trusts" (as they are known, or what we term "large corporations"), but personally I am rather inclined to welcome these concerns, because large organizations that employ capital are best able to compete in manufactures on the most economical lines, can fearlessly raise wages within given limits, are in position to combat unhealthy competition, can provide up-to-date machinery ad libitum, can erect sanitary and well-ventilated workshops, and generally study better the comfort and well-being of the workmen than small individual manufacturers struggling against insufficient capital and old machinery. It is in the organization of capital on the one hand and a thorough organization of labor on the other that I believe the solution of industrial problems will be found. * * *

In my previous trips to America I had been favorably struck by the up-to-date methods of production there, both from a business standpoint and as regards the equipment of their workshops. The manufacturers there do not hesitate to put in the very latest machinery at whatever cost, and from time to time to sacrifice large sums by scrapping the old whenever improvements are brought out. *Labor-saving machinery is widely used everywhere and is encouraged by the unions and welcomed by the men, because experience has shown them that in reality machinery is their best friend.* It saves the workman numerous miseries, raises his wages, tends toward a higher standard of living, and, further, rather creates work than reduces the number of hands employed. In England it has been the rule for generations past that as soon as a man earns beyond a certain amount of wages the price of his work is cut down, and he, finding that working harder and running his machine quicker brings no larger reward, slackens his efforts accordingly.

In the United States the manufacturers rather welcome large earnings by the men so long as they themselves can make a profit, arguing that each man occupies so much space in the factory, which represents so much capital employed, and therefore that the greater the production of these men the greater must be the manufacturers' profit. * * * *The United States has advanced by leaps and bounds. She is beginning to feel the beneficial effects of the education of her masses and an enormous territory teeming with natural resources as yet but meagerly developed.* At the present time the home market of the United States is so fully occupied with its own developments that the export trade has as yet been comparatively little thought of; but as time goes on and the numerous factories that are being erected all over the country come into full bearing, America is bound to become the keenest of competitors in the markets of the world. * * *

How is it that the American manufacturer can afford to pay wages 50 per cent., 100 per cent., and even more, in some instances both ways, and yet be able to successfully compete in the markets of the world? The answer is to be found in small economies which escape the ordinary eye. That the American workman earns higher wages is beyond question. As a consequence, the average married man owns the house he lives in, which not only gives him a stake in the country, but saves payment of rent, enabling him either to increase his savings or to purchase further comforts. Food is as cheap (if not cheaper) in the United States as in England, whilst general necessities may, I think, be put on the same level. * * * It is generally admitted that the American workman, in consequence of labor-saving machinery and the excellence of the factory organization, does not need to put forth any greater effort in his work than is the case here, if as much. *He is infinitely better paid, therefore better housed, fed, clothed, and, moreover, is much more sober.*

"AMERICAN WORKERS PAID BETTER AND LIVE BETTER THAN THE ENGLISH WORKERS."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of Pennsylvania
in daily Congressional Record.*

Mr. W. Dyson, of the Amalgamated Paper Makers' Union, to the question, "Are the American workers better paid than the English?" responded: "Yes; they are paid better, and they live better than the English workers." To the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" his response was "There is very little, if any, difference." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his response was: "I should estimate the average wage in American paper mills for skilled labor to be 25 shillings per week higher and unskilled labor 10 shillings per week higher than in England." To the question, "Are a larger or smaller proportion of American workingmen dependent upon the public purse than in England?" his answer was: "A much smaller proportion." To the question, "Do you consider the general conditions of life of the workman better in America than in England?" his response was: "Yes. *The great majority of American workmen certainly follow their occupation under more favorable conditions than the English workmen*, there being more attention paid to sanitary arrangements, ventilation, etc., which, of course, tends to keep a man fresh and more active."

Mr. C. W. Bowerman, of the London Society of Compositors to the question, "Are American workers better off than the English?" said, "American workers are able to keep a better table; food, meat etc., being considerably more reasonable in price than in this country; fruit also is very plentiful and exceedingly cheap. They are as well clothed and at about the same cost as here." To the question "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his response was, "An average of about \$1 per day more than in England." To the question, "Can the careful, sober, steady man, whilst keeping himself efficient, save more in America than in England?" his response was, "Wages being generally much higher, and taking into account the difference in the cost of rent, I am satisfied that a careful, sober steady man is in a considerably better position to save money in America than in England."

Mr. W. Coffey, of the London Consolidated Society of Journey-men Bookbinders, to the question, "Are the American workers better off than the English, and how does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" answered:

"So far as I was able to observe there is a general appearance of good health and physical vigor amongst both men and women workers in our trade, leading to the inference that they are on the whole well cared for and properly nourished—a proof that food is not higher than with us. Meat has risen considerably in the last few years, but, notwithstanding this result of the trust, the prices range about the same as our market rates."

To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average rate in England?" his response was, "Wages rule at from 70 to 100 per cent higher than in England." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his response was, "*The workman in our trade in America is quite 25 per cent. better off than his English colleague.* A man who is careful, sober, and steady can certainly save more money than is possible here."

The Moseley Industrial Commission, composed of officers of the leading labor unions of England, visited the United States in 1902. Each member was required to carefully investigate and report upon conditions of American labor in the industry which his union represented, and also to make specific answers to certain questions supplied to each member of the Commission. The words here quoted are from the reports submitted by these men after their return to England.

"ALL AIMING AT ELEVATING THE LABORING CLASSES AND MAKING THEM FEEL THAT THEY WERE CITIZENS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record.

Mr. H. R. Taylor, an officer of the Operative Bricklayers' Society, England, responding to the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" said: "Much higher. The lowest wage in England is 13 cents per hour and the highest 21 cents, while the lowest wage paid in any of the towns I visited in America was 45 cents per hour." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" he said: "I feel that I am well within the mark in saying that the American bricklayer is quite 50 per cent. better off than the English bricklayer."

Mr. M. Deller, representative of the National Association of Operative Plasterers, in response to the question, "Are the American workers better off than the English?" said: "It naturally follows that with wages much higher in America than in England those who desire to live well can do so much easier than in England." To the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" his response was: "Favorably." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his response was: "More than double." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his response was: "At least 25 per cent. better."

Mr. H. Crawford, of the General Union of Operative Carpenters and Joiners, states, in concluding his general discussion, that "in London the average weekly wage for joiner and carpenter is £2 2s. 6d.; board and lodging, 15s., leaving a balance of £1 7s. 6d. In New York the wages, he says, "are, for forty-four hours (as against forty-eight in London), £5 3s. 6d.; board, £1 9s. 2d., leaving a balance of £3 14s. Hence the American can save nearly double, though he works four hours less per week." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade compare in America, expressed in money, with the average wage in England?" his response was, "Very much higher." To the question, "Can the careful, sober, steady man save more money in America than in England?" his response was, "Yes; if he chooses, certainly he can." To the question, "Do you consider the general conditions of life of the workman better in America than in England?" his response was, "Yes; I found there was plenty of employment and generally much better paid. *I found all classes aiming at elevating the laboring classes and making them feel that they were citizens with duties to perform to the State.*"

Mr. Harry Ham, of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, responding to certain of the inquiries, and answering the question, "Are the American workers better off than the English?" responded, "Yes." To the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" his response was, "A trifle higher, but not a great difference." To the question, "Do more workers, relatively, own the houses they live in than is the case in England?" his answer was, "Yes; they are receiving better wages, and employment is more secure." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his response was, "The hours worked in America vary from forty-four to sixty, wages from \$2.25 to \$3.75; in England the hours from forty-eight to fifty-five, wages from 7½d. to 10¼d. per hour." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his response was, "Most favorably." To the question, "Can the careful, steady man save more in America than in England?" his response was, "Undoubtedly."

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"AMERICAN WORKERS BETTER OFF THAN THE ENGLISH."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in the Congressional Record.

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To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average rate in England?" his response was, "Wages rule at from 70 to 100 per cent. higher than in England." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his response was, "The workman in our trade in America is quite 25 per cent. better off than his English colleague. A man who is careful, sober, and steady can certainly save more money than is possible here."

James Cox, Secretary of the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, said in his report:

It was my first visit to America. I could not avoid many preconceived ideas. I had been led to expect one perpetual rush and hustle pervading every aspect of life. I was also led to believe that this hustle and rush permeated and actuated all kinds of workmen in every department of labor. The cost of living was another matter upon which I had wrong impressions. To the ordinary traveler the difference will be perhaps two to one, but to the ordinary workman the cost of living is not so much higher in America as we are led to believe. * * * The total production of pig iron in the United States in 1901 was 15,878,354 tons. * * * In the production of these enormous quantities it is generally thought that the United States Steel Corporation has a complete monopoly.

I remember well the panic caused by the reports of its formation. The fact of a billion-dollar steel trust being formed was such an unheard-of and gigantic combination as to almost turn the brains of English manufacturers. * * * Manufacturing prices had sharply receded in the United States just at that period—October, 1900—and the American manufacturers taking advantage of our abnormally high prices, slipped in and completely wounded the English manufacturer. The pity is that several of them never recovered. *The British iron trade and the workmen engaged in it would be infinitely better off if an earthquake could swallow up many of the works of manufacturers who bleed their works to death in times of good trade and grind their workmen in periods of adversity.*

Large trusts have their inherent defects, but I am convinced from my investigations that the workman has less to fear in the long run from the operations of concentrated capital than he has from the impecunious employer in his frantic efforts to dip into the wages of his underpaid workmen. * * * During the years of depression from 1893 to 1897 American industry was much more depressed than our own; failures and bankruptcies were common, and a general demoralization of trade existed unequaled in intensity throughout the world. The present cycle, unprecedented in the United States, has lasted longer and contained greater elements of stability than in our own country, and to a far greater degree than in Belgium or Germany. * * * In the matter of wages the American workman is far better off than in this country. * * * The question may be asked, *Is it possible for British producers to compete in the American market?* I confess I think not so long as the present tariff exists.

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3,000,000 OF MEN WHO WENT OUT OF EMPLOYMENT WITH THE REVISION OF THE TARIFF BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOUND EMPLOYMENT IN THE ENACTMENT OF THE DINGLEY LAW."

Exacts from remarks of Hon. P. P. CAMPBELL of Kansas, in daily Congressional Record, April 1, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, we have seen the first half century of our country's history rising under the protective policy to prosperity and falling under tariff revision by the Democratic party to adversity. A condition of prosperity came with the policy of protection and a condition of adversity came when the theory of free trade was yielded to, and this has been without an exception.

It is not strange, then, that among the first laws enacted by the Republican party was a law putting into effect the policy of protection—policy that was sustained for almost a third of a century after its adoption in 1861.

And yet, if we are to believe anything alleged and deliberately declared by the Democratic party, we must believe that the farmers of the North and West have been robbed through all these years to hothouse into prosperity and wealth the industries of others.

Mr. Chairman, the fact is that no like period in the history of this or any other country has ever witnessed such marvelous development of resources and such unparalleled prosperity of industry. Agriculture and manufacture have grown up and prospered together. The farmer has a market at home for his produce. The manufacturer has not had to go abroad with his wares. Both have prospered by practicing the profitable economy of eliminating distances from the question of trade. The policy of protection has preserved the American market for the products of American manufacturers, and American manufacturers have made markets for the products of American farmers, and together they have established the high standard of American living and made possible a high scale of American wages. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The farmer of the West has learned and the farmer of the South ought to learn that when the factory is closed he not only loses customers for his products, but also meets additional competitors in his production. The workman, losing his employment in the factory, settles upon a truck farm and becomes a producer of the products he formerly bought from the farmer. The prosperity of the farmer depends upon the prosperity of those who buy his products.

But in 1892, in the midst of plenty, surrounded by unusual conditions of prosperity, the Democratic party raised the old banner of opposition to the protective policy and again asked for an opportunity to revise the tariff. The policy of protection was then called a system of robbery that made the rich richer and the poor poorer, and hothouse into prosperity one industry at the expense of another. The people had forgotten their country's history and said: "We'll try it." The depression and ruin that was inaugurated by that tariff revision by the Democratic party is vivid in the minds of all. It is impossible to exaggerate the condition of devastation that followed upon the ruins of every industry throughout the land. Banks suspended, factories closed, furnaces drew their fires, mills suspended work, agriculture was prostrated, industry of all kinds languished, values of farm products and farm animals went downward, farm values went to a low ebb, values of all commodities went down to the ruin of all industry.

There was little or no incentive to work upon the farm and nothing to do in the factory. This wreck of industry resulted in the loss of employment to more than 3,000,000 of workmen, and those who were not let out of employment entirely were working upon less than one-half time.

But, Mr. Chairman, it did not take long to get enough of the Gorman-Harrison tariff revision, and the election of 1896 called upon the Republican party to again give the American people the benefits of the protective policy.

The Dingley act restored that policy, and with that restoration came a return of prosperity. The whistle blew, and idle labor found its way to the industries that were opening their doors throughout the land. Smokestacks throughout the country began again to emit in ceaseless streams the emblem of a country's prosperity, and the hum of spindles made a song of gladness that echoed throughout the land. The 3,000,000 of men who went out of employment with the revision of the tariff by the Democratic party found employment in the enactment of the Dingley law by the Republican party, and a million and a half have been added to those who have employment in the industries of the country. Agriculture revived; banks rechartered and opened; industry of every kind acquired new life and energy. Every field of industrial life became a field of industrial activity. The railroads of the country added hundreds and thousands of men to their employees, endeavoring to take care of the commerce of the people.

"THE TERRIBLE EXPERIENCES OF FREE TRADE"

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, June 9, 1900.

"LEST WE FORGET"—A FEW FACTS ABOUT 1893-1896 WHICH WORKINGMEN SHOULD REMEMBER IN 1900

Mr. Speaker, the voters of the United States are about to be called upon to determine which party shall control the affairs of the Government during the next four years. It seems scarcely possible that the terrible experiences of free trade could be so soon forgotten, but as this seems to be the only assumption upon which their votes can again be asked for those dangerous propositions I propose to put on record a few extracts from that generally accepted and always accurate authority, the American Cyclopaedia, on conditions which existed during the Democratic period, 1893-1896, in which the actual experiment of free trade was made.

[From Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1893, 1894, and 1895.]

July 18, 1893: Denver, Colo.; four banks close their doors and the city is run on other financial institutions.
July 19: More banks close their doors.
July 22: Two bank failures in Milwaukee and runs on banks in many other places.
July 24: More bank failures in the West.
July 26: New York; two stock exchange firms fail.
July 27: Ten banks suspend, most of them Northwestern. Other business failures reported.
July 28: More failures and suspensions, including nine banks in the West and one in Kentucky.
August 1: Collapse of the Chicago provision deal. Many failures of commission houses. Great excitement in the board of trade.
August 8: The Chemical Bank, one of the strongest in the country, is unable to fill its weekly orders for small currency.
August —: Madison Square Bank suspends.
August 17: Much excitement on east side New York among Hebrew laborers. Police called out.
August 22: Encounter between anarchists and socialists averted by police in New York.
August 23: Meeting of anarchists broken up by police.
August 30: Kansas coal miners' strike ended with nothing gained.
January 15, 1894: Secretary of the Treasury Carlisle announces his intention to issue bonds.
January 17: The Secretary of the Treasury offers a \$50,000,000 loan for public subscriptions, according to his announced intentions.
January 24: Strike in Ohio of 10,000 miners.
January 27: A mob of foreign miners destroy property at Brantville, Pa., and elsewhere.
February 16: Many New York silk factories close on account of strike.
February 18: In Ohio all the mines of the Massillon district closed on strike.
February 20: In Boston a riotous assemblage of unemployed workmen dispersed by police.
March 2: Six thousand miners in Jackson County, Ohio, out of employment.
Paterson, N. J.: General strike among the silk weavers.
March 3: In West Virginia striking miners burn the railroad bridge and commit other lawless acts.
March 13: At Paterson, N. J., riotous proceeding on the part of the striking silk weavers.
March 17: In Colorado Governor Waite orders State troops to Cripple Creek to suppress mining troubles.
March 20: In Boston a large body of unemployed workingmen march to the State House and demand employment.
March 24: A movement inaugurated in various parts of the Northern States, known as the Army of the Commonwealth, Coxeyites, etc., proposing marching to Washington and demanding help at the hands of Congress.
March 31: Coxeyites are a source of terror to certain Western towns upon which they quarter themselves.
April 1: In South Carolina a large force of State militia is dispatched to the scene of the whisky war in Darlington and Florence.
In Ohio a mob of strikers at East Liverpool becomes riotous and several persons are injured.
April 2: In Chicago 5,000 plumbers, painters, etc., go on a strike.
At Connellsville, Pa., 5,000 coke workers strike.
April 3: In South Carolina the governor assumes control of the police and declares martial law in all the cities of the State.
April 4: In Pennsylvania 6 men killed and 1 wounded in coke riots.
April 13: General strike for higher wages on Great Northern Railway.
In Alabama: The general council of United Mine Workers orders a strike affecting 8,000 men.
April 16: Strike on the Great Northern spreads to the Northern Pacific.
April 20: In Omaha a mob seizes a train of box cars and attempts to deport Kelly's industrial army, but the army refuses to go.
April 21: About 150,000 miners stop work in sympathy with the coke strikers of Pennsylvania.
April 28: Arrival of a division of the Coxey army at Washington.
A division of the Coxeyites arrested at Mount Sterling for holding up a railway train.
United States troops ordered to assist the civil authorities in the far West.
On the Great Northern Railroad system the Knights of Labor are called out on strike.
April 29: Kelly's army, 1,200 strong, at Des Moines.
April 30: Strike of 2,000 painters in Chicago.
May 1: Attempted demonstrations of Coxey's army on the steps of the Capitol.

**"PROTECTION IS THE BEST FOR WORKINGMEN."—
"ONLY POSSIBLE DANGER IN A CHANGE
OF POLICIES."**

Extracts from speech by Hon. M. A. HANNA at Chillicothe, Ohio, September 19, 1903, and printed in daily Congressional Record.

Mr. Clarke qualifies his position on the tariff by saying that he would take the tariff entirely off of every article manufactured by trusts. What does that mean? Every iron and steel industry in the United States, everything connected with the metal trades, with the cotton trades, and in fact nearly all of our great industries would come within the scope of his proposition. Industries would close until price of labor went down to European level.

Why, is there any intelligent man among the workingmen of my State who does not know what would be the result of that policy? Absolute free trade through all the schedules of our tariff would shut up 75 per cent. of the industrial institutions of the United States until we could get labor down to the price where we could compete with Europe. That is what you are up against, boys. [Laughter and long-continued cheering.] They fooled you in 1892 by the "clack" about "tin cans." They pulled the wool over your eyes about the McKinley bill.

McKinley's thought was for suffering of those deluded through demagoguery.

But McKinley, although his bill was defeated, never lost courage, and I have heard him say many times, "Yes, it is hard, but it is no humiliation to me, because I know I am right, and I know that soon the people will be right. I am only thinking of those homes where suffering and want will enter during the period which must pass before the men come to their sober senses and learn from bitter experience what it means to have this great structure of protection, built up in their interests more than any other, stricken to the ground, and all through the influences of demagoguery."

Now, as always, protection is best for workingmen.

No, as far as your interests lie in the direction of national questions, let me repeat, the questions have not changed, the principles have not changed, the results have not changed, and you stand here to-day just exactly where you stood years ago in this State, when, under the leadership of the gallant man who believed in the protective policy and in safe money, you followed him to the polls and year after year registered your verdict, and that was the policy for the working classes of this State and country. [Enthusiastic applause.] * * *

Oh, my friends, you have had experiences; you have had object lessons, and the results of those experiences and those lessons have not yet faded from your memories. There is not a workingman in this country nor in this State who has not had them vividly impressed upon him through avenues that reached his heart, because they have caused misery at his fireside. The change came, and it became the privilege as well as the duty of our own dear William McKinley to come to the front with the confidence of the whole people behind him, and assuming the reins of government at that opportune time, not only by his living example, not only as a result of those principles which had guided him all his life, but preeminently because during that public life he had stood the friend of the workingman and had taught the principles which had filled their minds and filled their hearts with gratitude until confidence grew so that they were willing to follow him, and, to a man, they did follow him in 1896 and in 1900. [Long-continued applause.]

McKinley's advice would be, "Remember the policies and party that brought prosperity and happiness."

Those principles are living to-day, although he has gone from us forever. [Applause.] But he has left behind a record which every Ohio man cherishes as a heritage to him. He has left behind an example to that class of which I speak, and if he could speak to-day it would be to remind every man in the State of Ohio who works with his hands: "Remember all that you have passed through in years gone by; remember how, step by step, you learned those lessons of economic policy which have brought prosperity and happiness to your hearthstones, and, remembering that, remember the party and the teachers of these policies, who have been your friends in all the past, and stand to-day where they stood in 1896, when the millennium came. [Great applause.]

Only possible danger in a change of policies.

I say, my friends, that the only danger that can possibly come—and I make this statement from the standpoint of a business man, and I think I know my business [great laughter and applause]; better, at least, than my friend Clarke does, any way [renewed laughter and great applause]—the only danger that can possibly come to the people of this country is through their own acts, by their own power, and the will to change those policies which have made us what we are to-day.

A suspicion of a change would check industry.

If it were thought that the heresies of Tom Johnson and his socialistic followers could make any impression upon the people of Ohio so as to change the political conditions here, I will tell you what would happen. The men who control these great industries, the men whose power and money are moving all this enormous trade, the men who are associated with them as partners, together with the men who work with their hands in this great business development, would be the first ones to take notice of that change if it were imminent, and they would act upon the hypothesis that it is better to wait and know the truth than to surmise it and speculate upon it. The result would be—and I tell you it is true—that if a single cloud came into the commercial sky of this country which looked to any change of policy different from what we have had in the last six or seven years, the change would come, the wheels of industry would slow down, and there would be a waiting policy—waiting to know what the result might be; waiting to know whether the American people would tire of the conditions which have brought to them wealth and prosperity, just for the sake of a change, as it did in 1892, and were prepared to throw aside the benefits and experiences of those principles and try new pastures or not.

"FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION, FROM THE BRITISH WORKMAN'S POINT OF VIEW."

Printed in daily Congressional Record.

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION, FROM THE BRITISH WORKMAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

[Extract from paper by M. Maltman Barrie in Nineteenth Century.]

What is the value of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals to the British workman? Are they good enough? Are they any good? Are they useless? Are they actually injurious? Which of the three policies—free trade, free imports, or protection—is best for him? Is the best attainable, and how? These are the questions I propose to examine.

The first point to be observed is the condition—the economic condition—of the worker. What is that condition? I am averse to the use of strong language—it usually weakens the effect of an argument; but, after all, things should have their proper names, and, in my opinion, the economic condition of the worker is one of slavery. I know there will be protests and objections here, but protests are not evidence. Let us look at the facts. Nominally, no doubt, the wage-paid worker is a free man, but practically he is a slave. Indeed, he must work harder and longer, and with less security for the means of life, than did the average slave in slavery days, and under penalties for default that the slave had not to fear. * * *

Such is the condition of the worker, a virtual slave, condemned to labor on a subsistence wage. How is that condition to be altered? How is the doom to be evaded? To answer that question we must first ascertain why the worker is in that condition, what is the cause of his economic subjection. The cause lies upon the surface; it is competition. This competition confronts the worker in two forms—firstly, in the form of the labor of his fellows in the labor market, and, secondly, in the form of the finished article, the product of foreign labor, in the product market. * * *

Some years ago I witnessed a curious incident bearing on this point. A large building in a leading London thoroughfare was being erected. All the outer walls were up, but the woodwork was barely started. At this stage the Society of Carpenters and Joiners, for some reason or other, ordered a strike, and called their members off this particular job, amongst others. I observed the society's "pickets" for some time, and saw them turn back several "blacklegs" who wished to go in to work. So far, well. But presently down the street came, slowly and leisurely, an open lorry laden with ready-made doors and windows, an importation from Sweden. The gates of the works swung slowly on their hinges and the lorry, with its load, passed slowly in. The "pickets," who would have broken the head of any Englishman who had gone in that gate to make those doors and windows, lifted no finger, uttered no word to prevent the passing of the finished foreign-made article. To have done so would have been a "violation of the sacred principle of free trade."

In striking contrast to the free-trade religion of the average British trades-unionist leader is the protectionism of the working class in all our colonies and the United States of America. These workmen are as ardent trade unionists as are their British fellows; but they are protectionists to a man. The reason for this is, in my opinion, that these colonists and Americans had the advantage of starting life in practically new countries, under virgin conditions, and absolutely untrammelled by prepossessions. They were free to judge all questions on their merits, and had a clean slate on which they could write their own unbiased judgments.

*What is free trade? It is free exchange. But we have not got it. We have free imports, with slight exceptions, and taxed exports, with slight exceptions, and all the other nations and our own colonies have practically protection. Free exchange, the absence of all obstacles to commercial intercourse, is, no doubt, the ideal method of exchange from the consumer's point of view, for by it he would obtain his commodities at prices lower than would otherwise be possible. * * **

What, on the other hand, is protection? It is a system by which nations set up barriers at their ports and frontiers against the trade of other nations. The barriers take the form of duties, or taxes, levied on such trade, and are erected for two separate and distinct objects. In some cases the tax is levied for the sake of revenue only; in others for the purpose of wholly or partially excluding from the country commodities which the country can, and wishes to, produce herself. The effect of this tax, or customs duty, is, of course, to increase the natural cost of the commodities so taxed, and protection is therefore as obnoxious to the idle consumer as free trade is acceptable. * * *

To the merchant who buys and sells, the manufacturer who produces and sells, the carrier, and the dealer free trade is likewise preferable to protection, being more conducive to the expansion of commerce. But to the manufacturer, at least, it is essential that the free trade shall be universal, that he shall not be handicapped in the race by having markets closed against him that are open to his rivals. And if he can not have general free trade he would prefer, with all its waste and restrictions, general protection. Whichever it is to be, he asks that it shall be equal all round, a fair field and no favor, so that every man shall obtain such results as his skill and energy deserve.

But to the worker free trade is and must be most disadvantageous, for under it the product of his labor is subject to the competition of the whole world. And to the worker in highly civilized and prosperous communities like Great Britain, our own great colonies, and the United States of America free trade is or would be specially disadvantageous, for the competition of the poorer and less civilized races of the earth would tend inevitably to lower his standard of living.

A GREAT DISPLACEMENT OF BRITISH LABOR."

facts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record.

I present as an indication of the general interest which is being felt in subject of protection, some extracts from a series of letters contributed to the London Shoe and Leather Record. These were offered in response to a proposition by the editors of that journal to award prizes aggregating \$300 in value to those presenting the best arguments in favor of the retention of the protective system in the United Kingdom.

Mr. T. J. Macpherson, 1 Mortonhall road, Edinburgh, said:

Sir: Availing myself of your invitation to your readers to express my views on the fiscal question, I write in support of the proposed change of policy, and I submit the following propositions as the chief points in favor of the proposed alteration:

(1) That the export trade of this country is practically stagnant, whereas the export trade of our chief commercial rivals has increased immensely in recent years.

(2) That the nature of our export trade is changing, and that to our great disadvantage. Formerly we exported mainly manufactured goods, the making of which gave employment to large numbers of work people; now we export larger quantities of raw material (the production of which requires less labor), including coal, and the exportation of coal lessens our national assets, as it can not, like other goods, be replaced.

(3) That the nature of our import trade is likewise changing. We import less raw material and larger quantities of manufactured goods which compete with and displace our home products, thus lessening the demand for labor as well as the profits of the employers. The position is aggravated by the fact that many of these imported articles are sold under the dumping system at less than the cost of production, and moreover our manufacturers work under restrictions as to sweating, factory regulations, hours, &c., from which our foreign competitors are free.

(4) The foreigner, not content with excluding our productions from our markets by high tariffs and capturing our home trade by dumping his surplus stock here, is competing with us in neutral markets, such as our colonies, and seriously impairing our trade with them.

(5) That our colonies are desirous of giving us a preference in their markets over our foreign rivals, but expect that we shall reciprocate by giving them a similar advantage in our markets for their produce. The granting of this demand would tend to bind the colonies closer to the mother country, thus strengthening the Empire.

I do not propose to argue at length in support of these propositions, while not wishing to trouble your readers with too many figures, I would point out that our exports of manufactured and partly manufactured goods in 1890 amounted to £228,805,000, and in 1902 to £227,645,000, thus showing a decrease of over one million sterling. The German export of manufactured goods in 1890 was £107,000,000, and in 1900, £149,000,000, an increase of no less than 79 per cent., while the American exports in the same period rose from £31,000,000 to £90,000,000, showing the enormous increase of 190 per cent. Of the twelve leading articles in our export trade there has been during the last ten years a decrease in nine, including cotton goods, steel, woolen goods, hardware, linen, steam engines, and leather. The last item, in which your readers are specially interested, has fallen one and a half millions. All these decreases mean a great displacement of British labor. * * *

I will now deal with the argument of those persons who hold that under the dumping system we are not losers but gainers, and that the cheaper the foreigner sells us his goods the better for us. To purchase raw material at the lowest price is certainly a good thing, but it is another matter when manufactured goods are sent into a country at prices below the cost of production, or under conditions of manufacture which render it impossible for the home producer to compete with success. It is not the national welfare for a people to become merely a distributing nation, and goods may be bought too cheaply, however low their nominal price, if their purchase leads to a decrease of employment and an increase of pauperism. I was told a few days ago by a Bermondsey currier that there were scores of men bred to the tanning and currying trade in London who are now sweeping the streets or doing any odd job they can get because of the depression in their own trade.

I may also point out that there has been an alarming increase in the number of paupers in this country in recent years. In 1878 the expenditure for the relief of the poor was at the rate of £307 per 1,000 of the population and in 1901 it was £367 per 1,000. In 1878 there were 21,000 able-bodied paupers in the workhouses; in 1902 there were 39,852. The proportion of the population in 1878 was 86 per 100,000 and in 1902 it was 121. On the other hand, it is said that the deposits in the savings banks have increased, but as a matter of fact they have increased at a greater rate in every other country in which a savings-bank system exists. Our country is actually at the bottom of the list in this respect.

The object of these foreigners who dump their surplus goods on us is not to benefit us at all, but to displace us from our position as a great manufacturing nation. Whenever they have killed competition in any particular line, their prices will go up. While our exports of manufactured goods have fallen, as stated in a former part of this paper, our imports of manufactured articles have increased by 50 per cent., equal to £50,000,000. I wonder our paupers are increasing.

On the ground of fair play to our own countrymen, is it right that we should impose factory rules and regulations for the preservation of the health and comfort of the employees, we should allow goods made in countries where no such restrictions exist to be brought here to undersell our home productions?

It has been pointed out that it is absurd to protect labor, as we do in this country by factory legislation, etc., and to leave the products of labor unprotected. Municipal corporations, such as the London county council, place large contracts for tramway rails, etc., with foreign firms, and congratulate themselves that they are saving a few thousand pounds to the ratepayers. Are they really saving? By sending their orders abroad they help to swell the ranks of the unemployed at home and thus to increase the demands for poor relief. They save so much in their contracts and pay much more in poor rates. Is that sound policy?

"IN THE MATTER OF WAGES THE AMERICAN WORKMAN IS FAR BETTER OFF."—"JAMES COX, SECRETARY ASSOCIATED IRON WORKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in

The Moseley Industrial Commission, composed of officers of the leading labor unions of England, visited the United States in 1902. Each member was required to carefully investigate and report upon conditions of American labor in the industry which his union represented, and to also supply specific answers to certain questions supplied to each member of the commission. The words here quoted are from the reports submitted by the men after their return to England.

James Cox, secretary of the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, said in his report:

It was my first visit to America. I could not avoid many preconceived ideas. I had been led to expect one perpetual rush and hustle pervading every aspect of life. I was also led to believe that this hustle and rush permeated and actuated all kinds of workmen in every department of labor. The cost of living was another matter upon which I had wrong impressions. To the ordinary traveler the difference will be perhaps two to one, but to an ordinary workman the cost of living is not so much higher in America as we are led to believe. * * * The total production of pig iron in the United States in 1901 was 15,878,354 tons. * * * In the production of these enormous quantities it was generally thought that the United States Steel Corporation has a complete monopoly.

I remember well the panic caused by the reports of its formation. The fact of a billion-dollar steel trust being formed was such an unheard-of gigantic combination as to almost turn the brains of English manufacturers. * * * Manufacturing prices had sharply receded in the United States just at that period—October, 1900—and the American manufacturers taking advantage of our abnormally high prices, slipped in and completely winded the English manufacturer. The pity is that several of them were never recovered. The British iron trade and the workmen engaged in it would infinitely better off if an earthquake could swallow up many of the worst manufacturers who bleed their works to death in times of good trade and grind their workmen in periods of adversity.

Large trusts have their inherent defects, but I am convinced from my investigations that the workman has less to fear in the long run from the operations of concentrated capital than he has from the impecunious employer in his frantic efforts to dip into the wages of his underpaid workmen. * * * During the years of depression from 1893 to 1897 American industry was much more depressed than our own; failures and bankruptcies were common, and a general demoralization of trade existed unequaled in intensity throughout the world. The present cycle, unprecedented in the United States, has lasted longer and contained greater elements of stability than in our own country, and to a far greater degree than in Belgium or Germany. Undoubtedly the greatest factor in America has been their increased requirements resulting from the natural development of the country. * * *

The boom is as much a surprise to the American manufacturers as to anyone. At the beginning of 1899 there were only 200 blast furnaces blowing, but before the year was out I am told by a good authority that many of the producers earned an amount equal to the entire investment of the plant. Under great consolidations prices are immediately controlled to greater uniformity and lowered to a more reasonable level, and it is, I believe, largely attributable to this fact that no such collapse occurred in America as took place in this country. Throughout the United States there are universal evidences of having entered upon a new era in the demand for iron and steel for purposes hitherto undreamed of. The home demands and requirements are stupendous, and the resources of the producer have been taxed to the utmost. * * *

The tin-plate industry of the United States is of relatively recent origin, dating practically from 1890 and built up under their tariff, which imposes an import duty of 1½ cents per pound. Prior to 1892 the States obtained practically all their supply from this country, and in 1891, the year their tariff came into operation, they imported nearly 335,000 tons. Many attempts have been made by American manufacturers to produce both tin andterne sheets during the last fifty years, but such was the competition over the American markets by British manufacturers that they were all unsuccessful. In the agitation for a protective tariff in order to develop the tin industries the reports on Welsh wages were constantly cited. This ultimately was secured, and from that period their imports have decreased almost in ratio to their increased manufacture.

In 1892 they produced 18,803 tons; in 1896, 160,362 tons; in 1900, 339,291 tons. * * * I would like, in concluding, to indicate three general features of American industries to which I largely attribute their success: (1) The enormous mineral deposits, waterways, and cheap transportation. (2) The control or ownership by the manufacturer, through combination or direct purchase, of the raw materials—ore, lime, coal, and coke. (3) The marvelous engineering ingenuity and initiative, remarkable through every phase of manufacture in its reduction of manual labor combined with great productiveness. * * * In the matter of wages the American workman is far better off than in this country. * * * The question may be asked: Is it possible for British producers to compete in the American market? I confess I think not so long as the present tariff exists.

THERE ARE GREATER OPPORTUNITIES IN AMERICA FOR THE WORKSMAN TO RISE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record.

Mr. J. Madison, secretary of the Friendly Society of British Iron Founders, said in his report:

I have come to the conclusion that the American moulder turns out something like 25 per cent. more work than the English moulder. Ten per cent. may be due to extra effort and the other 15 per cent. to better facilities. I come now to the important question of wages, which I conclude will work out at three and one-quarter dollars per day, equal to £4 1s. 3d. per week. Our investigations were confined to large centers of industry. Therefore comparison should be made with our own large centers, where the wages are \$2 per week. *It will thus be seen that the American's wages are more than double those of the English moulder.*

Replying to a series of questions which each member of the commission was expected to answer, Mr. Madison, in response to the question, "Are there are greater opportunities for the worksmen to rise in America than in England?" said: "There are greater opportunities in America." Responding to the question, "Are American workers better fed than the English?" his answer was: "Yes; they are better fed." Responding to the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" he said: "I should say, taken on the whole, it is about the same." Responding to the question, "Are the American workers better clothed than the English?" his answer was: "They are probably a little better clothed." In response to the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his answer was: "Undoubtedly the American has a great deal the best of the English worker—that is to say, he will have a much larger residue after living out of his wages."

Mr. P. Walls, an officer of the National Federation of English Blast-Furnace Men, said in his report:

Skilled mechanics and leading men in our factories—the iron and steel works—are as well clothed and fed as the same classes in America, but when it comes to the unskilled or the general body of workers there is a marked difference. In the former case the difference in wages is not so great, but in the latter it is not less than 60 per cent., and when we come to what is termed the "common laborer" the Americans get practically double the wages paid in England. After a careful investigation I come to the conclusion that, comparing wages and the cost of living, there is an average of at least 25 per cent. in favor of the American workman. A careful, sober man can undoubtedly save more money than in England. The encouragement given to invention has, no doubt, contributed to the Americans having more modern machinery, *but there is, above and beyond all other causes, the tariff.* If we take it for granted that the cost of production is equal in both countries and that in an open market equal profits could be made, what an enormous advantage the tariff gives to the American manufacturer, who has an almost unlimited home market.

Responding to the question, "Are the American workers better off than the English?" Mr. Walls answered: "As a whole, yes." To the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" his response was: "The difference is little; if anything, it is cheaper." To the question, "Are the American workers better clothed than the English?" his response was: "Better; generally much better; only artisans dress well." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his answer was: "About 40 per cent. higher." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his answer was: "Cost of food is no higher; the chief difference is in rent. Making allowance for that, the American is fully 25 per cent. better off." To the question, "Can the careful, sober, steady man save more in America than in England?" his answer was: "Yes." To the question, "Is a larger or smaller proportion of American worksmen dependent upon the public purse than is the case in England?" his response was: "From what we were told, a smaller proportion." To the question, "Do you consider the general conditions of life of the worksmen better in America than in England?" his answer was: "Yes. Better education, better houses, better wages would pay our employers in the long run."

The Moseley Industrial Commission, composed of officers of the leading labor unions of England, visited the United States in 1902. Each member was required to carefully investigate and report upon conditions of American labor in the industry which his union represented, and also to make specific answers to certain questions supplied to each member of the Commission. The words here quoted are from the reports submitted by these men after their return to England.

"CONDITIONS IN THE COAL INDUSTRY."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED, of
Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record.*

Through the kindness of Hon. Frank Hall, chief of the bureau of mines of Pennsylvania, I am able to submit the following table, shewing conditions in the coal industry in Pennsylvania, viz.:

Annual production of coal in Pennsylvania in both the anthracite and bituminous regions for the years 1892, 1893, 1896, and 1903.

Year.	Anthracite.	Bituminous	Total.
1892.....	51,226,978	46,576,576	97,803,554
1893.....	52,841,111	43,421,898	96,263,009
1896.....	53,843,250	50,273,657	104,116,907
1903.....	75,232,535	103,496,012	178,728,547

This table is also very significant. Eighteen hundred and ninety-two was the last year of President Harrison's administration. In 1893, the first year of President Cleveland's second term, the coal production was actually reduced about one and a half million tons, and in 1896, President Cleveland's last year, the total production was less than six and one-half million tons greater than it had been four years previously, while 1903, the last year under President Roosevelt, showed an increase of more than 74,500,000 tons over President Cleveland's last year. The amount of wages paid for mining coal in Pennsylvania in 1903 was over \$100,000,000 in excess of that paid in 1896. It makes all the difference in the world whether American money is being paid out in the purchase of foreign products or is being expended at home among our own people. It is a low estimate that the workmen of Pennsylvania alone received in 1903, under President Roosevelt, \$200,000,000 more than they did in 1896, under President Cleveland. What it means to every interest in a State to have that vast additional sum expended I need not stop to discuss. The benefit is too apparent to require argument.

AMERICAN WORKMEN LIVE ON A HIGHER PLANE THAN THEIR COUSINS IN ENGLAND."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record.

Mr. T. Jones, representing the Midland Counties Trades Federation of England, responding to certain of the inquiries which each member of the commission was expected to answer, in answer to the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" said: "It is higher." In response to the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" he answered: "The American has the advantage." Responding to the question, "Can the careful, sober, steady man, whilst keeping himself efficient, save more in America than in England?" his answer was: "Yes."

Responding to the question, "Are a larger or smaller proportion of American workmen dependent upon the public purse than is the case in England?" his answer was: "Smaller." Responding to the question, "Do you consider the general relations of life of the workman better in America than in England?" his answer was: "Yes, in many respects." In his general statement Mr. Jones said:

As to how America is able to pay higher wages and yet successfully compete with us in the markets of the world, I believe it is due to the vast natural resources she has in mines and minerals, improved methods in mining, the utilization of her vast waterways, and the superior railways she possesses combined with the low rates charged for transportation of all kinds of products. Manufacturers are helped by these considerations, to which must be added the more modern and ever-changing machinery, the adoption of every improvement, no matter how often introduced, and their safety from foreign competition in consequence of their protective tariff.

Mr. T. Ashton, secretary of the Corporation Cotton Spinners of England, responding to questions propounded to each of the members, said:

The average wages of mule spinners of the New England States are \$16, or £3 6s. 8d. per week, against £1 18s. in Oldham, being an advance of 75 per cent. Taking into account the cost of living, I consider the American spinner has an advantage over the English spinner of fully 40 per cent. on his wage-earning power. I am of opinion that a careful, sober, and steady workman, whilst keeping himself efficient for his duties, can save more money in America than he can in England, and I am confirmed in this view by the evidence of workmen residing in America who formerly lived in Lancashire. As to whether the American workmen are better fed than the English, my impression is that they are, and this is the opinion of workmen who formerly lived in England, but are now working in the American factories. There are fewer of the American working people, in proportion to their number, who are dependent on the public purse than is the case in England. The American workmen consider it almost a crime if they are compelled to go to a poorhouse on account of their poverty. I consider that the general conditions of life of the American workman are better than what obtain in England.

Mr. T. A. Flynn, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of British Tailors, said:

The amount of capital invested in American clothing factories must be enormous. It can not be claimed that any invention has yet superseded the essential principles of the old sewing machine; that is, nothing similar to the automatic machines, where the workman gives the machine its daily food and lounges around during the time the digestive process completes itself. Every detail of the old machine has been subjected to the perfecting hand of human ingenuity. In every factory visited experiments were being tried with some form of improved machinery. The American manufacturer organizes his factory with the object of turning out a suit of clothes very much superior to that placed upon the market by nine-tenths, if not all, of the English manufacturers. * * * There can be no doubt that the American workmen—and this includes women—live on a higher plane than their cousins in England. The cost of food is very similar, but the American workman gets more of it and of a better quality.

Clothing is as cheap in America as it is with us—that is, for those who buy inferior articles. The whole trend of opinion in America, however, is against cheap or "sloppy" suits. Wages in the tailoring trade are governed by conditions of labor. If the best firms in London be taken as against the best in New York and Chicago, American tailors are paid 200 per cent. higher wages. Outside these centers wages vary in first-class houses; but even in these, if taken against the ordinary English towns, wages are from 100 to 150 per cent. higher. How far these wages enable the American workman to save is a question for statisticians. So far as inquiries give result, there is no manner of doubt that the working classes of America save more money and save it more easily than the working classes of England.

The Moseley Industrial Commission, composed of officers of the leading labor unions of England, visited the United States in 1902. Each member was required to carefully investigate and report upon conditions of American labor in the industry which his union represented, and also to make specific answers to certain questions supplied to each member of the Commission. The words here quoted are from the reports submitted by these men after their return to England.

"STATUE OF KOSCIUSZKO."—"AN OFFER OF UNPRECEDENTED GENEROSITY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. GEORGE P. WETMORE of Rhode Island in daily Congressional Record, April 11, 1904.

STATUE OF KOSCIUSZKO.

I am directed by the Committee on the Library, to whom was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 84) for the acceptance of a statue of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, to be presented to the United States by the Polish-American citizens, to report it favorably without amendment, and I submit a report thereon. I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Secretary read the joint resolution; and by unanimous consent the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration. It accepts the offer of a statue of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, to be erected on one of the corners of Lafayette square, in the city of Washington, D. C., by and at the expense of the Polish-American organizations and of the Polish-American people of the United States generally, as an expression of their loyalty and devotion to their adopted country, for the liberties of which Kosciuszko so nobly fought, which offer has been made through Theodore M. Helinski, president of the central committee of the Polish-American organizations of the United States. But the selection of the site on Lafayette square, the approval of the statue offered, and the manner of its erection shall be under the control and direction of a commission, consisting of the Secretary of War and the chairmen of the Committees on the Library of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Fifty-eighth Congress.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The statue referred to in the resolution was offered to the United States in the following letter to the President:

CHICAGO, ILL., January 14, 1904.

SIR: We, the undersigned representatives of the respective Polish organizations to which our names are hereunto attached, composing an aggregate membership of more than 250,000, on behalf of such organizations and on behalf of the Polish people of the United States in general, have authorized and empowered Mr. Theodore M. Helinski, president of the Pulaski Monument Polish Central Committee and a member of the Pulaski Statue Commission, to confer with you and with all other persons, committees, or commissions that may have authority to consider the same concerning the presentation by such organizations and by the Polish people of the United States of a suitable statue of Thaddeus Kosciuszko to the United States Government, and, if acceptable, to offer, on behalf of such organizations and of the Polish people of the United States, such statue to the United States Government.

It is the desire of such organizations and of the Polish people that a place be reserved for such statue on Lafayette Square in the city of Washington.

Mr. Helinski has also full authority to accept any and all conditions that may be imposed in regard to the design, completion, cost, and presentation of such statue, and all expenses in regard thereto, including, of course, the cost of such statue, are to be borne by the organizations by us represented, and by the Polish people of the United States.

We offer this gift to the Government as a token of the loyalty and devotion felt by the Polish people of the United States for their adopted country, and for the liberties of which, now so happily enjoyed by them, Kosciuszko so nobly fought.

M. B. STECRYEULK,
Polish National Alliance, United States of North America.

LEON SZOPINSKI,
Polish Catholic Union of America.

A. KRUEGER,
Catholic Federation of Trinity Church.

B. W. REICHEKI,
Polish Turners' Alliance of America.

W. YELLNG,
Polish Singers' Alliance of America.

J. M. SIENKIEWICH,
Young Men's Alliance of America.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States.

This generous and patriotic offer was transmitted to Congress by the President by special message, as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I herewith lay before the Congress a letter from the Polish organizations of the United States, and the report thereon from Col. Thomas W. Symons, superintendent of public buildings and grounds. In view of the recommendation of Colonel Symons, I advise that the very patriotic offer of the Polish organizations be accepted, and that instead of the statue of Pulaski (which in the judgment of his Polish compatriots should be an equestrian statue, and which it is now proposed to place in reservation 33, on the north side of Pennsylvania avenue, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets) there be a pedestrian statue of Kosciuszko accepted by the Government, to be placed on one of the four corners of Lafayette Square. These four corners would thus ultimately be occupied by statues of Lafayette, Rochambeau, Von Steuben, and Kosciuszko, all of whom in the stormy days which saw the birth of the Republic rendered service which can never be forgotten by our people.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

WHITE HOUSE, January 28, 1904.

The statue proposed will probably cost \$40,000 to \$50,000. It is offered to the United States as a free gift by our Polish-American fellow-citizens. While it honors one of their compatriots, and thus of course honors them, it adds another element of artistic beauty and historical interest to the nation's capital city. This is an offer of unprecedented generosity, and the committee takes pleasure in recommending its prompt acceptance.

THE ADVANTAGES WHICH LABOR HAS UNDER OUR SYSTEM."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record.

REPRESENTATIVE ENGLISH WORKINGMEN ON LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

No greater compliment could be paid to the protective system of the United States and the great manufacturing industries which have grown up under it than that of the visit of the Moseley Industrial Commission in the closing months of 1902. This commission, headed by Mr. Alfred Moseley, a prominent British capitalist and manufacturer interested in the prosperity of the industries and workmen of his country, was composed of the secretaries of the trade unions representing the principal industries of the United Kingdom. They visited all the great manufacturing centers of the United States, investigated during the months of October, November, and December, 1902, the various classes of industries in which they as practical men, through their practical knowledge, felt a personal interest, and, returning to England, presented an elaborate report or series of reports, under the title, "Reports of the Moseley Industrial Commission to the United States of America, October-December, 1902." From these reports of these experts—men of long training in the various industries which they here investigated—I propose to quote extracts and statements showing their views regarding the manufacturing system of the United States and the advantages which labor has under our system as compared with that of free-trade England. On his return to London Mr. Moseley wrote the London Times as follows:

AMERICAN VIEWS ON BRITISH TARIFF PROPOSALS.

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR: I find on my return to England that there is a vast amount of curiosity on the part of the public as to how Mr. Chamberlain's proposals are viewed by the mercantile community on the other side of the Atlantic.

Of course they realize that a tariff imposed upon our imports would not be to their advantage; nevertheless they do not allow their judgment to be warped by the consideration of their own personal interests, and I found on all sides but one comment, amounting practically to "Why has not been done before? We could never see the utility of allowing other nations to dump their surplus products on the market and put one's own people out of work." This was the opinion of every business man with whom I conversed, with the exception only of Mr. Carnegie.

The subject of our tariff-reform movement is as interesting to the people of the United States as it is to ourselves, and it is continually discussed in the newspapers and forms the topic of endless debates in their universities and societies. Nowhere have I heard it condemned as being impractical. Their authorities on political economy, with many of whom I discussed the subject, one and all agree that it is the only course open to England in view of the conditions that have arisen since she adopted free trade—amongst whom I may name Mr. John H. Gray, professor of economics at Northwestern University, Chicago, who expressed wonder that there should be any opposition to Mr. Chamberlain's scheme except from "cranks" and people incapable of moving with the times. Professor Gray, I may state, was considered in the United States as a high authority, and he was chosen two years ago by their Government to come to this country to investigate labor conditions here. The result of his inquiries are to be published shortly by Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, of the United States Labor Bureau.

Whilst I was in America I read a report of a speech by Lord Goschen, in which he stated that whilst we were about to adopt protection the United States was tending entirely in the opposite direction, toward the removal of tariffs. No one, of course, doubts his sincerity in making this assertion, but it shows how lamentably he is out of touch with conditions as they are. The tariff question there is absolutely a closed book; all that the people of the States ever propose to discuss is whether perhaps they are not taxing themselves unnecessarily in certain industries by the high tariff that exists, and there is a disposition in some sections of the community (although even these are not very large) to make a revision of the tariff by reducing the duty on certain articles; but nobody dreams for a single instant that such reduction should be sufficiently large to allow the foreigner to come in and compete with them, lowering the standard of wages and injuring industry. The workman of the United States is quite sufficiently alive to his own interests to keep this matter always before him, and no Presidential candidate would have the smallest chance of election if he proposed to attempt anything in the way of tariff reform likely to lower the standard of living and affect the wage-earning power of the American workman.

Yours faithfully,

A. MOSELEY.

UNION BANK BUILDING, ELY PLACE,
London, E. C., December 22, 1903.

"LABOR AND CAPITAL.—SUPREMACY OF THE LAW"

Extracts from public addresses of President Roosevelt, printed in the Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

The man who by the use of his capital develops a great mine; the man who by the use of his capital builds a great railroad; the man who by the use of his capital, either individually or joined with others like him, does any great legitimate business enterprise, confers a benefit, not a harm, upon the community, and is entitled to be so regarded. He is entitled to the protection of the law, and in return he is to be required himself to obey the law. The law is no respecter of persons. The law is to be administered neither for the rich man as such nor for the poor man as such. It is to be administered for every man, rich or poor, if he is an honest and law-abiding citizen; and it is to be invoked against any man, rich or poor, who violates it, without regard to which end of the social scale he may stand at; without regard to whether his offense takes the form of greed and cunning or the form of physical violence. In either case, if he violates the law, the law is to be invoked against him; and in so invoking it I have the right to challenge the support of all good citizens and to demand the acquiescence of every good man. (Speech at Butte, Mont., May 27, 1903.)

We have the right to ask every decent American citizen to rally to the support of the law if it is ever broken against the interest of the rich man, and we have the same right to ask that rich man cheerfully and gladly acquiesce in the enforcement against his seeming interest of the law, if it is the law. Incidentally, whether he acquiesces or not, the law will be enforced, and this whoever he may be, great or small, and at whichever end of the social scale he may be. (Spokane, Wash., May 26, 1903.)

This is an era of great combinations both of labor and of capital. In many ways these combinations have worked for good; but they must work under the law, and the laws concerning them must be just and wise or they will inevitably do evil; and this applies as much to the richest corporations as to the most powerful labor union. Our laws must be wise, sane, healthily conceived in the spirit of those who scorn the mere agitator, the mere inciter of class or sectional hatred, who wish justice for all men, who recognize the need of adhering so far as possible to the old American doctrine of giving the widest possible scope for the free exercise of individual initiative, and yet who recognize also that after combinations have reached a certain stage it is indispensable to the general welfare that the nation should exercise over them, cautiously and with self-restraint, but firmly the power of supervision and regulation. (Charleston, April 9, 1902.)

This is not and never shall be a government of a plutocracy; it is not and never shall be a government by a mob. It is, as it has been and as it will be, a government in which every honest man, every decent man, whether employer or employed, wage-worker, mechanic, banker, lawyer, farmer, be he who he may, if he acts squarely and fairly, if he does his duty to his neighbor and the State, receives the full protection of the law and is given the amplest chance to exercise the ability that there is within him alone or in combination with his fellows, as he desires. (Butte, Mont., May 27, 1903.)

Above all, the administration of the government, the enforcement of the laws, must be fair and honest. The laws are not to be administered either in the interest of the poor man or the interest of the rich man. They are simply to be administered justly—in the interest of justice to each man, whether he rich or be he poor—giving immunity to no violator, whatever form the violation may assume. Such is the obligation which every public servant takes, and to it he must be true under penalty of forfeiting the respect both of himself and of his fellows. (Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

Least of all can the man of great wealth afford to break the law, even for his own financial advantage; for the law is his prop and support, and it is both foolish and profoundly unpatriotic for him to fail in giving hearty support to those who show that there is in very fact one law, and one law only, alike for the rich and the poor, for the great and the small. (Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

Corporations that are handled honestly and fairly, so far from being an evil, are a natural business evolution and make for the general prosperity of our land. We do not wish to destroy corporations, but we do wish to make them subserve the public good. All individuals, rich or poor, private or corporate, must be subject to the law of the land, and the Government will hold them to a rigid obedience thereto. The biggest corporation, like the humblest private citizen, must be held to strict compliance with the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law. The rich man who does not see that this is in his interest is indeed shortsighted. When we make him obey the law we insure for him the absolute protection of the law. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

Modern industrial competition is very keen between nation and nation, and now that our country is striding forward with the pace of a giant to take the leading position in the international industrial world, we should beware how we fetter our limbs, how we cramp our titan strength. While striving to prevent industrial injustice at home we must not bring upon ourselves industrial weakness abroad. This is a task for which we need the finest abilities of the statesman, the student, the patriot, and the far-seeing lover of mankind. (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

The mechanism of modern business is altogether too delicate and too complicated for us to sanction for one moment any intermeddling with it in a spirit of ignorance, above all in a spirit of rancor. Something can be done, something is being done now. Much more can be done if our people resolutely but temperately will that it shall be done. But the certain way of bringing great harm upon ourselves, without in any way furthering the solution of the problem, but, on the contrary, deferring indefinitely its proper solution, would be to act in a spirit of ignorance, of violence, of rancor, in a spirit which would make us tear down the temple of industry in which we live because we are not satisfied with some of the details of its management. (Fitchburg, Mass., September 2, 1903.)

As a nation we stand in the very forefront in the giant international industrial competition of the day. We can not afford by any freak or folly to forfeit the position to which we have thus triumphantly attained. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.)

LABOR AND CAPITAL HAVE COMMON INTERESTS." —ROOSEVELT.

Excerpts from public addresses of President Roosevelt, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

We are no more against organizations of capital than against organizations of labor. We welcome both, demanding only that each shall do right and shall remember its duty to the Republic. (Milwaukee, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

The average American knows not only that he himself intends to do out what is right, but that his average fellow-countryman has the same intention and the same power to make his intention effective. He knows, whether he be business man, professional man, farmer, mechanic, employer, wage-worker, that the welfare of each of these men is bound up with the welfare of all the others; that each is neighbor to the other, is actuated by the same hopes and fears, has fundamentally the same ideals, and that all alike have much the same virtues and the same faults. Our average fellow-citizen is a sane and healthy man, who believes in decency and has a wholesome mind. He therefore feels an equal scorn alike for the man of health guilty of the mean and base spirit of arrogance toward those who are less well off, and for the man of small means who in his turn either seeks or seeks to excite in others the feeling of mean and base envy for those who are better off. (Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

Under present-day conditions it is as necessary to have corporations in the business world as it is to have organizations—unions—among wage-workers. We have a right to ask in each case only this: that good, and not harm, shall follow. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

There is no worse enemy of the wage-worker than the man who condones job violence in any shape, or who preaches class hatred; and surely the slightest acquaintance with our industrial history should teach even the most shortsighted that the times of most suffering for our people as a whole, the times when business is stagnant, and capital suffers from shrinkage and gets no return from its investments, are exactly the times of hardship and want and grim disaster among the poor. (Syracuse, N. Y., Sept. 7, 1903.)

You must face the fact that only harm will come from a proposition to attack the so-called trusts in a vindictive spirit by measures conceived solely with a desire of hurting them, without regard as to whether or not discrimination should be made between the good and evil in them, and without even any regard as to whether a necessary sequence of the action would be the hurting of other interests. The adoption of such a policy would mean temporary damage to the trusts, because it would mean temporary damage to all of our business interests; but the effect would be only temporary, for exactly as the damage affected all alike, good and bad, so the reaction would affect all alike, good and bad. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

The upshot of all this is that it is peculiarly incumbent upon us in a time of such material well-being, both collectively as a nation and individually as citizens, to show, each on his own account, that we possess the qualities of prudence, self-knowledge, and self-restraint. In our Government we need above all things stability, fixity of economic policy, while remembering that this fixity must not be fossilization; that there must not be inability to shift our laws so as to meet our shifting national needs. There are real and great evils in our social and economic life, and these evils stand out in all their ugly baldness in time of prosperity, for the wicked who prosper are never a pleasant sight. There is every need of striving in all possible ways, individually and collectively, by combinations among ourselves and through the recognized governmental agencies, to cut out those evils. All I ask is to be sure that we do not use the knife with an ignorant zeal which would make it more dangerous to the patient than to the disease. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

It would be neither just nor expedient to punish the big corporations as big corporations; what we wish to do is to protect the people from any evil that may grow out of their existence or maladministration. (Cincinnati, September 20, 1902.)

Above all, let us remember that our success in accomplishing anything depends very much upon our not trying to accomplish everything. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

Very much of our effort in reference to labor matters should be by every device and expedient to try to secure a constantly better understanding between employer and employee. Everything possible should be done to increase the sympathy and fellow-feeling between them, and every chance taken to allow each to look at all questions, especially at questions in dispute, somewhat through the other's eyes. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

Every man who has made wealth or used it in developing great legitimate business enterprises has been of benefit and not harm to the country at large. (Spokane, Wash., May 26, 1903.)

It is foolish to pride ourselves upon our progress and prosperity, upon our commanding position in the international industrial world and at the same time have nothing but denunciation for the men to whose commanding position we in part owe this very progress and prosperity, this commanding position. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

The foundation of our whole social structure rests upon the material and moral well-being, the intelligence, the foresight, the sanity, the sense of duty, and the wholesome patriotism of the wage-worker. (Address at Labor Day picnic, Chicago, September 3, 1900.)

There is no objection to the employees of the Government Printing Office constituting themselves into a union if they so desire; but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce. (Letter to Secretary Cortelyou, July 13, 1903.)

Where possible, it is always better to mediate before the strike begins than to try to arbitrate when the fight is on and both sides have grown stubborn and bitter. (Address at Labor Day picnic, Chicago, Sept. 3, 1900.)

Wise factory laws—laws to forbid the employment of child labor and to safeguard the employees against the effects of culpable negligence by the employer—are necessary, not merely in the interest of the wage-worker, but in the interest of the honest and humane employer. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

"IF A THING IS MADE AT HOME, HOME LABOR EMPLOYED."

Extract from speech of Hon. E. L. HAMILTON of Michigan, the House of Representatives, February 19, 1902.

PROTECTION vs. FOREIGN COMBINATIONS.

For many years the policy of protection has needed no stronger argument than the labor argument.

It has proceeded upon the theory that on the whole about 80 per cent. of the cost value of finished products represents labor.

If a thing is made at home, home labor is employed; if abroad foreign labor is employed. Wages are lower abroad than at home. If a thing can be made cheaper because labor is cheaper, then it can be sold cheaper.

If foreign products can undersell our home products on our own soil, then our home factories must go out of business and our laboring men must go out of employment.

This argument applies with certain modifications to corporations as at present organized into combinations.

A duty, therefore, high enough to equalize the difference between foreign and domestic labor has heretofore created, fostered, and developed home industries, and by virtue of domestic competition prices have been reduced in many cases below the duty levied, while the wages of American labor have been sustained.

But it is said that home industries so created, fostered, and developed have not only ceased to compete among themselves, but have combined; that corporations with equipments which exhaust the resources of mechanical science, whose price list none dispute, hold the field alone, except where some smaller industry is permitted to exist from motives of trade policy; that they not only hold the field at home, but have crossed the sea, invaded European markets, and are disputing sales at the very doors of competing foreign factories at prices in some instances lower than at home.

Therefore it is said that the duty should be removed from articles so triumphantly bearing American labels over seas and the tide of pauper products should be let in to see if, perchance, it can not sap the foundations of our growing commerce and humble the power of our enterprises.

Assuming mechanical facilities here and abroad to be equal, which they are not, and assuming the American workman to be the better man, which he is under our system, still *the effect of tariff removal would be to level down instead of up*, and after every other reduction had been made down to the margin of a living profit labor would probably suffer some reduction in competition with foreign cheap labor.

Probably many American manufacturers would continue to do business. The weaker would die first, of course.

Probably combinations would continue to combine. Certainly international combinations would be easier.

If individual manufacturers have not been able to compete successfully unprotected against cheap foreign labor in the past without reduction of wages, it raises the presumption at least that American corporate combinations would encounter the same difficulty.

Men would probably continue to go on strikes, but they would strike in vain against an inexorable industrial system that would compel our better-paid labor to compete with the cheaper labor of Europe.

If foreign combinations should get possession of our markets, what assurance have we that they would not raise prices, and if they should raise prices what redress have we?

The domestic corporation is a combination of American capital and American labor receiving and disposing of its wealth on American soil, which we may now regulate to some extent, and which we hope to regulate more, while the foreign combination would enrich itself at our expense, would carry its wealth beyond seas, and would be beyond our control.

THE TARIFF HAS PROTECTED OUR PEOPLE AGAINST THE COMPETITION OF UNDER-PAID WORKMEN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. JONES of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, September 10, 1890, and printed in the Congressional Record.

WHAT HAS THE TARIFF DONE.

The tariff has protected our people against the competition of the under-paid and under-fed workmen of foreign countries.

The condition of those people is such that no friend of humanity can wish to see it duplicated on this continent.

The ruling classes of Europe consist of countless numbers of aristocratic idlers who at the expense of the masses, consume of the products of land and labor, without themselves creating wealth to the value of a blade of grass.

During the feudal ages their ancestors, or predecessors in privilege, secured a monopoly of the land, which they still hold out of reach of the masses. They maintain their power and privileges by the aid of standing armies composed of millions of men who, also at the expense of the masses, consume without producing. These great hordes of idle men of both classes live on the producers and eat up their substance. It is a fair estimate that at least one-half the products of the labor of Europe are practically confiscated to support and maintain in idleness the classes named.

After centuries of what is styled a "high civilization" we still see the great body of the European people sunk in the lowest condition of ignorance and misery—millions of them often, if not always, on the verge of starvation. We see those millions unable to grasp the meaning of liberty, forbidden to think for themselves, unwilling or unable to assert their manhood, and, while not devoid of the aspirations of their race, so depressed by their conditions and environment as to lack the independence and self-assertion that characterize the workers of the United States.

The tariff has operated to bar out from competition with our people the peoples of those countries. That is precisely what a tariff properly adjusted should do and is intended to do. At the same time it has kept the people of our own country busy in their shops and laboratories working, investigating, and inventing.

IT HAS DEVELOPED OUR WORKMEN AND THEN PROMOTED PRODUCTION.

The discipline and training thus received by virtue of the protective policy of the country has produced here a class of workmen the like of which has never been seen in the history of the world. Intelligent, fearless, aspiring, they are men fit to constitute a great nation and to be citizens of a great Republic. As the workers must always form the great bulk of the people, so must they constitute the bulwark of the nation. It is on their love of liberty that republican government depends. They man the armies in time of war and contribute to the country all the wealth it has, whether in war or peace. Their prosperity, therefore, should be the especial concern of the Republic. It is impossible that true patriotism, virtue, or progress among the masses should exist in the presence of ignorance and squalor.

The industries which have been most highly protected in this country are those in which, not only the greatest improvements have been effected, but the greatest reductions of price have taken place. Such reductions, however, are not those that result from the cheapening of men or the crushing out of humanity. They are the result of the cheapening of methods by requiring less sacrifice to be expended in production. The truth of this is evident from the fact that wages have not only not declined, but have risen.

By means of modern invention—for the most part the work of Americans—even the servant girl is able, with her American wages, to wear better clothes, eat better food, and enjoy more of all the comforts of life than could Queen Elizabeth have done with the income of a monarch and all resources of her time.

The mere pecuniary result of invention, the saving to society, the freeing for purposes of progress and advancement of much of the monetary reward of toil, may be indicated by the mere suggestion that the sewing-machine must save to the people of this country alone not less than \$50,000,000 a year. It enables millions of mothers to do the sewing of their families who could not possibly do so without its aid.

"LABOR LEGISLATION IN REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC STATES COMPARED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, printed in the daily Congressional Record of April 4, 1904.

In Republican States.

States having laws in force Jan'y, 1904.	Bureau of labor.	Inspection of factories.	State boards of arbitration.	Free employment bureau.	Inspection of mines.	Eight-hour laws.	Child labor age limit in factories.	Women's work regulated.	Seats for women.	Truck system prohibited.
California...	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	12 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Connecticut.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Delaware...	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Illinois.....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	No.	Yes.	(a)
Indiana.....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Iowa.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	.....	No.	Yes.	Yes.
Kansas.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	.....	No.	Yes.	Yes.
Maine.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	12 years	Yes.	No.	No.
Maryland...	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	a 14 yrs.	Yes.	Yes.	(b)
Mass.....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Michigan...	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Minnesota...	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Nebraska...	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	10 years	Yes.	Yes.	No.
New Hamp.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	12 years	Yes.	Yes.	No.
New Jersey.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
New York...	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
N. Dakota...	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	12 years	Yes.	No.	No.
Ohio.....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	(b)
Oregon.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	14 years	Yes.	No.	No.
Penna.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	13 years	Yes.	Yes.	(b)
R. I.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	12 years	Yes.	Yes.	No.
S. Dakota...	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	.....	Yes.	No.	No.
Utah.....	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	.....	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Vermont....	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	10 years	Yes.	No.	Yes.
Washington.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
W. Virginia.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	12 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Wisconsin...	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Wyoming...	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	.....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Total, 28 States.	23	1	11	12	15	16	21	22	23	14

a City of Baltimore.

b Held to be unconstitutional.

Democratic States.

States having laws in force Jan'y, 1904.	Bureau of labor.	Inspection of factories.	State boards of arbitration.	Free employment bureau.	Inspection of mines.	Eight-hour laws.	Child labor age limit in factories.	Women's work regulated.	Seats for women.	Truck system prohibited.
Alabama....	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	12 years	No.	Yes.	No.
Arkansas...	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	12 years	No.	No.	Yes.
Colorado...	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Florida.....	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	.....	No.	Yes.	No.
Georgia.....	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	.....	No.	Yes.	Yes.
Idaho.....	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	.....	No.	No.	No.
Kentucky...	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	14 years	No.	No.	Yes.
Louisiana...	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	12 to 14 years.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Mississippi..	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	.....	No.	No.	No.
Missouri....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	14 years	No.	Yes.	Yes.
Montana....	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	.....	No.	No.	Yes.
Nevada.....	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	.....	No.	No.	No.
N. Carolina.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	12 years	No.	No.	Yes.
S. Carolina.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	11 years	No.	Yes.	Yes.
Tennessee...	Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	14 years	No.	No.	Yes.
Texas.....	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	.....	No.	No.	Yes.
Virginia.....	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	12 years	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Total, 17 States.	10	8	4	2	9	5	10	5	8	9

c After May 1, 1904; 12 years, May 1, 1905.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO HAVE 3,000,000 MEN IDLE?"

Extract from speech of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in the United States Senate, June 25, 1902.

EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS.

Supply will always be governed by demand and demand will depend on ability to buy, so that purchasing power is the basis of prosperity. Our spendable income is governed by the amount of employment and earnings of all classes, and in this respect we are breaking records year after year under the continued successful operation of the Dingley tariff.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, estimated that 3,000,000 men were out of employment during the low-tariff period from 1893 to 1897. Not only that, but the wages of those employed were constantly forced down, many working only part time at that. Now, Mr. President, *what does it mean to have 3,000,000 men idle? At \$2 per day it means a loss of \$1,800,-000,000 a year in wages, or \$9,000,000,000 in five years.* That is more than all the gold and silver in the world. It means a loss of \$3,000 each to 3,000,000 families, and \$3,000 will buy a large quantity of food and clothing and education and comfort and happiness. The earnings lost during the low-tariff period cannot be calculated, but whatever they were we have a different story to tell of the past five years.

Not only is labor all over the country fully employed, but wages have been increased again and again. It is impossible to give exact figures of the number of persons employed or the amount of wages paid, and yet we can get a relative idea from the labor bulletins of the different States. Take Massachusetts, for instance, a typical manufacturing State. The Bureau of Statistics of Labor presents from time to time an index figure indicating the level of employment and earnings. In the May number of the Labor Bulletin a comparison is made between April, 1902, and February, 1898. Starting with 100 as a base, the following result is shown:

	February, 1898.	April, 1902.
Population.....	100	109.65
Employment.....	100	116.76
Weekly earnings.....	100	137.86

That is, employment has increased nearly twice as fast as population, and earnings have increased twice as rapidly as employment, or four times as much as population, and if the comparison were made with 1895 and 1896, the contrast would be much greater. What is true of Massachusetts is no doubt true of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and the other industrial States.

This is the result of Dingleyism; this is the foundation of our splendid home market; this is the demand that keeps our mills running night and day, our railroads freighted to their utmost capacity, and our farmers busy and well rewarded with sales of their entire surplus product at good prices.

Not only is every income earner employed at high salaries and wages, but the hours of labor have been shortened, with its consequent hour or two more of domestic and social intercourse and happiness.

"AN OFFICIAL WHOSE INTEREST IN THE WEAL OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE NEVER DIMINISHED."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in the daily Congressional Record of April 4, 1904.

WEAL OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE.

While the labor problem in a very broad sense is as old as the human race itself, its modern form is a creation of steam and machinery, which have replaced local production within the home for family needs with factory production for a general market. In the course of this evolution the ownership of the tools and other means of production passed from their actual uses to those who understood the needs of the market and possessed the ability to assemble materials, organize the workers, and dispose of the product where it was wanted. Formerly each worker was both capitalist and laborer, and, therefore, himself controlled the conditions under which he worked. But when the worker lost the ownership of his tools he could no longer control the conditions of employment; and it is his struggle to regain such control and to gain a larger share of the joint product of capital and labor that constitutes the modern labor problem. This is the problem that President Roosevelt in his first message to Congress described as the most vital problem with which the country has to deal. Few statesmen of this or any other country have grasped that problem as firmly as has Mr. Roosevelt. His contributions to its solution may be found not only in his addresses and writings, but also in his actions as a public official.

Theodore Roosevelt ever will be remembered as an official whose interest in the weal of the plain people never diminished from the day that he commenced his public career as a member of assembly of the State of New York up to the present time. The principles of justice that governed his course in advocating the enactment of labor and reform legislation when he took part in the legislative proceedings at Albany in 1882, 1883, and 1884 were unswervingly maintained while he was governor of New York in 1899 and 1900, and have been conscientiously adhered to during his incumbency as President of the United States. By comparing the first important event connected with his life work with one of more recent date it will be readily observed how unvarying have been his views on matters of moment affecting the general community.

The initial event referred to occurred more than twenty years ago, when, in the interest of the public health, as well as the wage-workers in the tobacco industry, he vigorously opposed the continuance of the sweating system in the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses. The courageous spirit that prompted his attitude in that affair was demonstrated again in 1902, when, owing to his timely intervention in the celebrated anthracite coal strike, peace was restored, a terrible calamity to the country was averted, and an adjustment of the dispute finally resulted through the decision of the commission appointed by him. Not a few problems have reached solution by reason of the wisdom displayed by Theodore Roosevelt and other advanced thinkers whose support he has had in his unrelenting efforts to induce the State to pass laws looking to the amelioration of social conditions, and by pursuing this evolutionary plan of creating wise and sound regulations to obviate glaring inequalities in the industrial system the State has checked a growing spirit of unrest.

Deeds speak for themselves, and the facts respecting his position on questions involving the well-being of the great body of working people are matters of official record well worth careful consideration by men of thought and action who have at heart the stability of our republican form of government.

"THE EMPLOYER AND THE WORKMEN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. JONES of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, September 10, 1890.

The free traders assert that our manufacturers make too much money. But we do not hear that, on the whole, the owners of our manufacturing establishments are as rich as the manufacturing owners of free-trade England, nor of those of Germany or France, nor are our manufacturers credited with making as much money in proportion to their plant.

Two or three persons are occasionally mentioned in the public press who, it is said, have realized fortunes in some manufacturing business. Nothing is said of the thousands of men throughout the country who have devoted their whole lives to manufacturing pursuits and have simply paid their way and made ordinary profit. It is something of a hobby with our free-trade friends to ascribe to the "inequities" of the tariff every fortune made in this country.

The majority of American manufacturers find no greater reward for the money invested than is found by other business men for the money otherwise invested. As soon as it becomes evident that investment in any special line of business in this or any other country is more profitable than the average investments of the community, capital, ever on the alert, invades the more profitable department and reduces the profits. This rule applies to manufactures as to everything else.

Of the whole amount of money received by the American manufacturer, the workmen get a part and the employer a part. In other words, between them the employer and the workmen of this country get all that is made in the business.

Suppose it to be agreed that at the end of each day the workmen and their employer should sit down to divide or consume directly the products of their labor. Suppose there should be nine workmen and one employer. Suppose it were agreed that those products should be transformed into a dinner for ten. Imagine the nine workmen seated around the table, with the employer at the head. Imagine the workmen, after eating what had been set before them, rising from the table, pale, gaunt, and hungry, having received hardly enough to satisfy the first stage of animal hunger, and imagine the employer rising from the same table, his stomach gorged with terrapin-stew and canvas-back duck and his veins distended with potations of rumery Sec or Mumm's extra dry!

That, in effect, is the picture which the free-traders give us of the relation between employer and employed in this country. And now do they propose to remedy that state of affairs? What substitute do they offer the workman for this modern form of Barmecide's feast? To give them a share of the good things? Oh, no. Simply to take from the head of the table and from the American employer the terrapin stew, the canvas-back duck, and the other delicacies of life, and give them to the English, French, and German employer, leaving the place at the head of the American table as bare as the other places, and giving the workmen no chance to secure more than they now receive. The remedy proposed by the Republican party is one which says to the workman seated at the table, "This dinner is for all, employer and employed; divide it out between you according as you shall agree. It is for each of you to see to it that you get your fair share." And the workman is rapidly learning to look after his interests in that regard.

There is no law in this or any other country which prescribes the compensation of labor; and there is no doubt that there are in this country, as in all countries, greedy employers who would, if they could, pay their workmen but one-half their present wages. But every man knows that in this country the employer does not have things all his own way by any means. The workmen "Know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain."

They very well understand that the only method by which the terms of labor are fixed is by agreement of both sides, and they show a constantly increasing confidence in their own power to protect themselves from unjust exactions. But instead of being benefited by the policy which the Democratic party favors, whatever profits now accrue from the products of labor would by that policy be destroyed, so that the workman, no matter how earnestly he may struggle, could receive no more than he now receives, because there would be no more to divide. The only change which the Democratic party recommends is one by which all would leave the table—employer and employed alike—lank and emaciated.

"THE ATTEMPT TO ALARM LABOR."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. M. STEWART of Nevada, in daily Congressional Record, March 27, 1900.

The attempt to alarm the laborers of this country by the false assertion that the acquisition of these islands will let in Chinese labor is demagogism. Our exclusion laws apply to Chinese from whatever country they may come. The law that excludes Chinese immigration from this country can be made applicable to all our possessions and the Chinese residents of the Philippines may be treated in the same manner as the Chinese residents of the United States.

The suggestion that laborers from the islands who are not Chinese may migrate to this country and compete with American labor has no foundation to support it. Nature marks the line which laboring migration must follow. Witness our own country. The Swedes and the Norwegians find congenial homes along the Northern Lakes and Canadian borders. Germans follow along a little farther south. The Irish prefer the central regions of the United States as corresponding more nearly to the climate of their native land. The Italians generally go farther south and on the Pacific coast to find climatic conditions similar to balm of Italy. Never in all the ages has the population of the Tropics crossed the isothermal lines to inhabit and cultivate the soil of the temperate zones, nor have laborers from the north succeeded in cultivating tropical lands. Merchants, traders, bankers, and business men readily accommodate themselves to the climate of the torrid, temperate, or frigid zone. Business and professional men from the north enjoy southern climate and the same is true of business and professional men of the south when they emigrate to the north. But successful labor follows but does not cross the line separating the tropical from the temperate zone.

The resources of the United States in everything found in the temperate zones are inexhaustible and practically untouched. Modern machinery and the genius of American people can always produce more of the products and manufactures of the temperate zone than the people can use. These islands under American control and enterprise will produce vastly more tropical products than they can consume. The interchange of the products of the farm, the mine and the factory for the sugar, coffee, tobacco, fruits, and other products of these islands will give employment to millions in the United States as well as in the islands. The storm of criticism and the rancorous vituperation of disappointed ambition will soon pass away, and when the American people are in full enjoyment of the new acquisitions they will view them serenely and with as much satisfaction as they now contemplate the teeming population and the wonderful productions of the countries acquired during the administrations of Jefferson, Monroe, and Polk, and prospering will wonder why anybody could have opposed the rich inheritance which the war against Spanish cruelty brought to the United States, as they now wonder why it was that the acquisitions of territory which we have heretofore made were opposed by persons otherwise considered sane and sensible.

The establishment of self-government and the inauguration of industry under the benign influence of the principles of the Declaration of Independence in the gems of the sea, which good fortune has placed within the reach of the American people, are delayed and embarrassed by the timidity of the friends of expansion and progress. The suggestion that there is some nebulous, open-door policy in the Far East which would prevent the United States from extending our customs laws over the Philippines is a dream of folly which will not disturb the American people. The idea that the United States will hold the Philippines and maintain their ports free to all the world and at the same time separate them from our country by a tariff wall which would exclude them from our markets and deprive us of the benefit of their trade can not be seriously considered.

The contention that any of the islands which we wrested from Spain by rule would injure American industries on account of their productions is a pure invention. Some gentlemen seem to regard it as a matter of no consequence that the consumers are compelled to pay \$250,000,000 a year for tropical products which these islands will produce, and that the farmers and manufacturers of this country would be deprived, by the loss of these acquisitions, of an annual market of from three hundred to five hundred million dollars.

WE WHO BELIEVE IN PROTECTION ARE RELUCTANT TO SEE A SINGLE DAY'S WORK FOR AMERICANS DONE ELSEWHERE THAN IN AMERICA."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Let us imagine the Republican party in power and making up a tariff bill in accordance with its principle that noncompeting articles, except luxuries, shall be admitted free of all duty and that the duty shall be laid on articles the like of which we do or can produce economically and in sufficient quantity to meet or nearly meet the home demand.

The first thing that the Republican party would discover in looking around to make a list of dutiable articles—that is, of articles which we do or can produce economically and in sufficient quantities to supply the demands of our own citizens—is that *the number of these articles is very large*. From this it would follow that *the rate of duty upon any one of these articles need not be very high*. What would determine the rate on each article?

In settling that question the Republicans would refer to their great tariff principle. Let us see again what it is. It is admirably stated, as I have said, in the national platform of 1892. Here it is:

"We believe that all articles which can not be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties *equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home*."

Now, let us watch the committee at work applying the principle. It comes to an item that is to be put upon the dutiable list. *In order to determine the rate of duty the question to be settled is simply one of labor and wages*. Has the making of this article called for much or little labor? Has the article gone through many or few processes? Is the labor required to make such an article skilled or unskilled and does it therefore require and demand a high or a low rate of wages? In short, what rate of duty on this article will be "equal to the difference between wages at home and abroad?" This being determined, the rate would be fixed accordingly. Upon articles not far removed from the crude material and requiring little work and comparatively little skill in the making the tariff rate would be low. On articles which are the product of many processes, each succeeding step requiring the services of men of greater and greater skill, and who, therefore, properly can and do demand and command high rates of wages, the tariff rates would be correspondingly high.

Take the Dingley law and test it by that rule and you will find that it was constructed with exceptional skill along the very lines which I have indicated.

"Mr. Chairman, we who thoroughly believe in protection are reluctant to see a single day's work for Americans done elsewhere than in America.

"We stand by the proposition that the people of the United States can do their own work, fight their own battles, solve their own problems."

"UNDER A DEMOCRATIC POLICY IF WAGES FALL IN EUROPE OUR INDUSTRIES STAND IN DANGER OF DESTRUCTION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. JONES, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Sept. 10, 1890, and printed in the Congressional Record.

WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

There is no reason whatever why every man in the United States should not be willing to pay such rates of wages and such prices of commodities as shall naturally result from the free and unrestricted competition of all our own people.

When trade between a people is perfectly free, as in this country there can not, on the average and in the long run, be higher wages paid to those employed in one industry than to those in another. Wherever any one industry gives indication that the compensation paid to those engaged in it is on the average greater than the compensation paid to other occupations, the industry paying the higher compensation is invaded by men from the occupations paying less, and thus wages constantly tend to an equalization. This invasion may continue to a point at which, by the overstocking of the labor market in the favored industry, wages may finally decline to a point lower than the average rates prevailing in other industries.

Under the Democratic policy if wages fall in Europe our industries stand in danger of destruction. On the other hand, while professing to be the special friend of the workingman, the Democratic party would set on foot a policy which would render impossible any increase in the wages of our own people.

I favor the erection of a tariff wall so high that no possible reduction of wages in Europe would enable the foreign manufacturer to scalp it. I would have it so high that absolutely nothing but the competition of our own workmen with one another would fix wages in this country. That is competition enough among 28,000,000 workers. The people of this country are entitled to such wages as result from the unrestricted competition of their own producers.

In the debate on the tariff in both Houses of Congress long discussions were had as to the exact amount of duty which should be levied on imported goods to make up for the difference between wages in this country and wages abroad. In these discussions the Democrats affected to admit that their object was to keep the duty at such point as would provide for the difference.

But such an admission presupposes that wages in this country are not exactly what they should be. This I deny. My idea as to the proper rates of wages for American labor is that they should result from the unrestricted competition of our own people.

It is sometimes charged as a reproach against the protective policy that in some special protected industry wages tend to a minimum. When this occurs it is an unerring indication of the vicious distribution of industries and one of the most distressing consequences of their maladjustment. The remedy indicated is, not a reduction of the tariff, but a wider diversification and distribution of industries, so that all persons who want employment may not be compelled to seek it in the same occupation.

It is obvious that if industries be relatively few, with large numbers of men seeking employment, those men must distribute themselves as best they may, and without intelligent adjustment, among the few industries in operation. If a larger number enter into any special pursuit than are needed to meet the demands of production in that pursuit wages will inevitably decline. The function of a protective tariff, carried to its farthest limit, is to obviate the necessity for this. Its tendency is to encourage the establishment of a variety of industries and thus to increase opportunities for employment, not in one or two, but in a great diversity of occupations.

No inference injurious to the tariff can therefore be drawn from the fact that at times in some occupations wages tend to a minimum. This is rather a sign that the tariff is too low to encourage the establishment of a sufficient variety of industries to absorb all the labor of the community.

But whatever the condition of labor in this country, it is infinitely superior to the conditions of labor in the home of free trade.

What is the testimony on that point of those who have personal knowledge?

John Morley, speaking of Great Britain, makes the following striking statement:

"It is an awful fact—it is really not short of awful—that in this country, with all its wealth, all its vast resources, all its power, 45 per cent., that is to say, nearly one-half, of the persons who reach the age of sixty are or have been paupers. I say that it is a most tremendous fact, and I can not conceive any subject more worthy of the attention of the legislature, more worthy of the attention of us all."

Said John Ruskin:

"Though England is deafened with spinning wheels, her people have not clothes; though she is black with the digging of fuel, they die of cold; and though she has sold her soul for grain, they die of hunger."

Let me read from an article published in the London Evening News of November 14, 1888:

MR. H. J. PETTIFER ON HIS AMERICAN TRIP.

"Last night the executive committee of the Workmen's Association for Defense of British Industry held their first meeting since the return of their secretary from the United States. That gentleman gave at considerable length of his experience of that country.

Mr. Pettifer said he was sure that 'free trade between this country and America would in the long run be injurious to the British workman, as one of the first results of it would be the bringing down of American wages to the English level, or even below it, and with reduced wages the Americans would not only become our great competitors in foreign markets, but would also lose their present purchasing power, and consequently could not buy as much of us as they do now.

"The only people he found in America who were in favor of what is there called English free trade were the professors of political economy at the different colleges."

AS WE EXCLUDE THE CONTRACT AND THE PAUPER LABORER, WHY ADMIT THEIR GOODS?"

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, printed in the daily Congressional Record of April 4, 1904.

Our free-trade friends vote for laws intended to keep out that class labor known as contract labor. Yet the objections that apply to the contract laborer himself apply with greater force to his goods, the products of his labor. If he is "cheap," his goods are cheaper. If he deprives our workmen of their work, so do his goods. There is no logic in excluding one and admitting the other. To be consistent the Democratic party would oppose all laws that restrict the immigration of contract laborers, for they bring what that party regards as the most desirable attribute which society can covet, namely, cheapness.

While assisting the Republicans in the passage of laws to keep out the cheap laborer, the Democrats have no objection to his remaining in his own country, and while receiving much less wages than American labor receives, shipping annually millions of boxes and bales of his goods in order to be sold in competition with the products of American labor. I maintain that it were better to have the laborer than the products of his labor.

WE CAN REASON WITH THE LABORER—WHAT ARGUMENT CAN BE USED WITH BALES OF GOODS?

The foreign workman coming here becomes inspired by his new-found freedom. Belonging to our own race, he becomes moved by higher aspirations: he soon joins the labor associations of his American fellow-workers; he becomes in all senses, except that of birth, a true American. With him our workmen can reason; to him they can appeal. But what argument can be used with boxes and bales of goods? How can men reason with a bale of blankets or of shoes? So, as long as the foreign articles are on the shelves of our merchants, American labor must constantly tend to equalization of conditions with those who make them. Our workmen will not accept European conditions so long as there is an acre of unoccupied land in the country. They will prefer to take the land. In doing so they take from our farmers one consumer; and worse, add a producer and a competitor.

If cheapness is the desideratum the contract laborers are the very laborers who should be brought in. If they come to this country in person, then to the extent that they consume they will furnish a market for our farm products, and will consume infinitely more of those products than they would consume in Europe.

Would it not be better for the American farmer to have the European laborer brought in person to the neighborhood of the American farm, where he will earn American wages, such as he had never earned before, and pay for them two or three-fold what he had paid before, than to send those products across the ocean to be sold to the same laborer under conditions which would render it impossible for him to pay the cost of their production? If we are to have no tariff, our people, farmers and mechanics alike, will be obliged to compete not merely with the pauper laborer who comes here, but with the pauper laborer who does not. If our people have to compete with pauper labor, they had better compete with it here than to compete with it in foreign lands.

CAN OUR WORKMEN COMPETE WITH EUROPEAN PRISON LABOR?

Suppose the governments of Europe should organize in their prisons great systems of manufacture, with all the most modern machinery, set their prisoners to work, and ship the products of their labor to this country, will it for a moment be contended that the product of the labor of our workmen could compete in the home market or in any market with that mass of merchandise? It will at once be admitted that the prisoners receive but the barest necessities of existence. Yet according to the statements of all witnesses there are millions of people in Europe, outside the prisons, who, in all the essentials of life except greater liberty of movement, are no better off than the prisoners. Should our workmen be subjected to competition with those merely that some non-producers may, for the moment, be able to save a few cents?

OR WITH THE CHINESE?

Suppose the people of China, by the aid of European or American super-tending skill and the adoption of the latest improved machinery for manufacturing cotton goods, should undertake to compete with Europe and America in the manufacture of such goods. With their hundreds of millions of cheap and imitative laborers they would soon become the most extensive manufacturers of such goods in the world. If we imported their cottons it would be in vain that we excluded themselves.

Should the Chinaman come here in person, while he would be an undesirable accession to our population, while he would not amalgamate with us, and could never become part or parcel of our civilization, we could at least compel him to pay his share of the expenses of the Government under which he conducted business. But with free trade, with the unhindered power of entrance given to the product of his labor performed in China, he would contribute nothing to that object, but, while carrying on his business practically among us, and under the protection of our Government, would drive all men of our own race entirely out of any business which the Chinese might invade.

IF THE EUROPEAN PAUPER LABORER IS TO CONTROL OUR INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS, WHY NOT, WITH AS MUCH REASON, OUR POLITICAL AFFAIRS?

Under the doctrine of the Democratic party, while the foreign laborer might remain physically in his own country, he would be here no less actually in the form of boxes and bales of goods.

"THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES CAN DO THEIR OWN WORK, FIGHT THEIR OWN BATTLES, SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, we who thoroughly believe in protection are reluctant to see a single day's work for Americans done elsewhere than here in America.

We stand by the proposition that the people of the United States can do their own work, fight their own battles, solve their own problems.

In our judgment, sir, nothing is cheap to the people of the United States which leaves our own resources undeveloped and our own people unemployed.

Free trade looks abroad for its products and for its safety; protection knows that both can best be secured at home.

Free trade would have us depend on others; protection thinks wiser to depend on ourselves.

Free trade thinks that wealth is created by trading; protection knows that it results from producing.

Free trade would have us content to buy things; protection would have us cultivate the ability to make things.

Free trade fears that if the rest of the world were blotted out this country would be unable to survive; protection has faith that we would still move on, practically undisturbed, and achieve a glorious destiny.

Free trade, in the last analysis, is based on shortsighted individual selfishness; protection is based on that larger and wiser selfishness that we call patriotism.

A recent article in the San Francisco Chronicle states the whole fundamental doctrine of protection so briefly yet clearly that I cannot forbear quoting from it, as follows:

The economic policy known as protection is a coöperative agreement enacted into law whereby by means of duties on imports reasonable protection from the competition of foreigners is assured within the protected area to all domestic industries which, under such protection, are capable of supplying the home market. Its justification is economic and social; economic in that it conserves the natural resources of the land, avoids the waste of unnecessary carriage, and makes the nation self-sufficing, and therefore able in peace or war to support its population in comfort without regard to other nations; social in that it tends to maintain for future generations that standard of comfort which is the national ideal.

Protection is strictly national and can be nothing else, because national areas are essential to its effective operation and because nothing less than national authority will suffice for its enforcement. Conversely, the protected area must be coterminous with the national jurisdiction, because otherwise the law protects one part of the people against the competition of another part, and is therefore unjust. Within the protected area competition is unlimited.

If, under the protection of the tariff, effective combinations are in a case able to oppress—a condition which can only occasionally arise—it is a matter for regulation by domestic law.

Protection must be impartial for all industries worthy of protection. When the protection of any worthy industry is impaired those concerned with that industry are made economic foreigners, forcibly expelled from the economic body politic, condemned, if they remain in that industry, to standards of life below the national ideal.

Of necessity they become economic enemies of their protected fellow citizens, and for their own protection must unite with other outside interests to break down the protective wall. The victims of "reciprocity" drift naturally into the free-trade camp. If compelled to sell cheap they want to buy cheap. If forced to a lower standard of life they have no interest in maintaining a higher standard for those who were the cause of their own degradation.

The power of protection to affect the lives of mankind varies with the size and diversity of the protected area. Small countries which can not become self-sufficing may be compelled to sacrifice something which they might have in order to obtain other things which they must have. Germany is an example of a country which would be strictly protectionist, but is compelled to make reciprocity trades. France is the most nearly self-sufficing country of Europe, but it can not produce cotton. Russia, when fully developed, will be self-sufficing, and we may be sure will be rigidly protectionist. Of all the nations in the world, the United States alone is absolutely self-sufficing.

With such a basis foreign trade is merely the outlet for the comparatively small surpluses at a profit, or a loss, as circumstances may permit. In this happy position the United States now stands. The business affairs of its people are adjusted to existing conditions. We are at the pinnacle of present material prosperity. We command the sources of immeasurable opportunity. All that we need to do is to stand fast where we are and resolutely refuse to fritter our advantages away.

The Farmer

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"PROSPERITY OF THE FARMER.—MORE THAN \$4,000,000,000 ADDED TO HIS WEALTH."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio,
daily Congressional Record, June, 8, 1900.*

MR. SPEAKER: The disposition of our friends of the Democratic party to try to make it apparent that the prosperity of to-day is not real leads me to present and make a matter of permanent record the views of a well-known publication, the American Agriculturist on the prosperity which has come to that substantial and deserving class of our people, the farmer. It is published in its issue of May 17, 1900, and therefore presents a view of their present condition. It will be seen that it shows a gain of more than \$4,000,000,000 in the value of their farms, their crops, and their live animals, and a reduction of three hundred millions in farm mortgages, compared with three years ago. Is the reduction of a hundred millions a year in farm mortgages and an increase of over a billion dollars a year in value of property owned by a single class "fictitious prosperity?" If so, let us have more of it.

*Prosperity of the Farmer—More than \$4,000,000,000 added to
Wealth in Three Years—Testimony of the American Agric-
ulturist to the prosperity of the American Farmer under protection.*

	Amount.	Per cent.
Gain in live stock.....	\$698,000,000	
Gain in staple crops.....	401,000,000	
Gain in live-stock produce.....	370,000,000	
Gain in other produce.....	200,000,000	
Total gain.....	1,669,000,000	
Gain in real estate.....	2,550,000,000	
Aggregate advance.....	4,219,000,000	

The astounding improvement in agricultural conditions now contrasted with the depths of depression in 1894-1896 is as little appreciated by the outside public as was the farmer's conditions during hard times. It is conservative, however, to say that the produce of United States farms in 1899 will realize to the farmers over \$1,600,000,000 more than their produce was worth in either of the depressed years of 1894-1896. This is an average advance of 31 per cent in values compared to the low point.

The value of live stock on farms in January of this year was 17 thousand five hundred and fifty-eight millions of dollars, an increase of six hundred and ninety-eight millions over 1895-96, or 27 per cent. Implements and machinery show a natural gain within the past three years, but owing to the fact that these goods have been sold at such low prices of late years their total value to-day is probably about the same as a dozen years ago.

The total investment in American agriculture at the present time is thus set down as having a value of seventeen thousand five hundred and fifty millions of dollars, or a gain of some three thousand three hundred millions over the extreme depths of depression, and a gain of nearly one thousand six hundred millions over the comparative high basis of values indicated by the Federal census taken in June, 1889.

This table compares the average farm price of leading staples during the period of extreme depression with the farm value per bushel, pound, or ton of the same crops grown last year.

	December.	Low point.		Crops of 1899.		Per cent advance	
		Farm price.	Total value.	Total value.	Farm price.	Per unit.	Total advance.
Corn.....	1896	\$0.215	\$488,000,000	\$663,000,000	\$0.303	41	
Wheat.....	1894	.401	226,000,000	334,000,000	.584	19	
Oats.....	1896	.187	134,000,000	218,000,000	.249	33	
Buckwheat....	1896	.392	6,000,000	7,000,000	.557	42	
Barley.....	1896	.323	23,000,000	39,000,000	.403	25	
Rye.....	1896	.408	10,000,000	13,000,000	.51	25	
Potatoes.....	1895	.27	77,000,000	96,000,000	.39	44	
Cotton.....	1894	.046	259,000,000	338,000,000	.075	63	
Tobacco.....	1894	.068	28,000,000	44,000,000	.08	18	
Hay.....	1898	6.00	408,000,000	428,000,000	7.27	21	
Aggregate.....			\$1,659,000,000	\$2,180,000,000			

NINE HUNDRED MILLIONS LESS RECEIVED BY THE FARMER UNDER THE WILSON LAW THAN UNDER THE McKINLEY LAW."

Extract from remarks of Hon. W. S. KERR of Ohio, in House of Representatives, March 31, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 36.

During the last eight months of the McKinley law we bought from abroad \$16,800,000 of woolen goods, at the rate of \$20,000,000 a year. In 1895, under the Wilson law, we bought \$57,559,000, an increase of thirty millions a year.

In the last full year under the McKinley law (1893) we bought from abroad 111,000,000 pounds of wool and paid for it \$13,000,000. In 1895, under the Wilson law, we bought 248,989,000 pounds, and paid for it \$33,000,000. In the one item of wool the farmer lost a market of \$20,000,000 in wool.

In the last year of the McKinley law we imported 229,000 pounds of shoddy.

In 1895, under the Wilson law, we imported 20,000,000 pounds of shoddy, every pound of which took the place of a pound of American wool.

Besides buying increased quantities of goods from abroad, we have been deprived of large markets for our agricultural products. What we need particularly is a foreign market for our flour, and we have been enabled to get rid of our surplus wheat. In Liverpool we sell the wheat of the world, and we can no longer rely upon favorable markets for raw wheat.

Under the reciprocity of the McKinley law we built up a very important trade for American flour. In Cuba in three years we increased our sales of flour from 150,000 barrels to 662,000 barrels, thus getting rid of 3,300,000 bushels of wheat on one island.

In the West Indies and Bermuda we built up a trade for 400,000 barrels of flour, or 2,000,000 bushels of wheat; in Brazil a trade for 90,000 barrels, or 1,000,000 bushels of wheat.

In Germany, under the reciprocity, our trade in flour went from 100,000 barrels to 286,000 barrels. All this has been destroyed by the Wilson bill and the farmers compelled to compete at Liverpool with the cheap wheat of the world.

The two items just mentioned are serious enough, but the next is much more damaging to the farmer, namely, the falling off in home consumption. He lost a large part of his best market—the home market.

A few facts will show the extent which this shrunk. In the year 1895-96 the consumption of wheat per capita was 4 bushels; that in 1891-92, 5.7 bushels per capita. In 1891-92 the non-agricultural population each was able to pay the farmer for his wheat \$4.27; in 1895-96 each one paid the farmer 83 cents a bushel. In 1895-96 each one paid the farmer 16 cents a bushel; wheat was then 54 cents a bushel.

What does this show?

It shows that of the forty or forty-five millions of people who buy their bread each paid the farmer \$2.11 less for wheat than in 1891-92.

This alone reduces his home market immensely.

A still greater decrease in the consumption of corn is shown.

In 1892 the per capita consumption of corn was 30 bushels, in 1895 it was only 16 bushels.

The following summary as to the thirteen principal agricultural products will show what the farmers have lost by a change in the tariff laws:

In 1891 the following articles, namely, wheat, corn, rye, oats, cotton, hay, potatoes, wool, barley, buckwheat, tobacco, hogs, and sheep brought the farmers of the United States, or were valued at, \$957,000,000. In 1895 these same articles brought them \$2,061,000,000. *Nine hundred millions less received by the farmer under the Wilson law than under the McKinley law, and both years were under the same money laws. What caused the loss? Free trade, of course.*

"THE FARMER DEPENDS UPON THE GOOD THAT COMES FROM PROTECTION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WALTER EVANS of Kentucky in House of Representatives, April 24, 1897, and printed Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 7.

THE FARMER.

And, Mr. Chairman, I want to express the profound conviction that there is no class of our community whose interests have been better protected and guarded than the farmers. There was no man upon that committee, so far as I know, who was not willing to accord to the farmer all of the protection he deserves, for the measure and running over, indeed. Many of us were farmers before I go back to the farm myself. I was born on a farm. The farm has always been dear to me, and there is nothing about the farmer that I can not sympathize with. *As much as any class of people, the farmer depends upon the good that comes from protection. If the people who labor are prosperous, the farmer can readily and profitably sell his product at good prices. Otherwise he can not and suffers.* Now, I should like to ask my friends from Texas if they think there should not have been some sort of protective duty levied upon cattle? I should like to know if it was a tax, in an offensive sense, to guard by a customs duty the great plains of Texas against the incursions of the cheap Mexican steer. I should like to know if it is an offense in their estimation to protect the great wheat and corn fields of Texas against a possible corn crop or wheat crop that may be produced in Mexico by the peon labor of Mexico.

We have put a duty upon cattle that may be too high or may be too low, but we have carefully investigated the subject; we have felt that Texas needed protection for her cattle; we have felt that Texas was as much entitled to that, with its 100,000 Democratic majority, as the State of Kentucky, with its 265 Republican majority. [Applause.] I believe that no Texan here would be so untrue to the Lone Star State as to say that we did wrong in putting a protective duty upon cattle, or corn, or wheat.

So it is upon the Canadian border. It is true that the farmer who raises corn in my State, or in any Central State, or who raises any crop in a Southern State, may not be materially injured by competition from Canada; but we can not frame a tariff bill without having some regard for the people who live along the great stretch of border land from the coast of Maine to the coast of Washington.

We know that, extending for thousands of miles, there is another country on the other side, largely separated from our own country only by an imaginary line, but sometimes by a lake or river of considerable navigability.

We must guard the people who have to pay American wages for their labor against the cheap products of Canada, where they do not pay what we call American wages.

And while it is true that possibly the influence of that protective tariff is not felt very far from the Canadian border, yet if we allowed Canada to come into the United States and compete with our farmers upon equal terms, it might be that those farmers along the border would push a little farther down upon their neighbors and those in turn farther down, until the corn of Canada, and the wheat from Canada, and the produce from Mexico might exert a very material influence upon the prices of products of like character in the interior of our country.

So that we had to consider all those things, and the members of the Ways and Means Committee, looking at the existing conditions of things, not being bounded by any little selfish interest, not considering simply the welfare of their own constituents, but endeavoring to have in mind the interests of the people of the whole country everywhere, regardless of politics, regardless of race, color, or previous condition, have done their best to give to this House a bill that will meet with the approval of the people of the country.

**THE FARMER NOW HAS A READY MARKET FOR ALL
OF HIS PRODUCTS AT GOOD PRICES
NEAR HIS HOME."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. NELSON DINGLEY,
Jr., of Maine, page 6471 of daily Congressional Record,
50th Congress, 1st Session.*

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] has said that the farmers are not protected. Mr. Chairman, my district is largely composed of farmers. I knew that district when almost its sole industry was farming, and I know it to-day since manufacturing industries have come in. And I say that there is not a farmer in my district who does not appreciate that the building up of manufacturing industries there has obtained for him a better market—a home market—and higher rates for his products than he had before. I know that farmers forty years ago found it almost impossible to obtain cash for the products of their farms. They went out and bartered them at almost any price to obtain those things that they were compelled to have.

That condition of things has been altered. The farmer now has a ready market for all his products at good prices near his home.

HOME MARKET THE FARMER'S MAIN DEPENDENCE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. L. E. McCOMAS, of Maryland, page 3838 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

I was born upon a farm; its fragrant fields, its meadows and clover bloom are redolent of the memories of a happy boyhood. I live among farmers and represent largely a farming constituency. As I consider their wants, their burdens, their troubles, God forbid I should ever vote to add to their present evils by a dose of English free-trade tariff for revenue only, the loss of their home market, the farmer's main dependence, for the sale of his surplus products [Applause.]

Free trade may cheapen a few of the farmer's supplies; it will still more cheapen the value of his farm and its products, decrease manufactures, and increase farmers.

"MCKINLEY TO FARMERS."—"THE HOME MARKET IS THE BEST FRIEND OF THE FARMER."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in House Representatives, July 19, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 302.

There is no better statement than is contained in the speech of Major McKinley, after his nomination for President, to a delegation of farmers from Knox county, Ohio, in which he said:

It gives me very great pleasure to meet and greet the citizens of Knox County in the city of Canton and at my home. I am glad to welcome our old comrades of the Grand Army, my fellow-citizens who are engaged in agricultural industries, and my fellow-citizens of all occupations who are here assembled this morning. Your meeting demonstrates that you have keen interest in the public questions which are now engaging the people of the United States, and that you want this year, as you have always wanted in the past, to vote for those principles and those policies which will achieve the greatest good and the highest welfare to the country.

I am glad especially to meet the farmers of Knox county, for the farmers of the United States are the most conservative force in our citizenship and in our civilization, a force that has always stood for good government for country, for liberty, and for honesty.

WHAT THE WILSON LAW DID.

Under the Republican tariff law of 1890 we imported in the calendar year 1893 over 111,000,000 pounds of wool, valued at over \$13,000,000.

In 1895, under the Democratic tariff law, we imported 248,000,000 pounds of wool, valued at \$33,770,000. Nearly \$20,000,000 worth more wool was imported under the Democratic tariff law than under the Republican tariff law in 1893. The imports of woolen goods in 1894 amounted to \$16,809,000, and in 1895 to \$57,494,000. From the reports of the Department of Agriculture, at Washington, we find that there were 47,273,000 sheep in the United States in 1892, valued at \$125,909,000. On the 1st of January, 1896, there were 38,298,000 sheep in the United States, valued at \$65,000,000—a decrease of 9,000,000 in the number of sheep, and of \$60,000,000 in value.

Two million two hundred thousand dollars' worth more of shoddy was imported under the Democratic tariff law than under the Republican tariff law. In woolen goods the difference is more than \$40,000,000 in favor of the foreign manufacturer and against the domestic producer. The total loss in these three items to the American wool grower and the wage earner in American woolen factories is more than \$62,000,000.

So with other agricultural products. During the last seventeen months of the Republican tariff law there were imported into this country 140,000 tons of hay, and during the first seventeen months of the Democratic tariff law there were imported 393,000 tons. The Wilson law gave the foreign producers a market for 253,000 tons more than they had enjoyed in the last seventeen months under the Republican tariff law. This loss exceeds \$2,000,000.

The total wheat, rye, barley, oats, and corn crops for 1895, amounted to 3,556,900,000 bushels. The total of this product exported was 182,000,000 bushels, or a little more than 5 per cent. of the total product annually. The great bulk was consumed by your own fellow-citizens, your own natural consumers and customers. In 1891-92 we exported \$1,442,000,000 worth of agricultural products. In 1895-96, the first two years under the Democratic tariff law, we exported \$1,123,000,000 worth. We exported, therefore, \$319,000,000 worth less in the two years under the Democratic tariff law than in the two years under the Republican tariff law.

LOW TARIFFS ALWAYS BRING HARD TIMES.

Depression in agriculture has always followed low-tariff legislation. It was so after the tariff of 1846; and it has been so under the tariff of 1890. You can not help the farmer by more coinage of silver; he can only be helped by more consumers for his products. You can not help him by free trade, but, as I have shown, he can be hurt, and seriously hurt, by the introduction of competing products into this country. Better a thousand times enlarge the markets for American products than to enlarge the market for the silver product of the world.

A HOME MARKET IS WHAT IS NEEDED.

The home market is the best friend of the farmer. It is his best market. It is his only reliable market. It is his own natural market. It should be protected in its enjoyment by wise tariff legislation, and this home market should not be permitted to be destroyed by lessening the demand for American labor and diminishing the pay of American workmen, and thereby diminishing the demand for agricultural products.

The only way to help the farmer is to increase the demand for his farm products. This can be done by preserving a home market to him and by extending our markets, which we did in 1892, 1893, and 1894, under the reciprocity provisions of the tariff law of 1890. The best consumers of the American farmer are those at home. They consume eighteen times as much of the products of the American farm as the foreign consumer. The earning power cut off makes our home market less desirable.

Prosperity of manufactures is inseparable from the prosperity of agriculture. Set all our wheels in motion, set all our spindles whirling, set our men at work on full time, start up the idle workshops of the country, bring back confidence and business, and the farmer will at once feel the influence of the greater demand for his products in the better prices he would receive. He wants to be protected by wise tariff legislation from the competition of the other side; and then he wants the mines and mills and factories of his own country humming with busy industry, employing well-paid workmen, who can buy and consume his products.

WHAT THE AGRICULTURIST WANTS ARE CONSUMERS, CONSUMERS AT HOME."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WILLIAM McKINLEY of Ohio, page 4751 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Why, Mr. Chairman, the establishment of a furnace or factory or mill in any neighborhood has the effect at once to enhance the value of all property and all values for miles surrounding it. They produce increased activity. The farmer has a better and a nearer market for his products. The merchant, the butcher, the grocer, have an increased trade. The carpenter is in greater demand; he is called upon to build more houses. Every branch of trade, every avenue of labor, will feel almost immediately the energizing influence of a new industry. The truck farm is in demand; the perishable products, the fruits, the vegetables, which in many cases will not bear exportation and which a foreign market is too distant to be available, find a constant and ready demand at good paying prices.

What the agriculturist of this country wants more than anything else, after he has gathered his crop, are *consumers, consumers at home, men who do not raise what they eat, who must purchase all they consume; men who are engaged in manufacturing, in mining, in cotton-spinning, in the potteries, and in the thousands of productive industries which command all their time and energy, and whose employments do not admit of their producing their own food.*

WE HAVE INCREASED OUR COMMERCE EIGHT TIMES, WHILE ENGLAND HAS NOT QUADRUPLD HERS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, page 3687 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Our farms have increased in number from two millions to five millions, and our wool product from sixty million pounds to three hundred million pounds. In that time we have increased our commerce eight times, while England has not quadrupled hers. Our railroads have grown from thirty thousand to nearly one hundred and fifty thousand miles, and the rolling stock of our railroads is worth five times the merchant marine of England. In that time 55 per cent. of all the wealth added to the earth has been contributed by the United States. What a mighty result is that! In all human history nothing can be found to equal it, and yet we have croakers in Congress who are talking of the decay of our institutions. In England 51 per cent. of the wealth goes to pay labor, 26 per cent. to capital, and 23 per cent. to government, while in the United States labor gets 74 per cent., capital 21 per cent., and the Government 5 per cent.

"EFFECT OF PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE REGARD TO SHEEP."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, daily Congressional Record, June 7, 1900.

The official reports of the United States Government upon the subject of sheep raising and sheep values, which I will present, teach a wonderful lesson.

From 1878 to 1882, inclusive, the Morrill tariff (protection) was in force, and the number of sheep throughout the country increased by over 11,000,000 during this period.

The tariff of 1883 was in force from 1883 to 1889, inclusive. The duties imposed by this tariff upon raw wool amounted to no more than a revenue tariff on yarns and some other goods produced from wool; consequently the result of this tariff as a whole was not protective. Under its operation the number of sheep throughout the United States decreased by about 6,000,000.

The McKinley tariff, passed in 1890, was a scientific tariff as applied to wool growing, with the result that the number of sheep throughout the country increased by nearly 4,000,000 before the free trade election of 1892.

The Wilson tariff, with free trade in wool, practically went into effect when Mr. Cleveland was elected, and immediately the flock throughout the country began to decrease, and from 1893 to 1898 decreased by about 9,000,000.

The Dingley tariff reimposed the scientific schedules of the McKinley tariff, and with the promise of protection through the election of William McKinley and a Republican Congress the sheep-raising industry immediately began to prosper. From 1896 to and including 1900 the number of sheep increased by 1,042,411.

The effect of protection and free trade in regard to the number of sheep owned throughout the country is not more impressive than the effect as to value. Under the Morrill tariff the lowest price per head was \$2.09 and the highest \$2.55. Under the tariff of 1883 the lowest price per head was \$1.91 and the highest price was \$2.21. Under the McKinley tariff the lowest price was \$2.49 and the highest price \$2.66. Under free trade the lowest price was \$1.58 and the highest price \$1.92. Under the Dingley tariff the lowest price was \$2.75 per head, and now the value has advanced to \$3.90 per head, the highest average price in the history of the nation.

Report of the United States Government on sheep raising from 1878 to 1898, inclusive, and report for 1900, based upon the sheep-raising census of the American Protective Tariff League.

Year.	Number of sheep.	Average price per head.	Total value.
The Morrill tariff:			
1878.....	38,123,800	\$2.09	\$79,023,800
1879.....	40,765,900	2.21	90,230,639
1880.....	43,576,899	2.39	104,070,788
1881.....	45,016,224	2.37	106,594,459
1882.....	49,237,291	2.52	124,365,973
The tariff of 1883:			
1883.....	50,626,626	1.37	119,302,276
1884.....	50,860,243	2.14	107,990,919
1885.....	48,322,331	1.91	92,443,651
1886.....	44,759,314	2.01	89,872,221
1887.....	43,544,755	2.05	89,273,748
1888.....	42,598,079	2.13	90,640,109
1889.....	44,336,072	2.27	100,650,872
The McKinley tariff:			
1890.....	43,431,136	2.49	108,397,628
1891.....	44,938,365	2.58	116,121,181
1892.....	47,273,553	2.66	125,909,671
The Wilson tariff, free trade in wool:			
1893.....	45,048,017	1.98	89,186,073
1894.....	42,294,064	1.58	66,822,601
1895.....	38,298,783	1.70	65,107,930
1896.....	36,818,643	1.82	67,011,930
The Dingley tariff:			
1897.....	37,656,960	2.46	92,721,111
1898.....	39,114,453	2.75	107,564,745
1899.....	63,121,881	3.90	246,175,335

In 1896 we had arrived at the lowest stage of the wool-growing industry since the rebellion, and possessed 36,818,643 sheep, which under the fostering care of protection, were increased to 63,121,881.

The value of our sheep in 1896 was \$67,020,942, and under the fostering care of protection has reached the enormous value of \$246,175,335. In the history of industrial and economic conditions of world no more wonderful result can be shown.

DIFFERENCE IN THE VALUE OF SHEEP UNDER FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION."

abstracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, June 7, 1900.

A remarkable illustration of the difference in the value of sheep under free trade and protection occurred in connection with an assignee's sale of the estate of a farmer in Jefferson County, Ohio, in October, 1894, a few weeks after the passage of the Wilson bill with the free-wool clause. The animals sold were all fine black-topped Merinos. The files of the Ohio State Journal show that 40 ewes sold at this sale for 69 cents each, 30 lambs for 30 cents each, and a registered buck was knocked down for 50 cents. Other lots chosen from the same flock sold at similar prices, and all were fine Merino sheep.

It is reported that a farmer in Fulton County, Ohio, recently sold 5 head of sheep for \$800, being \$6.40 per head. The farmer of Fulton County will tell you that under the Wilson law that number of sheep would not have produced \$125, perhaps less, and that farmers would have had to look around a long time for a purchaser at any price.

Let us devote a moment's attention to a section of the country seldom considered save in connection with its mineral productions, and usually left out of the reckoning of agricultural possibilities. I refer to the mountainous little State of Nevada, where sheep raising, under fair and favorable conditions, is assuming proportions of marked importance in relation to the wealth and prosperity of the people. Among the letters received by the American Protective Tariff League in response to its cards of inquiry regarding relative sheep values in March, 1896, and in March, 1900, I am permitted to quote the following:

The American Protective Tariff League—Gentlemen: Nevada has seen a wonderful change for the better since 1896, from almost starvation and insolvency to good comfortable homes and fat bank accounts. When the Wilson bill passed everything seemed to stop. It crushed rich and poor alike, and men with large flocks were no better off than the poor sheep herder, as wool was raised at a loss.

Wool sold in San Francisco as low as 6½ cents per pound. Deduct ½ cent for railroad freight and ½ cent for commission, and that left the sheep man but 3½ cents per pound for wool on the ranch. His flock would average about 6½ pounds, and this would amount to 22½ cents per head.

Now, I sold wool in April, 1900, near Battle Mountain at 15½ cents. That, with the same average, would make \$1.02½ per head. That is the difference between the Dingley bill and the Wilson bill or free trade. Under the Wilson bill in 1894, 1895, and 1896 I paid herders \$25 and \$30 per month. In 1894, 1895, and 1896 I sold wethers for \$1.25 and \$1.50 per head, in 1897 at \$3 per head, in 1898 at \$3.20, and in 1899 at \$3.50 per head.

Farmers have done as well with their cattle—from 2 cents gross in 1894, 1895, and 1896 to 3½ cents in 1897, 1898, and 1899. There are no men in the country. Money is plentiful at 6 per cent. per annum, almost 10 and 12 per cent. per annum in 1894, 1895, and 1896.

All the Republicans in Nevada are praying for is four more prosperous years.

ALPINE, NEV., May 2, 1900.

W. W. WILLIAMS.

After listening to this testimony from a practical sheep raiser and reliable witness, can anyone wonder that the sheep owners of Nevada have pushed "16 to 1" into the background, and now regard the protective tariff as the paramount issue in the campaign of 1900?

The same kind of a story is told in the experiences of the sheep raisers of Idaho. As told lately by the senior Senator of that State the story goes that—

Under the Harrison administration, when wool was protected by the McKinley tariff, Idaho sheep were worth from \$2.25 to \$2.50 per head. When Cleveland was inaugurated they commenced to go down and down till, when the Wilson bill was passed, they were worth \$1.27 per head. When McKinley was inaugurated in 1897 they at once advanced 45 cents. In 1899 they had advanced to \$2.38, and this year, according to the estimates of the Agriculture Department, the average value of every sheep in Idaho on January 1 last was \$2.80, as compared with \$1.27 at the time McKinley was inaugurated.

In order that you may appreciate the force of this argument, there are over 2,800,000 sheep in the State that have gained more than 200 per cent. in value since McKinley was elected, because of Republican tariff legislation. Can you blame the sheep farmers, who mostly voted the Democratic ticket in 1896 because they believed that the free coinage of silver would restore the value of their sheep, for wanting to keep the Republican party in power? Are they going to take any chances? Take the price of wool, for example, which sold at 13 cents a pound under the McKinley tariff law during the Harrison Administration.

While Cleveland was President it dropped to 6 cents a pound, and now, under the Dingley tariff, it is selling for from 18 to 25 cents a pound. Little have advanced an average of \$10 a head since McKinley was elected, and horses are worth from \$5 to \$10 per head more than a year ago. Our people are not fools. They know what is good for them and with these things bulging out of every man's pocket do you suppose he is going to vote for the restoration of Democratic supremacy and free trade again?

"OUR INDUSTRIAL POLICY IN CONNECTION WITH THE FARMER."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. B. P. BIRDSALL of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, December 16, 1903.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to vary this discussion for a few minutes with a few observations upon our industrial policy in connection with the farmer. I conceive, sir, that of all the factors among our people—of its elements—no element is more interested or deeply concerned in the economic policy of the nation than the agriculturist. With this thought in my mind I have not risen to chant the praises of the protective policy. That is sung in the humming spindle, in the roar of countless thousands of iron horses that draw the products of our land from ocean to ocean in the sunny faces of happy children, in the millions of homes of comfort and contentment.

In 1892 the farmers of my State were beguiled into helping turn over a Republican Administration and instituting the Democratic Administration of Grover Cleveland. It was a time of unexampled prosperity throughout the agricultural regions of the West. But they were fooled—I use the term advisedly—fooled into believing that they were paying too much for manufactured articles; and at the behest of our then Democratic government of Iowa they decided to clasp hands with the free-trade barons of Wall street and install in power the Democratic party and the policy of a tariff for revenue only. What was its effect?

On June 30, 1891, the amount deposited in the State and savings banks was, in round numbers, \$33,000,000. On June 30, 1892, this sum had increased to \$42,467,000—an increase of about \$9,000,000. In 1893 it stood substantially at the same figure—\$42,000,000. In 1894 it had decreased to \$41,000,000. In 1895 it had increased to \$43,000,000. In 1896 it stood at \$43,000,000. In 1897 it had increased to \$45,000,000. In 1898, to \$59,000,000; in 1899, to \$77,000,000. So it increased every year from 1896 to 1903, when in February of that year, as shown in this report, the amount on deposit in the State and savings banks of Iowa was \$131,406,000. In other words, during the experience of the Democratic "tariff reform," from 1892 to 1896, the deposits in the State and savings banks remained stationary throughout our State, while from 1896 to 1903 they increased \$90,000,000. The State and savings banks are peculiarly the places of deposit for the farmer and the laborer.

Statement of deposits in State and savings banks of Iowa from 1891 to 1903.

Date.	Number.	Due depositors.
June 30, 1891.....	205	\$33,781,700
June 30, 1892.....	245	42,467,380
June 30, 1893.....	325	42,151,430
June 30, 1894.....	350	41,987,830
June 30, 1895.....	364	43,627,130
June 30, 1896.....	370	43,955,730
June 30, 1897.....	372	45,442,830
June 30, 1898.....	383	59,336,430
June 30, 1899.....	402	77,405,630
June 30, 1900.....	448	91,147,030
June 30, 1901.....	474	114,731,630
June 30, 1902.....	531	133,692,430
September 15, 1902.....	545	134,513,530
December 8, 1902.....	556	129,018,230
February 6, 1903.....	564	131,406,030

This is only one item. In 1892 the value of live stock disposed in the Union Stock Yards of the city of Chicago amounted to the grand total of \$253,000,000. That value declined every year from 1892 to 1896 when the total reached the mark of \$188,000,000, a decline of sixty millions during the Democratic Administration, a loss to the farmers of the Northwest in those four years upon the item of live stock alone, shown by the record of the Union Stock Yards in the city of Chicago amounting to over \$150,000,000.

Yet, in the face of this record, with the memory of the blighting and blasting years from 1893 to 1896 full upon them, the gentleman from Mississippi and the gentleman from Texas tell us that the farmers are ripe for revolt and ready for tariff reform. I do not believe it. The farmer is a thinking, acting, conservative individual and can be so relied upon to reflect upon disastrous conditions he was beguiled into entering in 1892 by the specious argument of the free trader. The farmer is interested in the prosperity of the laboring man more than any other factor, because he knows that the better paid the laboring man is the more bread he will eat, the more meat he will consume, and the better clothes he will wear, and by increasing consumption will increase demand for the products of the farm.

He knows that from 1893 to 1896 three millions of honest men were trudging over this country in search of labor at any wage, and that the products which theretofore had been consumed by them then lay rotting in the field and in the granary.

"TOBACCO IS AMPLY PROTECTED."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEO. C. PERKINS of California, in daily Congressional Record, December 5, 1903.

In tobacco Cuba is a competitor of the United States, but our own producers are protected against this competition by a tariff which, reduced by 10 per cent., is still enormous. The average value of our tobacco crop of 1902 was 10 cents per pound, yet it is protected by a tariff of from \$1.85 to \$2.50 per pound on tobacco for wrappers, and from 35 to 50 cents per pound on tobacco for fillers. Our own production is principally tobacco of quality suitable for fillers, yet it is protected by a tariff from three and half to five times its average market value. If a reduction in protection to 28 and 40 cents a pound on tobacco whose invoice value averages 45 cents is not sufficient to protect our own growers, I am unable to see how we can help them unless we give them, in addition to a protective tariff, a good big bounty. That the tobacco interests will not be injured by the proposed reduction is made clearly evident by the lack of protests against it from tobacco growers and manufacturers. I have received only two, I think, since the Senate voted on the treaty last March.

It seems to me, Mr. President, therefore, that tobacco is not only amply protected, but none will come into this country except for the consumption of those who imagine that the tobacco grown in Cuba is much better than that grown here. I have no doubt that the tobacco produced in certain localities there is better. California can raise almost everything, but she has not been successful in raising tobacco. It is said that the dew of North Carolina and Virginia gives an aroma and taste to the tobacco raised in those States which makes it superior to any tobacco which it is possible for us to raise west of the Rocky Mountains.

I also want to say that Virginia and North Carolina can beat California in this respect. So it is in Cuba. There are certain localities there where the tobacco is of a splendid quality by reason of the general topography of the country, where the sun and the dew fall upon it and give it its great value.

Some time since, like many of my friends here, I visited Europe. I have been through the famous vineyards in Germany, in France, in Italy, in Spain, and in Portugal. In Germany there is a spot called the "Johannes vineyard." I looked at its mounds and slopes and said: "I see nothing different in this locality from that which is all around us for hundreds of miles." True, there was nothing apparent to the ordinary eye, and yet the rays of the sun struck those vineyards, giving a flavor to the grape which produced the wine which commands ten times the price of wine which is produced from grapes in a vineyard not a thousand yards away from that spot.

So it is with the Cuban tobacco. All tobacco grown in Cuba is not very excellent. The tobacco of Virginia is in many respects far superior to it. But the tobacco grown in particular localities in Cuba has gained such a reputation that the connoisseur will pay an extra price in order to obtain that particular quality of tobacco.

I think it may be accepted as proven beyond a reasonable doubt that the proposed reduction in the Cuban tariff will injure no American industry. It will not, and the reciprocal reduction of the Cuban tariff on American goods will benefit us, there can be no valid reason why the treaty shall not be made effective. In 1899 we sold Cuba products worth \$29,000,000 and bought from her \$37,000,000 worth. In 1901 we sold her \$25,000,000 worth and bought \$49,000,000 worth. Thus, while we bought more from her, we sold less, which is not a satisfactory condition of affairs. Our percentage of sales to Cuba has fallen from 43 per cent. to 41 per cent., while Germany in the same period doubled her percentage of sales to Cuba, and England, France, and other European countries have materially increased their sales. These facts show that we are being beaten by Germany, France, and England in the market which is at our very doors—in fact, are being crowded out of it.

Unless the tide can be stemmed we shall find our enemies, in an industrial sense, in possession of a market which should be virtually ours exclusively, and while we buy all or nearly all, of Cuba's products, we shall sell them next to nothing. It seems to me that this is a state of affairs that should appeal to every business man, and should enlist him on the side of a treaty which will give us an advantage of from 20 to 40 per cent. over our competitors, and will enable us to maintain and strengthen our commercial foothold in Cuba.

"CUBAN SUGAR CANNOT SUCCESSFULLY COMPETE WITH BEET SUGAR."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. JAMES E. WATSON of Indiana, in daily
Congressional Record, November 23, 1903.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Like the distinguished gentleman from Iowa (Mr. HEPBURN) who has just addressed the committee, I, too, am a protectionist and in my advocacy of the pending measure I abate not one jot or tittle from my devotion to that cardinal doctrine in the Republican creed, for I regard the protective tariff principle as fundamental in the Republican party—protection to American labor wheresoever employed, and to American capital wheresoever invested.

But, says one of my friends from Michigan, can we not with proper encouragement produce enough sugar to supply the home demand? We most surely can, Mr. Chairman, and that would bring sugar within the definition that I have above given. What justification, then, is there for any Republican believing in the fundamental principle of protection as I have defined it, voting for this reduction of 20 per cent? Only this: That the sugar schedule is so high that this 20 per cent. reduction of Cuban sugar alone will not injuriously affect that great industry in this country.

We will consume in the United States this year approximately 2,500,000 tons of sugar, not more than 950,000 tons of which will come to us from Cuba. The price of this staple commodity is fixed at Hamburg because Germany is its greatest producer and exporter. Every student of economics understands, therefore, that a 20 per cent reduction on the amount we import from Cuba can not possibly affect the price in this land; and it does not lower the price it can not affect the producer.

But what else? I believe that Cuban sugar can not successfully compete with beet sugar in either Chicago or Kansas City, which are the principal markets for beet sugar in this country; and if I had time I would read from the hearings of the Ways and Means Committee evidence which seems to me absolutely conclusive on this fundamental proposition.

The cost of 100 pounds of Cuban sugar f. o. b. at Habana is \$2. The freight to New York is 9 cents per 100 pounds. The duty, after a 20 per cent reduction—the duty being 1.685 now—would be 1.348. The cost of refining is known by all to be 0.625 for every hundred pounds, without any profit to the refiner. The freight to Chicago is 29 cents a hundred. So that to land 100 pounds of Cuban sugar already refined in the market at Chicago would cost exactly \$4.35 a hundred, and to land it in Kansas City the freight from New York to Kansas City being 36½ cents, would cost \$4.42 a hundred. Now, I might go on and read the testimony of various gentlemen who are interested in the production of beet sugar in the United States to show that under no circumstances can it cost that much to place American beet sugar in competition with this Cuban sugar in the market of Chicago or in the market at Kansas City.

N. H. Stewart, president of the Kalamazoo Beet Sugar Company, who appeared before the committee, made the following statements:

Coming to the cost of manufacturing sugar in Michigan, it costs \$5.20 for 1 ton of beets; \$1.06, cost of supplies per ton of beets; \$1.51, cost of labor for entire year per ton of beets; \$1.09, cost of repairs and depreciation per ton of beets; 91 cents, cost of interest, insurance, and tax per ton of beets; 6.3 cents, cost of selling sugar per ton of beets. This makes a total cost per ton of beets of \$9.833; total cost per 100 pounds of refined sugar, \$4.682.

The above estimate includes 5 per cent interest on the total capital invested and 7 per cent annual depreciation on the value of the plant. Leaving out these two items, the cost of manufacturing each 100 pounds of refined sugar is reduced \$0.671, or to \$4.011.

To this sum should be added 13 cents a hundred pounds, the freight charge from Kalamazoo to Chicago, so that it would cost the Michigan producer of beet sugar \$4.141 to land 100 pounds of his product in the Chicago market, while it would cost \$4.35 for the Cuban planter to do the same thing.

W. L. Churchill, president of the Bay City Beet Sugar Company, stated that I am frank to say, gentlemen, that I have not a full, detailed statement that I can make to you in regard to this year; but I can assure you that we will make sugar this year at a cost of not to exceed \$3.60 or \$3.75 per hundred pounds.

Assuming that the freight rate is 13 cents a hundred, it would cost that company not to exceed \$4.05 to lay down 100 pounds of its product in the Chicago market, as against \$4.35 for the Cuban planter, a difference in favor of the home product of 30 cents a hundred, a difference great enough to lift the Michigan grower above the possibility of harm from a dusky competitor.

THE PROPER THING TO DO IN PROMOTING AGRICULTURE IS TO MULTIPLY MANUFACTURING PLANTS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JAMES F. WILSON of Iowa, page 2867 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Our protective policy has, in spite of the obstacles it has encountered, most suggestive results in this regard, and these results have not all been absorbed by the manufacturing industries. Agriculture has gathered a part of the harvest to itself.

In the ten States embraced in the foregoing table one effect is made apparent by the statistics of the census of 1880, which should be studied by all, and especially by those engaged in agriculture. In all of those States there are counties in which manufacturing industries have been established, and others in which this result had not been realized. Taking the ten States together the average value per acre of land in the counties in which manufactures had been planted was \$35.86. In the other counties the average value per acre was \$22.41. This shows an average value per acre in favor of the counties in which manufacturing industries were present of \$13.45. In a large majority of the counties embraced in the ten States named manufacturing industries did not exist. This suggested that the proper thing to do in the matter of promoting the interests of agriculture is to multiply manufacturing plants, and to induce a distribution of them amongst localities where they are not now present. This cannot be done by applying the methods recommended by the President in his message. If we follow his suggestions and give effect to them we will not multiply manufacturing plants and distribute them to regions where they do not now exist. On the contrary, we will embarrass those now in operation and repress the tendency to invest capital in others.

"NO PEOPLE MORE BENEFITED BY THE INCREASE OF MANUFACTURES THAN THE FARMERS THEMSELVES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOSEPH E. BROWN of Georgia, page 2152 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Not only that but the price of land is greatly increased by their proximity to and diminished by their remoteness from manufacturing centers. You may find land selling at \$50 an acre within a few miles of a manufacturing town, and you may buy the same quality of land at \$5 an acre 50 or 100 miles from manufacturing centers. And why so? Because not only the good housewife has a market for her butter and chickens and eggs and cheese, and everything of that character that is produced upon the farm, but the farmer himself has a market for every bushel of corn, wheat, rye, etc., and for every apple, peach, pear, melon, and everything of that character that he makes upon the farm when located near a manufacturing center; and he gets the best price for his corn, flour, meat, and other necessary articles produced upon the farm. So, in every view of it no class of people in this country are more benefited by the increase of manufactures and the diversity of labor, thus putting down the price of manufactured articles and putting up the price of labor and the price of farm products, than the farmers themselves.

"WHAT MCKINLEY PRINCIPLES MEAN TO THE FARMER."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in House of Representatives, July 19, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 302.

We used to supply two-thirds of the world's wheat market. Now we supply but one-third, and do it in competition with 13-cent wheat laid down in the London markets at a cost of 50 cents a bushel, all told. Is it surprising that wheat is low?

What is the remedy?

Two things.

First. Create a home market for your wheat.

Second. Vary your production.

How are you to do this?

First. Create a home market by supporting a protective tariff, which will bring business to manufacturers and employment to idle millions, who will thus have money to spend freely for your farm products.

Second. Support the party which gave you reciprocity on farm products and protection for wool.

The repeal of the McKinley tariff law caused the importation of foreign wool to increase from 55,000,000 pounds to 206,000,000 pounds in a single year, an increase of about 300 per cent. Besides this enormous increase in raw wool, the importation of manufactured wool increased from \$19,000,000 in value under the McKinley law to \$36,000,000 in value under the present or Wilson law. Under the McKinley law the importation of rags was only about 100,000 pounds, while the Wilson law in its first year brought in 14,000,000 pounds of woolen rags and shoddy from the hovels and hospitals of Europe to be worked into clothes for our people, and displacing good clean American wool. The result of all this was a decrease in the value of the flocks from \$126,000,000 under the McKinley law to \$65,000,000 under the Wilson law.

Think what McKinley principles mean to the farmer:

Better prices abroad for his wheat by means of reciprocity, which reduces foreign tariffs on his grain while other wheat growers of the world still pay high rates of duty in the countries to which our grain would obtain access at low rates.

An increase in home demand for grain and other farm products by such a protective tariff as will enable the manufacturers to start their mills and their employees to begin spending their money freely for a comfortable living.

Such a protective tariff on wool and other farm products as will shut out from this country the farm products of other parts of the world.

Do you realize what the effect of the Wilson tariff was on the farmer? Read the following table and see the enormous increase in the importation of all farm products in the first year of the Wilson law as compared with the last year of the McKinley law. Then look at the table which follows it and see the decrease in the exports of farm products which followed the destruction of reciprocity by the repeal of the McKinley law and the adoption of the Wilson law.

THE OFFICIAL FIGURES.

The fiscal year 1894 closed two months before the end of the operations of the McKinley law, and the calendar year 1895 began four months after the Wilson law had begun its work. Each year's figures may therefore be assumed to present a fairly normal picture of the workings of the two laws, and thus to give an absolutely accurate official comparison of their operations as affecting the great class of citizens of the United States dependent on agriculture.

Imports of farm products.

	McKinley law, fiscal year 1894.	Wilson law calendar year 1895.
Tobacco	\$11,001,798	\$15,225,732
Wines	6,739,425	7,222,110
Wool	6,107,438	33,770,113
Leather	4,508,330	7,745,010
Cotton (unmanufactured).....	3,010,205	5,171,010
Rice	2,464,226	2,955,322
Animals.....	2,411,066	3,365,122
Seeds	2,395,695	4,650,450
Breadstuffs (all).....	1,981,317	2,886,710
Provisions (all).....	1,797,847	2,106,110
Flax (unmanufactured).....	1,336,845	2,239,920
Cheese.....	1,247,198	1,471,010
Hay.....	761,937	2,191,530
Wheat.....	761,177	1,121,710
Feathers	726,692	3,032,610

Exports of farm products.

	McKinley law, fiscal year 1894.	Wilson law calendar year 1895.
Cotton	\$210,869,298	\$199,890,640
Breadstuffs (all).....	166,774,558	125,694,430
Provisions all).....	145,262,273	132,456,830
Flour	69,271,760	40,292,830
Wheat.....	59,470,041	37,348,730
Lard	40,089,721	37,411,340
Bacon	88,338,357	33,791,030
Animals (all).....	35,698,180	26,997,710
Cattle.....	33,455,092	27,907,730
Corn	30,211,154	27,907,730

"THE LOSS SUSTAINED BY THE FARMING COMMUNITY BY VIRTUE OF FREE-TRADE LEGISLATION."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin, in House of Representatives, March 31, 1897, and printed in Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 121.

In 1892, under the protective system, the consumption of wheat in this country was 5.7 bushels per capita. In 1895 it had decreased to 4 bushels per capita, showing a loss of 1.7 bushels per capita, or about 120,000,000 bushels less consumed in 1895 than there were in 1892. The decrease per capita in the consumption of corn in the same period was 14 bushels, or 980,000,000 bushels less consumed by the people of our country in 1895 than were consumed in 1892. But it will be said by some that these figures can not be correct, for the reason that our population was greater in 1895 than it was in 1892, and that men must eat whether they work or not. But I say to you that when men are working on short time at low wages, or, worse still, are out of employment and are walking the streets looking for a job, and are obliged from necessity to accept the offerings of charity to keep their wives and children from starvation, I say to you that those families do not consume upon their tables as much bread and meat and the many different agricultural products as they do when the head of the family is receiving steady employment at good wages.

But the loss sustained by the farming community by virtue of free-trade legislation has not been alone in the decrease of consumption, nor in the amount of the products shipped to other countries, but in the shrinkage of values of the products which they have raised. Take the three great staples, wheat, corn, and oats, which are largely raised by the farmers of the United States, and we find that in 1891 they brought the following amounts of money

Wheat	\$513,472,000
Corn	836,439,000
Oats	232,321,000

Total 1,582,232,000

In 1895 the same products brought to the farmer the following amounts of money:

Wheat	\$237,938,000
Corn	567,930,000
Oats	163,655,000

Total \$969,523,000

Thus the farmers lost on account of the change in our tariff laws the sum of \$612,709,000 in the value of these three articles alone between the protective-tariff year of 1891 and the free-trade year of 1895. But it was not the cereals alone that decreased, but farm animals as well. The farmers' hogs, January 1, 1893, were worth \$295,425,000; on January 1, 1896, they were worth only \$186,529,000, a decrease of \$108,896,000 in three years. On January 1, 1893, the sheep of this country were worth \$125,909,000; on January 1, 1896, they were worth \$65,167,000, a loss or decrease of \$60,742,000 in three years. In 1893 the horses of the United States were valued at \$1,007,593,000; in 1896 they were valued at \$500,140,000, a decrease of \$507,453,000, and a loss in these three items alone of \$677,091,000 to the farmers of this country as a result of Democratic legislation.

The value in 1891 of the wheat, corn, rye, oats, cotton, hay, potatoes, wool, barley, buckwheat, tobacco, hogs, and sheep in this country was \$2,957,000,000; in 1895 the same articles were valued at \$2,061,000,000, showing a decrease in the value of these thirteen articles of \$900,000,000 between the year 1891, under a protective-tariff law, and the year 1895, under the Wilson free-trade law. *Can there be any question, then, but that this great depreciation in values of all these products of the farm was directly traceable to the tariff legislation made possible by the last Democratic Administration?* The people of this country are entitled to our own market, and they should be allowed to occupy it and to supply it with everything that is raised or manufactured in this country, and such legislation should be enacted as will prevent the foreigner from entering this market until he has paid a tax at least equal to that paid by the people of our own country for the maintenance of the Government.

"VALUE OF PRINCIPAL FARM CROPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1875 TO 1899."

Printed in daily Congressional Record, June 13, 1900.

Value of principal farm crops in the United States, 1875 to 1899.
[From reports of Department of Agriculture.]

Calendar year.	Corn.	Wheat.	Oats.	Rye.	Barley.
1875.....	\$484,674,804	\$261,396,926	\$113,441,491	\$11,894,223	\$27,967,522
1876.....	456,108,521	278,687,238	108,844,896	12,504,970	24,402,691
1877.....	467,635,230	385,089,444	115,546,194	12,201,759	21,623,130
1878.....	440,280,517	325,814,119	101,752,468	18,566,002	24,454,891
1879.....	580,486,217	497,080,142	120,583,294	15,597,481	23,714,444
1880.....	679,714,499	474,201,850	150,243,565	18,564,560	30,090,742
1881.....	759,482,170	456,880,427	193,198,970	19,327,415	33,862,513
1882.....	788,867,175	445,602,125	182,978,022	18,469,194	30,768,015
1883.....	688,051,485	383,649,272	167,040,264	16,390,503	29,420,423
1884.....	640,735,560	330,862,260	161,528,470	14,857,040	29,779,170
1885.....	685,674,630	275,820,380	179,631,860	12,594,820	32,867,696
1886.....	610,311,000	314,226,020	186,187,930	13,181,330	31,840,510
1887.....	646,106,770	310,612,060	200,699,790	11,283,140	29,464,390
1888.....	677,561,580	385,248,030	195,424,240	16,721,869	37,672,082
1889.....	597,918,829	342,491,707	171,781,008	12,099,752	32,614,271
1890.....	754,433,451	324,773,678	222,043,486	16,229,292	42,140,502
1891.....	886,439,228	513,472,711	252,812,267	24,589,217	45,470,342
1892.....	642,146,630	322,111,881	200,253,611	15,160,056	38,026,082
1893.....	591,625,627	213,171,331	187,576,092	13,612,222	33,429,386
1894.....	551,471,162	223,902,025	214,816,920	13,395,476	27,154,127
1895.....	514,985,534	227,933,938	163,635,068	11,964,826	29,312,413
1896.....	491,006,967	310,603,539	152,483,033	9,960,769	22,491,241
1897.....	501,072,952	428,547,121	147,976,719	12,239,647	25,142,139
1898.....	532,023,428	382,770,820	186,405,361	11,575,350	23,064,339
1899.....	629,210,110	319,545,259	198,167,975	12,214,118	29,504,254

*Democratic and low-tariff years.

"WHICH IS BETTER FOR A FARMER TO DO?"

Extract from remarks of Hon. T. B. REED of Maine, page 4670 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Which is it better for a farmer to do, send his surplus wheat a thousand miles to the seacoast, three thousand miles across the water, pay the freight, sell it to the mechanic who gets less wages, or sell it right here at home to the mechanic who gets more wages? The answer seems obvious.

"THE FARMER."—"THE HOME MARKET."

Extract from remarks of Hon. N. P. HAUGEN of Wisconsin, page 4233 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Much has been said about the farmer and whether he is benefited by protection. The farmer in my part of the country is decidedly a laborer. He is almost universally a small land-owner, small as compared with the farmer of the prairie States west of the Mississippi. The number of farms in Wisconsin in 1885, was 136,108, or about one farm to each $11\frac{1}{2}$ inhabitants, the population being 1,563,413. The aggregate value of farms was \$568,187,288, averaging \$4,174 each. The value of farms is governed largely by their distance from cities and manufacturing towns, showing that their productive value increases accordingly as the market is accessible.

The home market saves transportation, charges of middlemen, and consumes articles which would otherwise swell the volume to be exported, and which would, if exported, help to reduce prices by flooding the foreign market. Besides all that, the home market is somewhat within the control of the seller. If he does not receive fair treatment and fair prices the causes are within reach of his own investigation. Every farming community gives welcome greeting to any kind of manufacturing whose establishment it can secure, from a saw-mill down to a cheese factory, and willingly taxes itself to get it, wisely considering such contribution money well invested.

"EVERYTHING THE FARMERS MAKE IS NEEDED BY THE PERSONS ENGAGED IN MANUFACTURING."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOSEPH E. BROWN of Georgia, page 2151 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

You go back into the portions of the country far distant from manufacturing establishments and you will find chickens selling at 10 to 12 cents apiece, butter at 10 to 15 cents, eggs at 10 cents a dozen, and everything produced on the farm or in the dairy at a price that is scarcely remunerative.

Now change your location and go into the neighborhood of one or more large factories where there is a large number of officers, employees, and operatives engaged in manufacturing. They produce none of these things. They want to buy everything of the character mentioned that is made upon the farm, in the garden, or the dairy, and instead of chickens being 10 to 12 cents apiece they are from 20 to 30 cents; instead of eggs being worth 10 cents a dozen they are worth 20 to 25 cents; instead of butter being 10 or 15 cents a pound it is worth 40 cents a pound, and so with everything the farmers and the farmers' wives make for sale which is needed by the large number of persons engaged in manufacturing, who do not make these necessary articles.

"NUMBER AND VALUE OF FARM ANIMALS FROM 1875 TO 1899."

Printed in daily Congressional Record, June 13, 1900.

Number and value of farm animals from 1875 to 1899.
[From the annual reports of the Department of Agriculture.]

January 1—	Horses.			Mules.			Milch cows.			Oxen and other cattle.			Sheep.			Swine.			Total value farm animals.
	Number.	Value.		Number.	Value.		Number.	Value.		Number.	Value.		Number.	Value.		Number.	Value.		
1875.....	9,504,200	\$646,370,939		1,893,750	\$111,502,713		10,906,800	\$311,080,824		16,313,400	\$904,858,859		33,738,600	\$94,320,652		28,062,200	\$149,892,234		\$1,618,012,221
1876.....	9,735,300	632,446,985		1,414,500	106,565,114		11,083,400	320,546,728		16,785,300	319,623,309		33,935,300	93,666,318		25,726,800	175,070,484		1,667,710,138
1877.....	10,155,400	610,206,681		1,443,500	99,480,976		11,280,800	307,743,211		17,926,100	307,105,386		35,803,200	80,862,683		28,077,100	171,077,196		1,576,590,083
1878.....	10,329,700	600,813,681		1,637,500	104,323,939		11,300,100	298,490,866		19,223,300	329,543,703		35,740,500	80,603,062		32,262,500	160,838,532		1,576,590,083
1879.....	10,038,700	573,254,808		1,713,100	96,033,971		11,826,400	256,933,928		21,408,100	329,543,703		38,123,800	79,023,984		34,766,100	145,781,515		1,445,423,002
1880.....	11,201,800	613,296,611		1,729,500	105,948,319		12,027,000	296,277,060		20,388,710	362,861,509		43,569,899	104,070,759		36,247,683	170,538,435		1,721,736,252
1881.....	11,429,626	667,634,323		1,720,331	120,096,164		12,368,653	326,439,310		23,290,238	403,008,301		45,010,224	106,365,954		43,270,086	203,543,195		1,806,468,252
1882.....	10,521,554	615,824,914		1,835,169	130,945,378		12,611,632	326,439,310		23,290,238	403,008,301		45,010,224	106,365,954		43,270,086	203,543,195		1,806,468,252
1883.....	10,838,110	765,041,308		1,871,079	148,732,300		13,125,685	386,575,405		28,046,077	463,008,301		49,237,291	119,302,706		44,210,893	246,301,139		2,467,868,924
1884.....	11,169,683	833,734,400		1,914,126	161,214,976		13,501,296	423,436,649		29,046,101	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1885.....	11,564,572	852,282,947		1,972,569	162,497,097		13,904,722	412,903,093		29,866,573	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1886.....	12,077,657	860,823,218		2,032,536	163,381,006		14,235,388	380,985,523		31,275,242	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1887.....	12,496,744	901,685,735		2,117,141	167,057,538		14,522,083	378,739,589		33,511,730	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1888.....	13,172,936	946,096,154		2,219,727	174,853,563		14,856,414	366,252,173		34,378,363	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1889.....	13,663,294	982,194,827		2,257,574	179,444,481		15,296,625	366,252,173		35,032,417	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1890.....	14,213,837	978,516,562		2,331,027	182,394,090		15,962,883	353,152,133		36,849,024	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1891.....	14,056,750	941,823,222		2,296,532	178,847,370		16,019,591	346,397,900		37,651,239	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1892.....	13,408,140	1,007,593,636		2,314,699	174,882,070		16,416,351	351,578,132		37,651,239	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1893.....	16,706,702	992,225,185		2,331,128	164,763,751		16,424,070	357,299,785		35,925,419	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1894.....	16,081,139	763,224,739		2,332,381	146,332,811		16,424,070	357,299,785		35,925,419	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1895.....	17,589,318	576,730,580		2,333,108	110,927,834		16,504,629	362,601,729		36,564,216	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1896.....	17,121,057	500,110,186		2,278,946	103,304,457		16,137,437	363,455,635		32,085,109	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1897.....	14,364,667	478,382,407		2,216,664	92,302,090		15,904,727	363,455,635		29,508,108	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1898.....	13,960,911	478,382,407		2,190,282	96,100,282		15,904,727	363,455,635		29,508,108	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1899.....	13,665,307	511,074,813		2,134,213	95,963,261		15,990,115	474,233,925		27,994,225	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924
1900.....	13,337,534	605,909,442		2,086,127	111,717,092		16,292,380	514,812,106		27,610,054	463,008,301		50,602,438	107,960,650		45,142,657	226,401,083		2,467,868,924

* Democratic and low-tariff years.

† The total of all farm animals includes swine at the valuation of 1899; the Department of Agriculture makes no estimate of swine for 1900.

*Extract from remarks of Hon. EDWARD P. ALLEN,
of Michigan, page 4979 of Daily Congressional Record,
50th Congress, 1st Session.*

The New York Evening Post, in commenting editorially and favorably on the speech of my young and brilliant colleague [Mr. FORD], proceeds to tell the farmers of the West how mistaken they are, and how little they know about what is really good for them, closing with a free-trade estimate of their common sense in the following gem:

"Yet we find clubs of greenhorns in the rural districts still holding weekly meetings and passing resolutions in favor of a higher tariff on potatoes and hops and garden vegetables and two or three other things of which we import a small quantity now and then when we have an unfavorable season and a short crop at home. To these self-deluded grangers the tariff debate in Congress will prove helpful, since it can not fail to put the other side of the case before them and compel them to read it and talk about it in their neighborhood meetings."

But who is it that calls my constituents "greenhorns in the rural districts and self-deluded grangers?" It is needless to say he is a free-trader and a member of the New York free-trade club, which holds, among other fundamental principles, the following:

"That the only commercial policy which is in its nature permanent and unchangeable, and which, therefore, assures stability in all kinds of business, is free trade between nations as between the States of the Union."

**"THE FARMERS ARE IN FAVOR OF ENCOURAGING
MANUFACTORIES."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. JOHNSTON, of
Indiana, page 6961 of daily Congressional Record, 50th
Congress, 1st Session.*

The farmers of my district know well that they have as good agricultural land as is in the world. They also know that the farmers of the East make more money off inferior land than we do in the West. The reason is that the farmer of the East has the manufacturing establishments in his midst. He sells his products to support the laborers, while the farmer of the West must pay the transportation to the East on the surplus he raises. Knowing this they are in favor of encouraging manufactories, bringing them to the West, and thus save this cost of transportation.

**"WHAT THE FARMER MOST DESIRES IS A GOOD
MARKET."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. GEORGE G. SYMES of Colorado,
page 4315 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

What the farmer most desires is a good market. What he has to buy is not a question so serious with him as what he has to sell. If you will only give him a good market in which to sell his products, make his market as easy of access and as convenient as are his places of purchase, he will ask no odds in the battle of life. This is fast becoming the case now under the benign influences of the American system of protection. The great cities of Chicago, St. Louis and Kansas City are fast becoming the leading markets of the world.

The great State of Illinois is one vast work-shop. Missouri, with her rich mines of iron, coal, and zinc, is only held back by the mirage of free trade. Kansas is rapidly following with her smelting furnaces, glass factories, foundries, and machine shops. *The farmer of the West welcomes them as the best friends of his interests. In them he sees a market which is far preferable to that of London, 4,000 miles away.* Engaged in these industries, he sees thousands of consumers employed who are his customers, and who, if not so employed, would be his competitors in agricultural pursuits, thus doubling the productions of the farm, which must necessarily result in an oversupply of the home market of all such commodities as the farmer produces.

**"WE WANT TO CONTINUE THAT SYSTEM WHICH
BUILDS UP ALL INDUSTRIES."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES P. WICKHAM of Ohio,
page 4696 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

It will be a sorry day for America when her farming industry shall show signs of decay. That portion of our population engaged in agriculture are at once the safety and the glory of our nation.

They are intelligent, conservative, patriotic. They are attached to the land and love their country with intense affection. They draw their substance directly from the bosom of mother earth, and so are most interested in preserving us against invasion or any other evil that may threaten us.

Shall this great and important portion of our population be abandoned in the adjustment of our tariff duties to the remorseless competition of wool-growers and flax-raisers of other lands, where labor or lands or both are cheaper? Or shall we preserve our magnificent markets for their use, and thus enable them to continue to hold their proud place among the toilers of America?

We want in this country no such one-sided monopolistic system as that which curses England, but we want rather to continue that system which encourages and builds up all industries and all labor, whether engaged in manufacturing or in producing the fruits of the field.

MORTGAGES ON WESTERN FARMS."—"MORTGAGES ON ENGLISH LANDS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. L. E. McCOMAS of Maryland, page 3838 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Learn from England, ye farmers of America, how free trade benefits agriculture.

There agriculture has reached a state of collapse. Every farmer is 40 per cent. poorer than he was twelve years ago. The tenant farmers are now paying their rent out of their capital. In ten years the loss of income to owners of land was 30 per cent. and to tenant farmers 60 per cent.

The farm laborer now works for 1 or, at most, for 2 shillings a day, a loss of 20 per cent. of his wages.

The land is rapidly going out of cultivation, and free trade has made wheat growing unprofitable to the English farmer. Within ten years 1,000,000 acres, one-fourth of the whole wheat area of Britain, has gone out of cultivation. Dairy farming is extinguished. The best of the farm population is crowding into the great cities, no longer customers, but competitors.

To the *doctrinaires* it is a pretty pastoral scene; free-trade England, a grass country without gates, cropped-tail horses, and foxes and hounds running on forever and ever.

The howling dervish of free trade, with his epileptic froth over the mortgages on Western farms, should remember that while mortgages on farms here are 20 per cent. of their value, the mortgages on English lands were over 58 per cent. of their value (says Mullhall) in 1876, and since then the value and income of these lands has fallen off from 30 to 50 per cent. The number of farming bankruptcies in Britain have increased six times in ten years. Bills of sale have multiplied ten times in five years.

"CONDITION OF INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS IN GREAT BRITAIN UNDER THE FREE-TRADE SYSTEM."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. W. MORROW of California, page 4271 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

I beg leave to call your attention to the following extract from a letter of Mr. Howard Vincent, M. P., to the London Times, concerning the condition of industrial affairs in Great Britain at this time, under the free-trade system prevailing there. He says:

"No national party could possibly ignore the serious state of affairs now prevailing. It is detailed from day to day in your columns. Land worth from 25 to 75 per cent. less than forty years ago and almost unsalable; arable land thrown into pasture, yet fewer animals in the fields; agricultural distress very similar to that described by Lord Shaftesbury as prevailing about 1844; in the towns hundreds starving, owing to the factories being closed or working only on half time; deputations to local authorities praying for relief works; in the metropolis hungry men at every corner; pauperism increasing; discontent rising; employment everywhere scarcer, while the population is rapidly multiplying.

"There is no class, no profession, no avocation, no calling unaffected in some degree. Distress must always be felt more in some places and in some communities than in others. But the general fact is undeniable. The commissioner of police of the metropolis, the vestries, the guardians of the poor, as well as philanthropic societies and statesmen, may open registers for the unemployed, but will not provide the employment, for little or none is to be found in town or country. Temporary remedies may be applied, but they will not be more effectual than palliatives to a malignant cancer.

"Fifty-two chambers of commerce have officially declared that 'foreign tariffs and bounties and foreign competition' are 'most injurious to British trade' and 'at bottom of all our troubles.' The Royal commission on the depression of trade and industry indorsed this declaration. Take the bills of lading at any port in the kingdom, stand with the unemployed at the gates of any railway station, and the fact is apparent."

"SHEEP AND WOOL INDUSTRY."—"RUTHLESSLY SLAUGHTERED."—"REGENERATED AND RESTORED."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily
Congressional Record, June 7, 1900.*

Inquiry cards were sent out by the American Protective Tariff League early this year to sheep raisers throughout the United States asking for information on the following points:

Number of sheep owned in March, 1896 (Wilson law, free-wool period).

Number of sheep owned in March, 1900 (Dingley law, protected wool period).

Average value per head in March, 1896 (Wilson law, free-wool period).

Average value per head in March, 1900 (Dingley law, protected wool period).

Up to June 4 a total of 964 replies had been received from sheep raisers in thirty-nine States. Their reports present some startling contrasts between conditions prevailing after two years and eight months of restored protection on domestic wool and the conditions which prevailed three years and four months after the election of a free-trade President of the United States. If anything were now needed to condemn to everlasting obloquy the destructive regime installed by the electoral vote of 1892, these sheep census figures furnish the materials for such condemnation. *History records few meaner atrocities than that which was perpetrated upon the sheep and wool industry of the American farmer when the free-trade satraps decreed the free-wool clause of the tariff law of 1894.*

I have already given some instances of the fearful blight which fell upon American sheep and wool in consequence of the change from the wise protection granted by the McKinley tariff to the free trade of the Wilson tariff. How ruthlessly the sheep and wool industry was slaughtered as a result of "The crime of 1894" is already a matter of history. My task now is to show the obverse side of the picture, to show *how splendidly that deserving industry, involving as it does the welfare of so many thousands of American farmers, has been regenerated and restored through the enactment of the protective tariff of 1897.*

Suppose we begin with a section of the country where for a time the belief was strong that if you would see prosperity you must look through silver spectacles. Take Montana, for example, which in April, 1899, had 3,218,802 sheep. Seventy-two reports from Montana show that in March, 1896, the persons reporting owned 304,374 sheep, with an average market value of \$2.12 per head; whereas in March, 1900, these same persons had increased their flocks to 525,434, and the average value per head had grown to \$4.15, or only 9 cents less than double the value in 1896. For 1900 Montana will show flocks numbering fully 5,000,000, and protection will be worth to the sheep raisers more than \$10,000,000 as compared with free trade, to say nothing of an increase of more than \$2,000,000 in the value of each year's wool clip. Silver spectacles did not enable the farmers of Montana to see this immense gain in their wealth.

Fifteen Utah farmers state that in 1896 their flocks numbered 58,070, valued at \$1.81 per head, and that four years later this number had increased to 72,600, and the value per head was now \$3.89. With a present total of more than 3,000,000 it ought not to be very difficult to convince Utah sheep raisers that the country made a good choice when it rejected free silver and free wool for protection and a 100-cent dollar.

In Colorado, according to the reports from 33 owners, the flocks have increased from 154,039 in 1896 to 185,524 in March, 1900, and the average value per head has been increased from \$2.03 to \$3.94. It would take the combined profits of a good many silver mines under a "16 to 1" ratio to equal the gain which Colorado has realized on her sheep and her wool.

"EVERY FARMER UNDERSTANDS THAT THE NEARER HIS MARKET TO HIS FARM THE MORE ABUNDANT HIS PROFITS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. C. BURROWS of Michigan, page 3452 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Can it be possible that the farmer can be deluded into a belief that a policy which destroys his home market and forces him into the distant markets of the world with his surplus products, with all the attending and enormous cost of transportation, will redound to his advantage? Every farmer understands that the nearer his market to his farm the more abundant his profits. Therefore, any policy which tends to diversify our industries and give employment to a large class of our people outside of agriculture, and who thus become consumers of the surplus products of the farm at home, must inure to the benefit of the American farmer; and any policy which tends to diminish these industries and force the capital and labor employed therein onto the farm, to become producer rather than consumer, must from necessity increase the agricultural product, while at the same time lessening the demand therefor. I can conceive of no calamity more appalling than that which would overtake our vast agricultural interests by the destruction of our manufacturing industries and the consequent annihilation of our home market. The importance to agriculture of a diversification of our industries and consequent creation of a home demand for the surplus product of the farm was strikingly set forth by Alexander Hamilton nearly a century ago:

"This idea of an extensive domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil is of the first consequence. It is of all things that which must effectually conduce to a flourishing state of agriculture. To secure such a market there is no other expedient than to promote manufacturing establishments. Manufacturers, who constitute the most numerous class after the cultivators of the land, are for that reason the principal consumers of the surplus of their labor."

But the advantage of such a policy does not rest for its support upon a theory. It is affirmed by experience, and it may be well to again remind the President that "it is a condition that confronts us, not a theory." It is estimated that to-day our population is not less than 60,000,000, of which only 20,000,000 are actually engaged in any gainful occupation, 9,000,000 of whom are engaged in agriculture, leaving 11,000,000 employed in other pursuits. Nine million farmers are feeding a nation of 60,000,000 of people. How does this advantage the farmers? The estimated value of the products of our farms, exclusive of cotton and tobacco, is \$3,000,000,000 annually, and yet 94 per cent of this enormous product is taken in our own market and consumed by our own people. The farmers are compelled to export only 6 per cent of their products. In this connection it is worthy of note that while the value of our manufactures reaches the almost fabulous sum of \$7,000,000,000 annually, yet more than 90 per cent of this is consumed within our borders. It is estimated that the value of our industrial products of farm and factory will aggregate annually \$11,000,000,000 and yet nearly \$10,000,000,000, of this is disposed of in our market and consumed by our own people. And yet, with a home market of such absorbing capacity, built up and sustained by a diversification of our industries, the advocates of free trade are constantly holding up the phantom of the markets of the world as the one thing chiefly to be desired.

**"THE FARMER NEEDS NO MORE COMPETITION IN HIS
CHOSEN PURSUIT."**

*Extract from remarks of Hon. MARK S. BREWER of Michigan,
page 3605 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

Supposing that our Democratic free-trade, tariff-for-revenue-only friends shall succeed in passing this bill, every industry it strikes must either reduce the wages of the people employed therein or else close the shops, furnaces, and factories which give them employment. In either event we will witness increased "strikes," "lock-outs," and a million of wage-earners that are now finding work will be thrown out of employment and of necessity be driven to tilling the soil. These men, who have been consumers of the products of the farm, will become producers. The farmer needs no more competition in his chosen pursuit. That which he produces to-day scarcely compensates him for his labor. If these people who are now engaged in other pursuits are to become tillers of the soil and producers of wheat, corn, and potatoes, where are the agriculturists to find a market for that which they produce? We shall not find it in our own country, because by our over-production we have ruined our home market. We have increased producers and decreased consumers, and increased our productions beyond any foreign demand. We shall in fact become a nation of agriculturists, and no nation ever has been or ever will be prosperous where its people are wholly or chiefly engaged in agriculture.

**"EVERY FARMER KNOWS WELL THAT HE MUST RELY
UPON THE HOME MARKET."**

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. MARK S. BREWER of Michigan,
page 3605 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st
Session.*

It is our protective tariff which has largely built up our varied industries, and which has tended to make us the most prosperous nation in the world. A protective tariff tends to aid and build up all our industries, to bring the producer and consumer nearer together, and thereby largely save the cost of transportation. This has made more valuable the farm and given a better market for its products. This is what has made lands near our large cities more valuable than those more distant. This is why the lands in rough and rocky New England and in sterile New Jersey are more valuable than our fertile lands in Michigan and Minnesota. Every farmer knows well that he cannot send to foreign lands his potatoes, vegetables, and many other things which he grows upon the farm, and that he must rely upon the home market for the same. Hence it is all important that he should feel a deep interest in the building up of manufacturing towns and cities near his home, where he can market his surplus productions. It is for this reason that we see them often voting a tax upon themselves, or aiding by a voluntary contribution to assist in building railroads and in the erection of factories. They understand perfectly well that it is to their advantage to build up these towns and bring the consumer of their products near to them, and to make distant markets more accessible. Every farmer who produces wool understands full well that he can not raise wool in competition with that which is produced in Australia or South America. The President of the United States and free-trade Congressmen may try to convince them that free imported wool will be to their advantage, but their own practical experience tells them otherwise.

"THE SHEEP FARMERS ROBBED OF \$60,000,000 BY THE PLACING OF WOOL UPON THE FREE LIST."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. S. S. BARNEY of Wisconsin, in
House of Representatives, March 30, 1897, and printed in Ap-
pendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 14.*

Within the last year I had a conversation with a gentleman engaged in the milk business in one of the most prosperous manufacturing towns in my district—that is, it was one of the most prosperous manufacturing towns in Wisconsin prior to the election of Cleveland in 1892—and this gentleman told me that after the panic of 1893 the consumption of milk alone in that city fell off about one-half. Families which before that time had taken 2 quarts of milk took but 1, and those which had taken 1 quart thereafter took a pint. Many of them were not able to buy any at all. This gentleman called my attention to another fact concerning that same city, showing the depression caused to the farming industry on account of the general stagnation in the manufacturing industries. Surrounding that city were hundreds of acres of good farming lands that before that time had lain practically idle by reason of having been subdivided into city lots. Just as soon as the factories in that city were closed and men were turned out of employment, hundreds of these laboring men went out upon these lands just outside of the city and spent their time there raising potatoes and garden vegetables, such as they needed for their own use, and also some to sell to the wealthier classes in town, thus depriving the farmers of that locality of the market which they had theretofore had for their milk, butter, cheese, potatoes, and garden vegetables, and in fact all products of the farm.

It has always seemed to me, Mr. Speaker, that the makers of the Wilson-Gorman law appeared to have a particular grudge against the farmers of this country, because it does seem as though that law was framed to hit them harder than any other class of people. The idea of putting wool upon the free list and at the same time keeping up a reasonable duty upon the manufactured article is absurd, and about as audacious a piece of business as Congress was ever guilty of. In the fall of 1894, in traveling through my district, I found that the highways in some localities were lined with flocks of sheep that were being driven to the market and sold for almost nothing, because at that time they had been rendered valueless by the placing of wool upon the free list. Before that time we were told by the free traders that this duty on wool, the duty on barley, the duty on the other products of the farm, did not make any difference in prices; that the farmers would get just as high a price if they had no duty; that it was a humbug and a snare, and in the interest of the manufacturers and not in the interest of the farmers and laboring men of this country; and yet I call the attention of the farmers of this country to the fact that since the passage of the Wilson-Gorman act the wool of this country has sold in the market for just about as much less as the amount of the tariff; and it is a remarkable coincidence that the same can be said of barley, butter, cheese, eggs, and most other products of the farm. If you injure the sheep farmer of this country you injure every other farming industry, because the sheep farmer is compelled to drive his flocks to the butcher and go out of that kind of farming business and into some other. He must necessarily raise something else; he must raise either barley, corn, wheat, cattle, hogs, or go into the dairy business and compete with other kinds of farming industries. *A blow at the sheep farmer is a blow at every variety of farming industry in this country.*

The Statistical Abstract of the United States for the year 1896 shows that in the year 1893 there were in this country 47,273,553 sheep, of the value of \$125,909,244. In the year 1896 there were in this country 38,298,783 sheep, of the value of \$65,167,735, a decrease of about 25 per cent in the number of sheep and of almost 50 per cent in their value; in other words, *that the people of this country, and necessarily the sheep farmers, have been robbed of \$60,000,000 by the placing of wool upon the free list.*

"THE AMERICAN FARMER HAS PROFITED ENORMOUSLY UNDER THE DINGLEY TARIFF."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

The year 1903 was as a whole the greatest industrial year of our history. It is not necessary to more than briefly refer to the great prosperity which has been enjoyed by the agricultural classes of this country under the Dingley law. I showed in a speech made in this Chamber two years ago that the increase in the annual value of our farm products and farm animals had amounted to considerably over \$2,000,000,000 since 1896. Again last year the value of our farm products and farm animals showed an increase over all preceding years.

Ten of our staple products—wheat, oats, corn, rye, barley, buckwheat, cotton, hay, tobacco, and potatoes, foot up in value over \$3,000,000,000, while for the first time in our history the value of farm animals last year was also in excess of \$3,000,000,000. By the census of 1890, Mr. President, the value of all our farm products was placed at less than \$2,500,000,000, but in this period of good times and prosperity it is safe to estimate the total value of our agricultural products at from five to six billions of dollars. These figures for the most part represent labor, and should be included among the wages of our working classes just as much as are the wages of mechanics, artisans, and workers in our factories. It is not necessary to present figures proving that *the American farmer has profited enormously under the Dingley tariff, and that to-day his prosperity is fully maintained and still pointing upward. The great agricultural States of the West and Southwest were never so prosperous as they are to-day.*

The figures of bank clearings, * * * show an increase of 150 per cent for 1903 over the year 1894, and considerably more than 100 per cent over the best years of the period covered by the Wilson-Gorman tariff.

I call attention to the increase that has been made in our postal revenue during the past few years. The following table shows the revenue of the Department from 1893 to 1903:

1893	\$75,896,933
1894	75,080,479
1895	76,983,128
1896	82,499,208
1897	82,665,463
1898	89,012,619
1899	95,021,384
1900	102,354,579
1901	111,631,193
1902	121,848,047
1903	134,224,443

This shows that the revenues for 1903 are 80 per cent greater than they were in 1893. These postal receipts reflect the condition of our people in a way just as much as does the hundreds of billions of bank clearings. They represent the necessary business communications in every industry, and they represent also the social communications of all classes of our people.

Kindred to the postal business of the country in a large degree is the business of our telegraph and telephone companies, and these, too, show that 1903 broke the record as has every preceding year since 1897. The increase in telephone business is shown in the following statistics of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the operating companies connected with it—

	1897.	1903.
Total employees	14,425	50,340
Total subscribers	825,244	1,277,553

—the increase in both employees and subscribers being almost 400 per cent for the six years.

And so I might continue, Mr. President, and show that both the fiscal and calendar year of 1903 was as a whole the greatest industrial year of our history.

WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS DONE FOR THE DOMESTIC SUGAR PRODUCING INTERESTS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEO. C. PERKINS of California, in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 15, 1903.

Mr. President, the opponents of the Cuban reciprocity treaty seem to me to be on the wrong tack. They are like the captain who shapes the course of his vessel by dead reckoning north-north-east to reach a certain port, when the true course, which he might have ascertained had he taken the trouble, is northeast. He therefore must not be surprised if he brings up on the rocks.

It is asserted by those who oppose this treaty that it will injure certain great interests of the United States—sugar, citrus fruits, and tobacco. But I think that if they had taken "an observation," as the captain referred to should have done—in reality, have ascertained the facts—their argument would not have been in danger of shipwreck. It is true that Cuba competes with American sugar producers, beet and cane, but our sugar growers are protected against her by, I think, the highest tariff which we enforce, which amounts to 102 per cent. ad valorem at the present prices for the same grade as beet sugar.

The Cuban treaty does not by any means put our producers at the mercy of Cuban planters, for the proposed reduction will leave protection of 78 per cent. on raw sugar and 82 per cent. on refined, which should be quite sufficient for the encouragement of any enterprise.

The fears expressed as to the dolorous fate of our domestic cane and beet sugar growers arises from the fact that it is feared that the market price of sugar may be reduced. If it is not reduced, domestic sugar will not, of course, feel any effect from the reduction in the duty. * * Other foreign sugars fix the price at which Cuban sugar will be sold here, the cost to us has always depended on the cost of sugar at Hamburg, and will so depend whether Cuba sells us 1,000,000 or 2,000,000 tons or more a year.

Cuba can get in our market only what we are obliged to pay in the world market. No matter how much she may pour into the American market, Cuba can not change the price a shade. If she can produce cheaper than any other country on the globe, all her yearly product would not affect the American market, for we are compelled to buy two-thirds of our sugar from other foreign sources, and the price of Cuban sugar would conform to the price paid her rivals. If she were able to supply our entire consumption, the price of Cuban sugar would still be governed by the world price. She could not go above it and would not go below it. And this world price, plus freight and a duty of 102 per cent. ad valorem, is the price with which our domestic producers have to compete. Cuban sugar does not enter into the price problem at all.

What the Republican party has done for the domestic sugar-producing interests can be told briefly. In 1890 sugar was on the free list, and a bounty of 2 cents per pound was paid on beet and cane sugar produced in the United States. The Wilson-Gorman bill abolished the bounty and placed a duty of 40 per cent. ad valorem on imported sugar. By the Dingley bill this duty was increased so that now it equals 98 per cent. ad valorem on the price of raw sugar in the New York market.

I think it may be accepted as proven beyond a reasonable doubt that the proposed reduction in the Cuban tariff will injure no American industry. If it will not, and the reciprocal reduction of the Cuban tariff on American goods will benefit us, there can be no valid reason why the treaty shall not be made effective. In 1899 we sold Cuba products worth \$29,000,000 and bought from her \$37,000,000 worth. In 1901 we sold to her \$25,000,000 worth and bought \$49,000,000 worth. Thus, while we bought more from her, we sold less, which is not a satisfactory condition of affairs. Our percentage of sales to Cuba has fallen from 43 per cent to 41 per cent., while Germany has in the same period doubled her percentage of sales to Cuba, and England, France, and other European countries have materially increased their own. These facts show that we are being beaten by Germany, France, and England in the market which is at our very doors—in fact, are being crowded out of it.

Unless the tide can be stemmed we shall find our enemies, in an industrial sense, in possession of a market which should be virtually ours exclusively.

"OUR BEET-SUGAR PRODUCERS HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR."

Extract from remarks of Hon. S. W. McCALL of Massachusetts in daily Congressional Record, November 19, 1903.

Reciprocity goes upon the theory that there are oftentimes, in the relations of two people, conditions that make it peculiarly proper that they shall have reciprocal trade arrangements with each other. *The position of Cuba, her political relations to this country, the fact that American interests predominate there, the fact that we buy nearly all she has to sell, and sell her a great portion of what she buys, make her case, it seems to me, as strong as one as could be imagined for the application of the principle of reciprocity.*

Now, with reference to the peculiar trade relations of this country and Cuba. During the last fiscal year we took of Cuba's total exports some 77 per cent., and we sold to her about 42 per cent. of what she bought from the rest of the world. This was taking a larger proportion from her of what she sold than she took from us of her purchases, and the treaty recognizes this fact, for while it levies a uniform reduction of 20 per cent. upon Cuban products coming into our markets, it gives our products going to Cuba a reduction of from 20 per cent. to 40 per cent.

The details of the Cuban trade which have been brought to the attention of the committee by my colleagues show the evidence upon which we may expect a great gain to our own commerce. There were, for instance, under the head of alimentary articles—articles of food and drink—brought from the United States into Cuba about \$3,700,000 worth per year, and from other countries about \$13,000,000 per year. These articles are largely the product of our agriculture and of our fisheries, and under the duties which are prescribed by this bill the United States will almost inevitably get all this trade. Then there is another item of wearing apparel, of boots and shoes, and cotton, and similar articles, of which the United States last year sold to Cuba \$1,127,000 worth, while Cuba bought from the rest of the world \$10,186,000 worth. This item will almost certainly appear in the trade of the United States. And then in cattle—Cuba imported from the United States cattle to the value of \$3,347,000, and from the rest of the world \$6,772,000.

The effect upon the beet-sugar industry has caused alarm, and very naturally so, to those Representatives in this House that come from States largely interested in the manufacture of beet sugar. I do not think it is in a particle of danger. Suppose that the reduction proposed by this bill to 1.35 cents a pound upon raw sugar should measure the entire protection that would exist upon sugar after the passage of this bill—and I feel confident that it will not—I think it is susceptible of demonstration that the protection will be substantially what it is at the present time. In the testimony taken before the Committee on Ways and Means two years ago our collector at Habana, Mr. Bliss, testified that he had examined the returns from eight different plantations and he found the average cost of making sugar there and of taking it to the port of shipment was 2 1-16 cents. Mr. Atkins, who is a successful business man and a sugar manufacturer, reached substantially the same conclusion.

All the evidence that could be called evidence went to show that it cost the Cuban at least 2 cents a pound to make his raw sugar. Now, if to that you add this 1.35, and if to that you add the freight rate and the insurance and other charges, he can not afford to sell his sugar in the New York market for less than three and about seven-eighths of a cent a pound, and it must after that be refined, so that a price would be reached at which it would clearly be profitable to make refined sugar here.

Mr. Oxnard, who has been as much identified with the manufacture of beet sugar as any man in the United States, put forth a statement after he had been engaged in that business nine years to the effect that at 4 cents a pound and allowing the farmer \$4 per ton for his beets there was then a profit of about 43 per cent. upon the cost of the material and labor employed, and that in selling the refined product at 4 cents a pound. Not a small profit by any means. As a matter of fact he would get nearer 5 than 4 cents a pound. Is it not, therefore, clear that under this duty of 1.35 per pound, which is a specific duty equivalent to an ad valorem duty of nearly 80 per cent. including the freight, our beet-sugar producers have nothing whatever to fear?

"LOSSES TO THE AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS DURING THE FOUR YEARS OF CLEVELAND AND TARIFF REFORM."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in daily Congressional Record, May 11, 1900.

The losses to the agricultural interests of the United States growing out of the free-trade tariff experiment of 1891-1897 were tremendous and mounted up into billions. Let us undertake the vast computation by starting with 1892, a year of hitherto unequalled prosperity, brought about in a great measure by the splendid workings of the McKinley tariff of 1890. As a basis of reckoning we will take the total home consumption of wheat and corn for the five years commencing with 1892 and ending with 1896. From the official reports of the United States we glean the following facts:

Wheat Consumption.

Year.	Population.	Total bushels.	Per capita.	Decrease from 1892.
				<i>Bushels.</i>
1892.....	65,408,000	368,531,730	5.91	.....
1893.....	66,826,000	344,106,100	4.85	42,425,073
1894.....	68,275,000	232,177,500	2.41	153,713,423
1895.....	69,753,000	316,678,620	4.54	69,853,110
1896.....	71,263,000	340,637,140	4.78	45,894,590
Total decreased consumption of wheat in the United States during four years.....				311,886,196

Corn Consumption.

1892.....	65,408,000	2,082,672,990	30.33	.....
1893.....	66,826,000	1,581,103,160	23.66	502,669,830
1894.....	68,275,000	1,553,939,000	22.70	529,733,990
1895.....	69,753,000	1,204,405,940	16.98	879,267,050
1896.....	71,263,000	1,033,959,000	14.73	1,033,959,000
Total decreased consumption of corn in the United States during four years.....				2,945,629,870
Add decrease in wheat, as above.....				311,886,196
Total decrease four years.....				3,257,516,066

Note the enormous decrease of more than three and a quarter billions bushels of wheat and corn in the consumption of foodstuffs during the four years of Cleveland and tariff reform. The less a man earns the less he eats—not from choice, but from necessity. The per capita consumption of wheat fell off from 5.91 bushels in 1892, a McKinley tariff year, to 2.41 bushels in 1894, the first year of the Wilson tariff, and the total consumption of wheat in those memorable "lean years" fell off 311,886,196 bushels. As to corn the result was still more startling. From a per capita consumption of 30.33 bushels in 1892, the average fell to 14.73 bushels in 1896.

Farm loss on wheat crops.

Year.	Total bushels.	Total value.	Decrease from 1892.
1892.....	515,949,000	\$322,111,881	.....
1893.....	396,131,725	218,171,381	\$108,940,500
1894.....	460,267,416	225,902,025	96,209,856
1895.....	467,102,947	237,938,998	84,172,883
1896.....	427,684,316	310,602,539	11,509,342
Total decrease in value of United States wheat crops during four years.....			300,832,581

Farm loss on corn crops.

1892.....	1,628,464,000	\$642,146,630	.....
1893.....	1,619,496,131	591,625,627	\$50,521,003
1894.....	1,212,770,052	554,719,162	87,427,468
1895.....	2,151,138,580	567,509,106	74,637,524
1896.....	2,283,875,165	491,006,967	151,139,663
Total decrease in value of United States corn crops during four years.....			361,725,658
Add total farm loss on wheat during the four years.....			300,832,581
Total loss on wheat and corn.....			664,558,239

"FRUIT OF THE LOW-TARIFF EXPERIMENT OF 1893-7."

Extract from remarks of C. H. GROSVENOR in daily Congressional Record, June 13, 1900.

Figures, published in the Statistical Abstract and others prepared by the Department of Agriculture, showing the value of crops and of farm animals in each year during a long term of years, indicate the tremendous losses to the farmer which accompanied and was the legitimate fruit of the low-tariff experiment of 1893-1897.

Take first the single item of wool. The Wilson law, as is well known, gave the country in the item of wool an example of the effect of genuine Simon Pure Democratic free trade. It was to the free-trade mind the one redeeming feature of that act whose feeble attempts at retaining a shadow of protection was denounced as an evidence of "party perfidy and dishonor." Under that act importations of foreign wool, which had never but once reached so much as 150,000,000 pounds, were in its very first year more than 200,000,000 pounds, and in its closing year exceeded 350,000,000 pounds. As a consequence, wool fell nearly 50 per cent in value, the October price of washed clothing Ohio fleece wool, medium, dropping from 33 cents per pound in 1892 to 19 cents in 1896, but increasing to 29 cents in 1897, immediately following the restoration of the protective tariff under the Dingley law, and to 33.5 cents in the month of October, 1899.

Another table, which is compiled from the Statistical Abstract of the United States, gives the home production of wool, the average price per pound, the per cent which the foreign product forms of the total wool consumption in the United States, the number of sheep on farms and their value, also the value of import of wool and wool manufactures in each year from 1875 to 1899. An examination of this table shows that foreign wool which, under protective tariffs, formed from 16 to 33 per cent of the domestic consumption, increased to 40 per cent in 1895, 46 per cent in 1896, and 57 per cent in 1897. As a consequence of this increased importation of foreign wools and the accompanying reduction of nearly one-half in price the number and value of sheep on farms was greatly reduced, the number of sheep on farms in 1893 being 47,273,553, and their value \$125,909,264. By 1896 the number had fallen to 38,298,783 and the value to \$65,167,735, the actual value having thus been reduced one-half, meaning a loss in sheep alone of more than \$60,000,000 to the farmer, while his wool clip during that time was correspondingly reduced. Another effect of the rates of duty on wool and woollens is shown by the columns stating the value of imports of wool and manufactures of wool. The value of the foreign wool imported prior to 1893 had not for many years reached so much as \$20,000,000; but in 1895 it had exceeded \$25,000,000; in 1896 exceeded \$32,000,000, and in 1897, the last year of the existence of the Wilson law, was \$52,243,191, while imports of woollen goods, which in 1892 amounted to \$35,000,000, were in 1896 \$53,000,000, and in the fiscal year 1897 \$49,000,000.

VALUE OF FARM ANIMALS REDUCED BY LOW TARIFF, BUT RESTORED BY PROTECTION.

It is not in sheep alone that the value of farm animals was affected by the low-tariff law and the depression which accompanied it. Another table, shows the value of the various classes of farm animals as reported by the Department of Agriculture in each year from 1870 to 1900. It shows that the value of horses on farms fell from more than \$1,000,000,000 on January 1, 1892, to \$500,000,000 in 1896 and \$452,000,000 on January 1, 1897, a loss of \$540,000,000 in this one item during the five years under consideration. In mules the value fell from \$175,000,000 in 1892 to \$92,000,000 in 1897; swine, from \$241,000,000 in 1892 to \$166,000,000 in 1897, and of all farm animals the value fell from \$2,461,755,698 on January 1, 1892, to \$1,655,414,612 on January 1, 1897, a loss of \$806,341,086, while the figures for January 1, 1900, show that the two-billion line has again been crossed by the restoration of values accompanying the Dingley protective tariff and the prosperity which it brought to the farmer by increased home consumption as well as increased foreign markets. The American Agriculturist, a well-known publication, in a recent number, says that the live stock of the country in 1900 is worth \$700,000,000 more than it was during the years of depression under the low-tariff act.

"THE BLIGHTING CURSE OF THE FREE-TRADE HERESY."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. W. P. BROWNLOW of Tennessee,
in House of Representatives, March 25, 1897, and printed in
Appendix to bound Congressional Record, Vol. 30, page 61.*

I have already shown the relative effects of the McKinley and Wilson-Gorman laws as regards the public revenues, and now I propose to go into some details and show their relative influence upon the business interests of the country.

SUMMARY OF FARMERS' LOSSES FROM JANUARY 1, 1892, TO JANUARY 1, 1896.

I here submit a brief summary of the aggregate losses to farmers in the slump in the value of their leading crops and in their live stock during these four years:

Depreciation in annual farm values.

	Value.		Total values.	
	1891.	1895.	1891.	1895.
	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>		
Corn.....per bushel..	40.6	26.4	\$836,439,228	\$567,509,106
Wheat.....do.....	83.9	50.9	513,472,711	237,938,998
Rye.....do.....	54.8	44	25,542,000	11,964,826
Oats.....do.....	31.5	19.9	232,312,267	163,655,068
Cotton.....per pound..	8.6	7.6	297,377,014	259,164,640
Hay.....per ton..	8.39	8.35	411,110,000	393,185,615
Potatoes.....per bushel..	67.3	26.6	83,475,000	78,984,901
Wool.....per pound..	17	9	52,258,256	26, 86,705
Barley.....per bushel..	54	33.7	40,500,000	29,312,415
Buckwheat.....do.....	53.4	45.2	6,948,000	6,936,323
Tobacco.....per pound..	8.4	7.2	40,000,000	35,574,000
Total.....			\$2,539,434,476	\$1,810,712,597

Annual loss on crops in four years, \$728,721,879.

Depreciation in live-stock values.

	Value per head.		Total values.	
	Jan. 1, 1892.	Jan. 1, 1896.	Jan. 1, 1892.	Jan. 1, 1896.
Sheep.....	\$2.50	\$1.70	\$116,121,270	\$65,167,735
Swine.....	4.60	4.35	241,031,415	186,529,745
Milch cows.....	21.40	22.55	351,378,192	363,955,545
Other cattle.....	15.16	15.86	570,749,155	508,928,416
Horses.....	65.01	33.07	1,007,593,636	500,140,186
Mules.....	75.55	45.29	147,882,070	103,204,457
Total values.....			\$2,461,755,678	\$1,727,926,084

Annual loss on live stock in four years..... \$733,829,594

Annual loss on crops in four years..... 728,721,879

Total annual loss to farmers..... \$1,462,551,473

And to be added to these appalling figures is a similar depreciation in the value of dairy products, eggs, fruits, poultry, nursery stock, the products of truck and seed farms, and the rice crop. At the same ratio, the losses of the farmers in the years 1893 and 1894 will swell the aggregate to a greater amount than the cost of the war. Is it any wonder that the stricken and helpless wealth producers, who saw their hard earnings melting away like snow in a summer's sun, reverted to the era of their marvelous prosperity under the protective tariff fathered by President McKinley, and earnestly worked and enthusiastically voted for its reinstatement? *Is it any marvel that they wanted their own products and all other products of American industry safe-guarded against the blighting curse of the free-trade heresy?*

"DEBTS REDUCED, MORTGAGES CANCELED, PROSPEROUS FARMERS AND HAPPY HOMES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. W. B. SHATTUC of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, March 31, 1900.

If there was any feature of the Democratic tariff which was held up as an absolutely perfect exemplification of the real, genuine, simon-pure Democratic tariff theory in perfect practice, it was that of free wool.

Under it the importation of wool amounted in 1896 to 230,000,000 pounds, and in 1897 to 357,000,000 pounds, while, as I have already said, in 1899, under a protective tariff, it was but 76,000,000 pounds.

As a result of this enormous flood of imports of foreign wools under Democratic free trade, "Ohio XX washed clothing wool" was selling on July 10, 1896, the date of Mr. Bryan's nomination, at 17 cents per pound in the New York markets, while on February 9, 1900, under the protective tariff, it was selling in the same market at 36 cents per pound, or more than double the price under the Democratic tariff, which professed to be framed in special interests of the farmer.

No wonder our farmers were driven to a disposal of their sheep at any price under the low tariff and that the exportation of sheep in 1896 reached more than 3,000,000 in number, and that in this particular branch of our foreign commerce the protective tariff caused a reduction in our sales abroad.

On this general question of prices of farm products let me add a few further facts.

Grains of all kinds, as is well known, have advanced in price since that time, and in every single instance stand at a higher price to-day than at the date of Mr. Bryan's nomination.

In the principal articles which farmers must buy prices have in most cases fallen, while the prices of all the articles which they sell have advanced.

In a few exceptional cases, such as binding twine, due to the abnormal and temporary conditions in the Philippines; manufactures of iron and steel, due to the general advance in prices and a demand which exceeds the power of production, there has been an increase in prices of the articles which the farmer must buy.

But in scarcely an instance does it equal the percentage of increase in prices received by the farmer for his wool, while in most of these cases of increased prices of articles consumed the advance is temporary and due to exceptional causes.

It is not necessary to multiply examples of increased prosperity among the farmers under the protective tariff as compared with that which existed under the low tariff, which was in force during 1896, and with which the Democratic party in that year expressed its complete satisfaction.

Debts reduced, mortgages canceled, prosperous farmers and happy homes are of themselves a sufficient evidence of this.

But it may be well to add a single one further statistical statement which should put an end to the Democratic assertion that a low tariff is advantageous to agricultural interests, and that is this: In the fiscal years 1895 and 1896, under the Democratic low tariff, the total exportation of agricultural products amounted to \$1,120,000,000, and in the fiscal years 1898 and 1899, under the Dingley protective tariff, they amounted to \$1,648,000,000, an increase of about 50 per cent.

Does this look as though a protective tariff destroyed our foreign markets or was disadvantageous to the farmer?

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURES TENDS TO ENHANCE THE VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL LANDS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. C. BURROWS of Michigan, page 3453 of daily Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 1st Session.

Where, then, on the face of the globe can the American farmer market his surplus? At home or nowhere. This home market, therefore, should be to him the object of his deepest solicitude and protecting care, for upon it the future of agriculture in this country depends. But with a steady market at home, created and sustained by our diversified industries, the demand is steady, and every farmer knows that when he sows he can reap with profit. Another advantage to the American farmer from the establishment and maintenance of manufacturing industries is the enhanced value of his acres. *You cannot build up anywhere a prosperous manufacturing industry without enhancing the value of the farm lands adjacent thereto.* Cast your eye over the map of the Republic and indicate the localities where industries are the most diversified and the fewest people are engaged in agriculture, and there you will find the highest-priced farm lands. Mark the localities where farming is the chief occupation of the people and other industries are the least developed; there you will find farm lands of the least value. To demonstrate the truth of this assertion I will insert a table in which the States and Territories are divided into four groups, in the first of which is embraced that portion of the country having less than 30 per cent. of the people engaged in agriculture; the second, over 30 and less than 50; the third, over 50 and less than 70, and the fourth having 70 per cent. and over engaged in agriculture:

Classes.	Acres.	Value of farms.	Value per acre.	Per cent. in agriculture.
First.....	77,250,742	\$2,985,641,197	\$38.65	14
Second.....	112,321,257	3,430,915,767	30.55	42
Third.....	237,873,040	3,218,108,970	13.53	58
Fourth.....	108,636,796	562,430,842	5.18	77

From this table it will be discerned that where 77 per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture the average value of farm lands is only a trifle over \$5 an acre, while where only 18 per cent. are engaged in agriculture farm lands average over \$38 per acre. What is true in the country at large is equally true in counties and States. The principal manufacturers in Pennsylvania are to be found in thirteen counties and the average value of farm land within these counties is \$86.73 per acre, while in the remaining counties it is only \$12.02. The farm lands in the twelve chief manufacturing counties of Ohio average \$67.85 per acre, while in the balance of the State they are worth only \$42.46. The farm lands of Ohio, with only 40 per cent. of her people engaged in agriculture, are worth \$46 per acre, while in Kentucky, separated only by the Ohio, but with 62 per cent. engaged in agriculture, they are worth only \$14 per acre. The rugged land of Pennsylvania, with 21 per cent. of her people engaged in agriculture, is worth \$50 per acre, while in Virginia, where 51 per cent. are engaged in agriculture, they are valued at only \$11 an acre. By the census of 1880, in the six States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, 77 per cent. of the people were engaged in agriculture and only 5 per cent. in manufactures, and the average value of the farm lands in these six States was only \$5.18 per acre.

It is an astounding fact derived from the same census that the value of the 200,000,000 acres of farm lands in the eleven States composing the late Confederacy are not equal to the 26,000,000 acres of farm lands in the States of New York and New Jersey. I beg to assure the gentlemen of the South that I have drawn this contrast in no invidious spirit, but only in confirmation of the fact that the development of manufactures tends to enhance the value of agricultural lands. It seems to me, however, that there is a lesson to be drawn from this of inestimable value to you. *The South needs this development. Protection has brought it to the North—it will bring it to you.*

[Applause.]

"WE LEAD ALL NATIONS IN AGRICULTURE, IN MINING, IN MANUFACTURING. THESE ARE THE TROPHIES OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WILLIAM McKINLEY, of Ohio, in House of Representatives, and printed in daily Congressional Record, May 7, 1890.

We lead all nations in agriculture, we lead all nations in mining, and we lead all nations in manufacturing. These are the trophies which we bring after twenty-nine years of a protective tariff. Can any other system furnish such evidences of prosperity? Yet in the presence of such a showing of progress there are men everywhere found who talk about the restraints which we put upon trade and the burdens we put upon the enterprise and energy of our people. There is no country in the world where individual enterprise has such wide and varied range, and where the inventive genius of man has such encouragement. There is no nation in the world under any system where the same reward is given to the labor of men's hands and the work of their brains as in the United States. *We have widened the sphere of human endeavor and given to every man a fair chance in the race of life, and in the attainment of the highest possibilities of human destiny.*

To reverse this system means to stop the progress of the Republic and reduce the masses to small rewards for their labor, to longer hours and less pay, to the simple question of bread and butter. It means to turn them from ambition, courage and hope, to dependence, degradation and despair.

Our railroad mileage and tonnage further illustrate the growth and extent of our domestic trade and commerce. In 1865 the number of miles of railroad in operation in this country was 35,085; in 1887 it equaled 150,000 miles. We now have one-half of the railroads of the world. Estimating the cost of road and equipment at \$35,000 per mile, the amount expended in twenty-two years equaled \$4,037,495,000, a yearly expenditure of over \$183,000,000. According to Poor's Manual, the total tonnage for 1882 was 360,490,375 tons; for 1883, 400,453,439 tons; for 1884, 399,074,749 tons; for 1885, 437,040,099 tons; for 1886, 482,245,254 tons; for 1887, 552,074,752 tons.

Mr. Poor estimates that the net tonnage of 1887 of all the railroads in the country equaled 412,500,000; the number of gross tons moved in 1887 on all the railroads of the United States per head of population equaled nine tons. In 1863 the gross tonnage moved equaled only two tons per head. The same authority estimates that the value of the total net tonnage of the railroads of the United States is equal to the sum of \$13,327,830,000; and at this estimate the value of the tonnage moved in 1887 equaled \$222 per head of the population of the country.

The increase in value of the railroad tonnage of the country in 1887 equaled \$1,660,000,000, or \$960,000,000 in excess of the value of the exports for the same year. Could all this have been secured under your economic system? Would they have been possible under any other than the protective system?

"THE TREATY WITH CUBA."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. F. McL. SIMMONS, of North Carolina, in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 15, 1903.

Mr. President, it is suggested that this slight reduction in the duty upon sugar will destroy the sugar industry of this country. That is a familiar argument. It is an argument that we are in the habit of hearing in this Chamber and around this Capitol and from certain special interests in this country whenever it is suggested that there should be a repeal or slight reduction in any of the existing rates of tariff duties.

But that aside, I do not believe that this slight reduction of duty on sugar will destroy any sugar interest in this country or even materially cripple it. If I did, if I thought the passage of this bill would destroy the sugar industry of Louisiana or the beet industry of the West, or even materially cripple those industries, one or both, I would not vote for it. But I do not believe it will have that effect.

Everyone, I believe, admits that the passage of this bill and the reduction of the duty upon sugar will not affect, certainly in the immediate future, the price of sugar in this country, for everyone knows, everyone concedes, that the price of sugar in this country is the world's price of sugar, with the duty imposed by our tariff and the transportation in bringing it from other countries added.

If the treaty with Cuba becomes effective and the duty on Cuban sugar is reduced as therein provided, the price of sugar in this country will, other conditions being the same, continue the same it now is, and that price will be the price of sugar in Hamburg, where the world's price of sugar is regulated, plus the duty and freight to New York. The German and the Frenchman will get the same price for his sugar in this market; the American producer will get the same price for his sugar; the American consumer will get his sugar for no less; the Cuban will get the same price in our market for his sugar, but he will have a larger net profit than his foreign competitors, because he will not have to pay quite so much duty on his sugar as will his foreign competitors.

But, Mr. President, my chief reason for voting for this measure is not that it will help Cuba, although I have no objection to doing that, and would be glad to help in doing it, but because, in my judgment, this legislation will be of great benefit to the whole people of the United States.

In the near future, it may be predicted, within the five-year life of the proposed treaty, that the import trade of Cuba will reach \$100,000,000. We now get only about 42 per cent. of her import trade. The balance of it goes to European countries—to France, to Germany, to England, to Spain. *If this treaty shall become operative by the passage of the pending bill, we shall be given in the Cuban markets an advantage in the sale of our goods ranging from 20 to 40 per cent. over our German, our Spanish, and our English competitors, and with that advantage, instead of selling her \$25,000,000, as now, upon the basis of her present trade, we ought to sell her \$50,000,000 worth of our goods, and in the life of this treaty we ought to sell her, instead of \$50,000,000 worth, \$80,000,000 or \$90,000,000 worth.*

Cuba purchased last year about \$6,000,000 worth of cotton goods. Before this treaty expires she will buy over \$12,000,000 worth, I have no doubt. We now get only about \$400,000 worth of this cotton trade. *With the advantage this treaty will give us over our European rivals (an advantage ranging from 30 to 40 per cent) we ought to sell Cuba all the cotton goods she consumes. Give our manufacturers these concessions, give them this advantage of from 20 to 40 per cent. over their English, German, and Spanish competitors, who are now getting 58 per cent. of that trade, and our merchants will at once begin diligently to seek this trade. They will remodel their goods so as to suit the nicest and most delicate requirements of the Cuban consumer, and will incur any and every expense necessary to do that, and they will sell to Cuba practically all that she buys from abroad.*

"FARM PRODUCTS AND DUTIES THEREON UNDER FOUR TARIFFS."

Printed in daily Congressional Record, June 13, 1900.

Farm products and duties thereon under four tariffs.
[From the American Economist.]

Articles.	Law of 1883.	Republican tariff of 1890.	Democratic tariff of 1894.	Republican tariff of 1897.
Barley.....	10 cents per bushel.....	30 cents per bushel.....	30 per cent. ad valorem.	30 cents per bushel.
Buckwheat.....	10 per cent.....	15 cents per bushel.....	20 per cent. ad valorem.	15 cents per bushel.
Corn.....	10 cents per bushel.....	do.....	do.....	do.
Oats.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	25 cents per bushel.
Wheat.....	20 cents per bushel.....	25 cents per bushel.....	do.....	6 cents per pound.
Butter.....	4 cents per pound.....	6 cents per pound.....	4 cents per pound.....	do.
Cheese.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	45 cents per bushel.
Beans.....	10 per cent.....	40 cents per bushel.....	20 per cent. ad valorem.	5 cents per dozen.
Eggs.....	Free.....	5 cents per dozen.....	3 cents per dozen.....	\$4 per ton.
Hay.....	\$2 per ton.....	\$4 per ton.....	\$2 per ton.....	12 cents per pound.
Hops.....	8 cents per pound.....	15 cents per pound.....	8 cents per pound.....	25 cents per bushel.
Potatoes.....	15 cents per bushel.....	25 cents per bushel.....	15 cents per bushel.....	do.
Flaxseed, etc.....	20 cents per bushel.....	30 cents per bushel.....	20 cents per bushel.....	30 per cent. ad valorem
Garden seeds.....	20 per cent.....	20 per cent.....	10 per cent. ad valorem.	20 per cent. ad valorem.
Bacon and hams.....	2 cents per pound.....	5 cents per pound.....	20 per cent. ad valorem.	5 cents per pound.
Beef, mutton, etc.....	1 cent per pound.....	2 cents per pound.....	do.....	2 cents per pound.
Wool:				
First class.....	10 cents per pound.....	11 cents per pound.....	Free.....	11 cents per pound.
Second class.....	12 cents per pound.....	12 cents per pound.....	do.....	12 cents per pound.
Third class.....	21½ cents per pound.....	32 per cent.....	do.....	4 cents per pound.
Leaf tobacco:				
Third class.....	5 cents per pound.....	50 per cent.....	do.....	7 cents per pound.
Stemmed.....	\$1 per pound.....	\$2.75 per pound.....	\$2.25 per pound.....	\$2.50 per pound.
Not stemmed.....	75 cents per pound.....	\$2 per pound.....	\$1.50 per pound.....	\$1.85 per pound.
All other stemmed.....	40 cents per pound.....	50 cents per pound.....	50 cents per pound.....	50 cents per pound.
Cattle.....		\$10 per head.....	20 per cent. ad valorem.	27½ per ct. ad valorem.
Sheep.....		\$1.50 per head.....	do.....	\$1.50 per head.
Horses.....		\$30 per head.....	do.....	\$30 per head.
Poultry, dressed.....		5 cents per pound.....	3 cents per pound.....	5 cents per pound.
Cabbage.....		8 cents per head.....	Free.....	3 cents per head.
Honey.....		20 cents per gallon.....	10 cents per gallon.....	20 cents per gallon.
Onions.....		40 cents per bushel.....	20 cents per bushel.....	40 cents per bushel.
Apples.....		25 cents per bushel.....	do.....	25 cents per bushel.

\$64,000,000 LOSS IN TWO YEARS IN LIVE STOCK!"

tract from remarks of Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN, of Wyoming, in the Senate of the United States, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, January 23, 1896.

Comparison between Republican and Democratic Administrations as shown by the values of domestic animals.

When we resumed specie payment in 1879 our domestic animals, horses, mules, cattle, sheep, and swine, were valued	\$1,445,423,062
During the ensuing six years, until the election of Mr. Cleveland in 1884, the values increased to	2,467,868,924
A gain during six years of Republican rule of	1,022,445,862
During the ensuing four years, until the election of Mr. Harrison in 1888, values decreased from	2,467,868,924
	2,409,043,418
A loss during four years of Democratic rule of	58,825,506
During the ensuing four years, until the second election of Mr. Cleveland in 1892, values again increased from	2,409,043,418
	2,461,755,698
A gain during four years of Republican rule of	52,712,280
During the last two years, under the second administration of Mr. Cleveland, and under proposed and accomplished free trade and sweeping tariff reductions, values again decreased from	2,483,506,681
The comparatively insignificant total of	1,819,446,306
Showing the enormous loss in two years of Democratic rule of	664,060,375
Mr. President, over \$664,000,000 loss in two years in live stock!	
All classes shrank except milch cows.	

	Number.	Value.
Milch cows alone gained	17,229	\$3,608,068
Horses shrank	187,821	192,494,219
Asses shrank	19,128	35,304,977
And other cattle shrank	2,243,952	58,790,618
Sheep shrank	1,040,782	50,883,359

But it remained for sheep to show the most disastrous shrinkage.

SHEEP TABLE.

1884, under Republican policy, our sheep were 50,626,626 in numbers and of the value of	\$119,902,706
Under influences of the threatened Mills bill they shrank to 2,599,079 in numbers and to the value of	90,640,369
A shrinkage of 8,027,547 head and in value	29,262,337
At the lowest point recorded under the Mills bill fright up in 1893, under Republican guardianship, sheep increased to 47,273,553 in numbers and to the value of	125,909,264
An increase of 4,374,474 head and an increase in value of	35,268,895
Again upon Mr. Cleveland's second election we turn backward and downward as usual under the blighting, withering influence of a wrong policy, and in two years sheep decreased to 42,294,064 head, of the value of	66,685,767
A loss of 4,979,489 head and a loss in value of	59,223,497
A shrinkage in two short years of nearly one-half!	

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LEDGER.

Now to exhibit the other side of the ledger.

Imports of wool (in pounds).

	Ten months ending October—	
	1894.	1895.
Wool 1.	25,807,462	113,672,709
Wool 2.	2,841,422	16,781,985
Wool 3.	54,574,386	80,652,544
Total	83,223,270	211,057,238
Wool and waste.	1,081,441	17,824,008

"THE FARMER A TRUE AMERICAN TYPE."

*Extracts from public addresses of President ROOSEVELT
printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1902.*

It remains true now as it always has been, that in the resort the country districts are those in which we are to find the old American spirit, the old American habit of thought and ways of living. Conditions have changed in the country far less than they have changed in the cities, and in consequence there has been little breaking away from the methods of life which have produced the great majority of the leaders of the Republic in the past. Almost all of our great Presidents have been brought up in the country; most of them worked hard on the farms in their youth and got their mental training in the healthy democracy of country life. (Speech at Bangor, Me., August 27, 1902.)

The countryman—the man on the farm, more than any other of our citizens to-day, is called upon continually to exercise the qualities which we like to think of as typical of the United States throughout its history—the qualities of rugged independence, masterful resolution, and individual energy and resourcefulness. He works hard (for which no man is to be pitied), and often he lives hard (which may not be pleasant); but his life is passed in healthy surroundings which tend to develop a fine type of citizen. In the country, moreover, the conditions are fortunately such as to allow a closer touch between man and man than in the city; often, we find to be the case in the city. Men feel more fully the underlying sense of brotherhood, of community interest. (Bangor, Me., August 27, 1902.)

The man who tills his own farm, whether on the prairie or in the woodland, the man who grows what we eat and the raw material which is worked up into what we wear, exists more nearly under the conditions which obtained in the "embattled farmers" of '76 made this country a nation than is true of any others of our people. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

The true welfare of the nation is indissolubly bound up with the welfare of the farmer and the wage-worker—the man who tills the soil, and of the mechanic, the handicraftsman and the laborer. If we can insure the prosperity of these two classes we need not trouble ourselves about the prosperity of the rest, for that will follow as a matter of course. (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

The success of the capitalist, and especially of the banker, is conditioned upon the prosperity of both workingman and farmer. (The Law of Civilization and Decay—American Ideals, p. 367.)

In a country like ours it is fundamentally true that the well-being of the tiller of the soil and the wage-worker is the well-being of the State. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

WHAT MADE THIS INCREASE OF \$2,000,000,000? IT WAS THE DEMAND OF A FULLY EMPLOYED PEOPLE."

Excerpts from speech of Hon. J. H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire, in the United States Senate, June 25, 1902.

AGRICULTURE.

I wish to show now, Mr. President, the effect of these immense earnings upon our agriculture, then upon our manufactures. First, regards agriculture. Said the Orange Judd Farmer, in its issue October 19, 1901:

"The most prosperous year in the history of the American farmer drawing to a close."

And yet last year we had an unusually short corn crop, a small potato and apple crop, and, with the exception of wheat, only a normal crop in all staples.

* * * * *

Here is an increase in value of over \$1,000,000,000 in these crops and an increase of over \$1,000,000,000 in the value of farm animals, and it must be remembered that 1901 was a poor year and 1896 a good year in farm production. What made this increase of over \$2,000,000,000? *It was the demand of fully-employed, well-paid people, due to a tariff that enables us to do our own work instead of hiring the cheap labor abroad to do it for us.*

From 1893 to 1897 we had practical free trade. From 1897 to 1901 we had protection. No one claims, Mr. President, that the tariff has anything to do with the size of crops, but I do maintain that it has much to do with values. The 3,000,000 idle men of 1896 could not buy much bread. They could not eat as many potatoes, apples, and other products of the farm, and as we consume 90 per cent. of our farm products at home, our farmers are dependent on the purchasing power of the people for both quantity disposed of and price received.

A protective tariff insures the farmer against the disaster that would otherwise attend a short crop because the people can afford to pay the enhanced price. That is why the farmer got nearly twice as much for his short corn crop of last year as he did for his good crop of 1896. I showed in this Chamber two years ago that the farmers of the country lost \$10,000,000,000 because of low tariff protection and operation. Since the Dingley law went into effect they have gained in increased prices and enhanced values much more than this amount. They have paid off mortgages to the amount of many millions; they have bought millions of dollars' worth of new machinery and implements; they have improved their property, and many farm values are to-day double what they were in 1895 and 1896. During the fiscal year 1901 we exported nearly a billion of dollars' worth of agricultural products against a little more than half a billion dollars' worth in each of the fiscal years 1895 and 1896. The average agricultural exports during the years 1898, 1899, 1900, and 1901 exceeded \$850,000,000 in value against \$550,000,000 in 1895 and 1896, a gain of \$200,000,000 a year, and yet the crops of 1895 and 1896 were abnormally large.

I want to emphasize this fact, Mr. President, that it is not the size of the farmer's crop, but the value of the crop which rewards the farmer; and the value must and does depend on the tariff, which pays good wages the year round to all consumers. And the very prosperity which comes to the farmer goes back to the manufacturer, the merchant and railroads and labor of all kinds in the increased consumption of implements, clothing, building material, and necessities and luxuries of a thousand and one kinds. So we all become interdependent, and protection scatters its benefits and blessings far and wide.

"EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG FARMER."

Extract from Message of PRESIDENT McKINLEY, in daily Congressional Record, December 5, 1899.

The Department of Agriculture is constantly consulting the needs of producers in all the States and Territories. It is introducing seeds and plants of great value and promoting fuller diversification of crops. Grains, grasses, fruits, legumes, and vegetables are imported for all parts of the United States. Under this encouragement the sugar-beet factory multiplies in the North and far West, some tropical plants are sent to the South, and congenial climates are sought for the choice productions of the far east. The hybridizing of fruit trees and grains is conducted in the search for varieties adapted to exacting conditions. The introduction of tea gardens into the Southern States promises to provide employment for idle hands, as well as to supply the home market with tea. The subject of irrigation where it is of vital importance to the people is being carefully studied, steps are being taken to reclaim injured or abandoned lands, and information for the people along these lines is being printed and distributed.

Markets are being sought and opened up for surplus farm and factory products in Europe and in Asia. The outlook for the education of the young farmer through agricultural college and experiment station, with opportunity given to specialize in the Department of Agriculture, is very promising. The people of Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands should be helped, by the establishment of experiment stations, to a more scientific knowledge of the production of coffee, india rubber, and other tropical products, for which there is demand in the United States.

There is widespread interest in the improvement of our public highways at the present time, and the Department of Agriculture is co-operating with the people in each locality in making the best possible roads from local material and in experimenting with stone tracks. A more intelligent system of managing the forests of the country is being put in operation and a careful study of the whole forestry problem is being conducted throughout the United States. A very extensive and complete exhibit of the agricultural and horticultural products of the United States is being prepared for the Paris Exposition.

On June 30, 1898, there were thirty forest reservations (excluding of the Afognak Forest and Fish Culture Reserve in Alaska), embracing an estimated area of 40,719,474 acres. During the past year two of the existing forest reserves, the Trabuco Canyon (California) and Black Hills (South Dakota and Wyoming), have been considerably enlarged, the area of the Mount Rainier Reserve, in the State of Washington, has been somewhat reduced, and six additional reserves have been established, namely, the San Francisco Mountains (Arizona), the Black Mesa (Arizona), Lake Tahoe (California), Gallatin (Montana), Gila River (New Mexico), and Fish Lake (Utah), the total estimated area of which is 5,205,775 acres. This makes at the present time a total of thirty-six forest reservations embracing an estimated area of 46,021,899 acres. This estimated area is the aggregated areas within the boundaries of the reserves. The lands actually reserved are, however, only the vacant public lands therein, and these have been set aside and reserved for sale or settlement in order that they may be of the greatest use to the people.

Protection of the national forests, inaugurated by the Department of the Interior in 1897, has been continued during the past year and much has been accomplished in the way of preventing forest fires and the protection of the timber. There are now large tracts covered by forests which will eventually be reserved and set apart for forest uses. Until that can be done Congress should increase the appropriations for the work of protecting the forests.

THE EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON AGRICULTURE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. JONES, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Sept. 10, 1890, and printed in the Congressional Record.

Men who seriously reflect on the subject will find it difficult to escape the conclusion that long persistence in a policy of free trade would, by destroying the present system of farming, effect the ruin of the Republic. As our population increased (as increase it will, and rapidly) the absence of a sufficiency of mechanical industries would drive people more and more into agriculture. As there would be but little opportunity for the investment of capital, except in land, which the people must have, large capitalists would be quick to grasp their opportunity. Their only resource for profit would be in the ownership of great landed estates, on which they would exploit multitudes of tenant farmers, over whom they would exercise the dogmatic authority of lords-paramount.

The free American farmer of to-day would disappear, to be replaced first by the lessee, next by the tenant at will, and later on, in the future, the exploitation continued and became more intense, by men who, however free in law, would in fact, like the Coloni of Rome, become attachments of the soil on which they worked, for all practical purposes the personal property of the landed magnate. Let us take a lesson from history. "Great estates," said Pliny, "ruined Italy." The greed and selfishness that destroyed Italy are still doing their perfect work among the nations of the earth.

An excellent authority estimates that in order to have an equilibrium between agriculture and all other industries in any nation the number of persons engaged in agriculture should not exceed one-third the number engaged in all occupations.

That is the proportion whose labor, properly applied, can produce the food supply of all the people without leaving a surplus. If more than this proportion are farmers their competition with one another reduces to an abnormal and unremunerative degree the compensation which they would receive in so arduous an occupation. According to the census of 1880 the number of separate farms in the United States was 4,008,907; the number of persons engaged in agriculture, 7,670,493; the number of workmen engaged in all occupations, 17,392,099. The farming class therefore, constituted 44 per cent. of the whole working body.

IN THE ABSENCE OF DIVERSIFIED INDUSTRIES, TENDENCY TO OVERCROWDING OF THE FARMER'S OCCUPATION.

The constant tendency, in the absence of sufficient protection and encouragement for manufacturing industries, is to an overproportion of cultivators of the soil. Agriculture being a primitive occupation, requiring on its conduct on a small scale but little capital and comparatively little skill, may be undertaken by persons who for any reason fail to find occupation in any of the great fields of manufacture. Whatever, therefore, tends to discourage the establishment or maintenance of manufactures or to limit their variety tends in the same degree to encourage men to engage in agriculture. That is to say, men who fail to find employment in their accustomed occupation, having no skill in any other, are necessarily thrown back to the land, from which by hard work they may hope to secure at least a subsistence. Workmen in any and every industry thrown out of employment by a reduction of the tariff, therefore, swell the great army of those who cultivate the soil. Every such addition to the number of agriculturists not only tends by competition to reduce the price of agricultural products, but at the same time reduces the number of persons who would be consumers of those products.

According as we increase the number of our skilled workmen, we do not diminish the number of farmers. As we diminish the number of skilled workmen we increase the number of farmers. When the farmer's occupation is invaded he has no recourse. Not being a skilled mechanic he can not in turn invade some other occupation. All mechanics can become farmers without preparatory training; no farmer can become a mechanic without such training. When we shall possess the utmost diversity and multiplication of industries, therefore, we shall have comparatively fewer farmers and a relatively greater number engaged in skilled industries.

The trend of population from farming to industrial pursuits will then have a tendency to make manufactured articles relatively cheaper and farm products relatively dearer. The farmer, therefore, has everything to gain by a policy which induces the people of this country to do all their own work.

Instead of precipitating increased numbers into farming by lowering the tariff and reducing the numbers employed in the work-shops, if we can succeed by a high tariff in widening our industrial development and rendering it unnecessary for our skilled workmen to have recourse to the land, our natural increase of population will in a few years enable our factories to consume all the products of our farms.

In a properly adjusted system of industry the artisan is as necessary to the agriculturist as one blade of a pair of shears is to the other; and both are indispensable to the State. It may be said by the free trader that the foreign mechanic can supplement the American agriculturist and that he will cost less. But this places the agriculturist in one country and the consumer of his products in another, 3,000 miles away. The producer in Europe has but little means wherewith to pay for the agricultural products of our farmers; and if he be a good workman, he is where the consumers of our farmers can have none of the advantages of association with him or of instruction in his art.

**"THE FARMER'S INTEREST IN PROTECTION—THE
NEARER THE FACTORY IS TO THE FARM THE
HIGHER THE PRICE OF FARM PRODUCTS
AND THE LOWER THE PRICE OF THINGS
THE FARMER HAS TO BUY."**

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, and printed in the daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Of all the classes of our people those who have the most permanent interest in protection are the farmers. They secure benefit both directly and indirectly. The direct benefit comes from the immediate protection of their individual products.

In 1846 England removed the direct protection to her agricultural interests. Let us see the result. In 1851 the number of persons engaged in agriculture in England and Wales was 1,676,900. Fifty years later, in 1901, the number of persons so engaged was 981,633. These are the official census figures. Thus we see that the number of persons engaged in agriculture under "free trade" has fallen almost 50 per cent in those fifty years. By way of contrast, look at Germany. Before the adoption of her protective tariff the farmer of Germany had to look abroad for a market for their wheat and many other food products. In 1875 Germany shipped to Great Britain 11,000,000 bushels of wheat. To-day she is using her entire wheat product at home.

Under the Wilson Act the tariff on barley coming into the United States was materially reduced, and during those years the price of barley under Canadian competition was ruinously low. Under the Dingley Act barley has had adequate protection, and the prices have been much higher than under the Wilson Act.

But the indirect benefit to the farmer is by far the most important. Under a system of adequate protection our industries are diversified. Opportunity is afforded for the development of all our resources of material and all the various talents of our people. The more these industries are diversified the fewer the competitors of the farmer and the more the consumers of his products. The nearer the factory is brought to the farm the greater becomes the diversity of the farm product, because there is thus provided a market for products which are perishable in their nature and can not be shipped long distances.

The nearer the factory is to the farm, the higher the price of farm products and the lower the price of the things the farmer has to buy. The more we increase our manufacturing industries and the greater becomes the number of persons engaged therein the greater becomes the market for the farmer's products.

In the language of Benjamin Franklin, the patriot and philosopher—

Every manufacture encouraged in our own country makes a home market and saves so much money to the country that must otherwise be exported. In England it is well known that whenever a manufactory is established which employs a number of hands it raises the value of the land in the neighboring country all around it, partly by the greater demand near at hand for the products of the land and partly by the increase of money drawn by the manufactures to that place. It seems, therefore, to the interest of all our farmers and owners of land to encourage home manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported from different countries.

Quoting again from that great speech of Senator Jones, which every intelligent American citizen should read and study:

According as we increase the numbers of our skilled workmen, we do not diminish the number of farmers. As we diminish the number of skilled workmen we increase the number of farmers. When the farmer's occupation is invaded he has no recourse. Not being a skilled mechanic he can not in turn invade some other occupation. All mechanics can become farmers without preparatory training; no farmer can become a mechanic without such training. When we shall possess the utmost diversity and multiplication of industries, therefore, we shall have comparatively fewer farmers and a relatively greater number engaged in skilled industries.

The trend of population from farming to industrial pursuits will then have a tendency to make manufactured articles relatively cheaper and farm products relatively dearer. The farmer, therefore, has everything to gain by a policy which induces the people of this country to do all their own work.

Instead of precipitating increased numbers into farming by lowering the tariff and reducing the numbers employed in the workshops, if we can succeed by a high tariff in widening our industrial development and rendering it unnecessary for our skilled workmen to have recourse to the land, our natural increase of population will in a few years enable our factories to consume all the products of our farms.

Irrigation

I

"PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FIRST MESSAGE SOUNDED THE KEYNOTE ON IRRIGATION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. M. DIXON of Montana, in daily Congressional Record, April 26, 1904.

One of the first acts of President Roosevelt was to send for the men who had been working for national irrigation. He discussed the conditions with them, and told them of his belief in action by the National Government and his intention to make irrigation one of the topics of his message to Congress. No President had ever mentioned irrigation in the United States in a message before. At once affairs assumed a far more promising aspect; the friends of western development took courage, redoubled their efforts, and began a vigorous campaign of education. *The President's message more than met their anticipations and strengthened the hands of the workers. In short, the President rallied the disorganized forces and gave them the definite policy which they followed to victory.*

President Roosevelt's first message, sent to Congress December 3, 1897, sounded the keynote of the Administration on irrigation. It not only foreshadowed, it actually brought about, the successful legislation passed by Congress during the succeeding spring months. After speaking of the forests as natural reservoirs, the President said:

The forests alone can not, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage works are necessarily required to equalize the flow of the streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual States alone. Far-reaching interstate problems are involved, and the resources of single States would often be inadequate. It is properly a national function, at least in some of its features. It is as right for the National Government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and waters of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. *The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the headwaters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control, under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same streams.*

The Government should construct and maintain these reservoirs and does other public works. Where their purpose is to regulate the flow of the streams the water should be turned freely into the channels in the dry season to take the same course under the same laws as the natural flow.

The reclamation of the unsettled arid public lands presents a difficult problem. Here it is not enough to regulate the flow of streams. The object of the Government is to dispose of the land to settlers who will make homes upon it. To accomplish this object water must be brought within their reach.

The pioneer settlers on the arid public domain chose their homes on the streams from which they could themselves divert the water to reclaim their holdings. Such opportunities are practically gone. There remain, however, vast areas of public land which can be made available for homes by settlement, but only by reservoirs and main-line canals impracticable for private enterprise. *These irrigation works should be built by the National Government. The lands reclaimed by them should be reserved by the Government for actual settlers, and the cost of construction should, so far as possible, be repaid by the land reclaimed.* The distribution of the water, the division of the streams among irrigators, should be left to the settlers themselves, in conformity with the State laws and without interference with those laws or with vested rights. The policy of the National Government should be to aid irrigation in the several States and Territories in such manner as will enable the people in the local communities to take care of themselves and as will stimulate needed reforms in the State laws and regulations governing irrigation.

The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich a large portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while the home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supply and effectually prevent western competition with eastern agriculture. *In deed, the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding the local centers of mining and other industries, which would otherwise have come into existence at all. Our people as a whole will profit, for successful home making is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation.*

The necessary foundation has already been laid for the inauguration of the policy just described. It would be unwise to begin by doing too much for a great deal will doubtless be learned, both as to what can and what can not be safely attempted, by the early efforts, which must of necessity be partly experimental in character. At the very beginning the Government should make clear, beyond shadow of doubt, its intention to pursue this policy on lines of the broadest public interest. No reservoir or canal should ever be built to satisfy selfish personal or local interests, but in accordance with the advice of trained experts, after long investigation has shown the locality where all the conditions combine to make the most needed and fraught with the greatest usefulness to the community as a whole. There should be no extravagance, and the believers in the need of irrigation will most benefit their cause by seeing to it that they are free from the least taint of excessive or reckless expenditure of the public moneys. * * *

The direct result of his action was the passage of the reclamation act.

The reclamation act sets aside the proceeds of the disposal of public lands in thirteen Western States and three Territories for national irrigation. The fund thus created is placed at the disposal of the Secretary of the Interior for surveys, examination, and construction of works. It is not a donation, but the money must ultimately be returned to the Treasury by the persons benefited, to be used over again in the construction of other works.

"THE REMAINING PUBLIC LANDS SHOULD BE HELD RIGIDLY FOR THE HOME BUILDER."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. A. REEDER of Kansas, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

President Roosevelt in his messages to Congress has urged the great importance of the public-land question, and he has discoursed upon its far-reaching possibilities at various times and at various places, both before and since he has been President, in his own inimitably forceful style; but I recall no statement that more clearly expresses the truth than in his speech at Stanford University May 12, 1903. In this he said:

To establish a family permanently upon a quarter section of land or, of course, upon a less quantity, if it is irrigated land, is the best use to which it can be put.

The first need of any nation is intelligent and honest citizens. Such can come only from honest and intelligent homes, and to get the good citizenship we must get the good homes.

It is absolutely necessary that the remainder of our public land should be reserved for the home maker.

And again:

It is time for us to see that our remaining public lands are saved for the home maker to the utmost limit of his possible use. We want to see the free farmer own his own home.

The best of the public lands are already in private hands, and yet the rate of their disposal is steadily increasing. More than 6,000,000 acres were patented during the first three months of the present year.

Mr. Chairman, more than 6,000,000 acres of our public domain in three months—2,000,000 acres in one month—500,000 acres each week. How many hundreds of possible homes for poor families gone each week—and gone where. Largely into the hands of the land grabber and the syndicate; and thus will our nation's lands become a menace to our institutions, while if reserved for and made into homes for the people they would become a bulwark to the Government.

Is it to be wondered that those who hope to see the public domain made a rich garden by our beneficent irrigation law and given to the people for homes to the building up of the nation and the betterment of humanity, should feel discouraged when they are assured that there is no hope of legislation this year and that millions of acres of our best public lands will, during another year, pass into the hands of speculators and great land interests? Do you, gentlemen, who prophesied failure for the national irrigation law, not realize that if we do not heed the demands of the President, the Secretary of the Interior, and many of the great organizations of commerce, labor, and agriculture, as well as many of the great newspapers of the land, and stop this disposal of the best of our public land at the rate of several million acres each year, we practically force upon ourselves failure in making homes of the public domain by means of the irrigation law?

And here is what President Grant said in one of his messages:

I renew my recommendation that the public lands be regarded as the heritage of our children, to be disposed of only as required for occupation and for actual settlers.

And now see what President Roosevelt says:

So far as they are available for agriculture, and to whatever extent they may be reclaimed under the national irrigation law, the remaining public lands should be held rigidly for the home builder, the settler who lives on his land, and for no one else. In their actual use the desert-land law, the timber and stone law, and the commutation clause of the homestead law have been so perverted from the intention with which they were enacted as to permit the acquisition of large areas of the public domain for other than actual settlers and the consequent prevention of settlement.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office, in his report of 1901, states as follows:

Immense tracts of the most valuable timber land, which every consideration of public interest demanded should be preserved for public use, have become the property of a few individuals and corporations. In many instances whole townships have been entered under this law in the interest of one person or firm, to whom the lands have been conveyed as soon as receipts for the purchase price were issued.

Secretary Wilson, in his annual report for 1901, makes the following declaration:

While all the land laws were doubtless intended to benefit settlers, they have in practice in the arid region too often benefited speculators. Hundreds of filings made under the desert, preemption, homestead, and timber-culture acts have been made by people who never were farmers and never expected to become farmers. It is to such filings that scores of meritorious irrigation enterprises owe their failure. The repeal of the preemption and timber-culture acts and cutting down desert-land entries from 640 to 320 acres have improved the situation, but it can be still further improved by an entire repeal of the desert-land act and by requiring settlers on homesteads to cultivate as well as to live on their farms. The desert act was an economic mistake.

"RECLAMATION OF THE ARID LANDS."—"PRESERVATION OF THE FORESTS."

Extract from message of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, published in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 7, 1903.

The work of reclamation of the arid lands of the West is progressing steadily and satisfactorily under the terms of the law setting aside the proceeds from the disposal of public lands. The corps of engineers known as the Reclamation Service, which is conducting the surveys and examinations, has been thoroughly organized, especial pains being taken to secure under the civil-service rules a body of skilled, experienced, and efficient men. Surveys and examinations are progressing throughout the arid States and Territories, plans for reclaiming works being prepared and passed upon by boards of engineers before approval by the Secretary of the Interior. In Arizona and Nevada, in localities where such work is preeminently needed, construction has already been begun. In other parts of the arid West various projects are well advanced towards the drawing up of contracts, these being delayed in part by necessities of reaching agreements or understanding as regards rights of way or acquisition of real estate. Most of the works contemplated for construction are of national importance, involving interstate questions or the securing of stable, self-supporting communities in the midst of vast tracts of vacant land. *The Nation as a whole is of course the gainer by the creation of these homes, adding as they do to the wealth and stability of the country, and furnishing a home market for the products of the East and South.* The reclamation law, while perhaps not ideal, appears at present to answer the larger needs for which it is designed. Further legislation is not recommended until the necessities of change are more apparent.

The study of the opportunities of reclamation of the vast extent of arid land shows that whether this reclamation is done by individuals, corporations, or the State, *the sources of water supply must be effectively protected and the reservoirs guarded by the preservation of the forests at the headwaters of the streams.* The engineers making the preliminary examinations continually emphasize this need and urge that the remaining public lands at the headwaters of the important streams of the West be reserved to insure permanency of water supply for irrigation. Much progress in forestry has been made during the past year. The necessity for perpetuating our forest resources, whether in public or private hands, is recognized now as never before. The demand for forest reserves has become insistent in the West, because the West must use the water, wood, and summer range which only such reserves can supply. Progressive lumbermen are striving, through forestry, to give their business permanence. Other great business interests are awakening to the need of forest preservation as a business matter. The Government's forest work should receive from Congress hearty support, and especially support adequate for the protection of the forest reserves against fire. The forest-reserve policy of the Government has passed beyond the experimental stage and has reached a condition where scientific methods are essential to its successful prosecution. The administrative features of forest reserves are at present unsatisfactory, being divided between three Bureaus of two Departments. It is therefore recommended that all matters pertaining to forest reserves, except those involving or pertaining to land titles, be consolidated in the Bureau of Forestry of the Department of Agriculture.

THE RECLAMATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE ARID LANDS WILL ENRICH EVERY PORTION OF OUR COUNTRY."

Excerpt from remarks of Hon. JOHN F. LACEY of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, April 28, 1904.

MR. SPEAKER: Except in the original thirteen States and in Texas, where there were no public lands, the United States was the great owner, and to-day the nation still owns about one-third of the total area of the country. Once there were between one and two thousand million acres of public lands, and there are still about one hundred millions left, not counting Alaska. Since President Lincoln signed the homestead law in 1862, it has been the policy of the Government to give its public lands freely to the men who would make homes. Under that policy other laws were passed to help in the general purpose, and millions of settlers went out and occupied the public domain. The great West was filled with thrifty, industrious families, and new States grew up and added their stars to the flag. But the best of the public lands were all taken up—lands for which some of these land laws were passed—and new conditions arose, which the makers of the laws had never foreseen. Uncle Sam had been rich enough to give every man a farm, but now most of the land on which a man could make a living without irrigation was gone. There was more demand for farms than ever. Few people coming to settle—more need for good land just when there was less land that could be taken than ever before.

For years there had been talk about national irrigation—about the duty of the nation to reclaim the arid lands of the public domain to make homes for the people—but nothing came of the talk. President Roosevelt's first message to Congress changed all that. After referring to the effect of forests on the water supply, he said:

"The forests alone can not, however, fully regulate and conserve the flow of the arid region. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. It can it be best accomplished by the individual States acting alone."

"Far-reaching interstate problems are involved, and the resources of the States would often be inadequate. It is properly a national function at least in some of its features. It is as right for the National Government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the waters in reservoirs at the headwaters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control, under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same streams."

"The Government should construct and maintain these reservoirs as it does other public works. Where their purpose is to regulate the flow of streams, the water should be turned freely into the channels in the dry season to take the same course under the same laws as the natural flow."

"The reclamation of the unsettled arid public lands presents a different problem. Here it is not enough to regulate the flow of streams. The object of the Government is to dispose of the land to settlers who will build upon it. To accomplish this object water must be brought within reach."

"The pioneer settlers on the arid public domain chose their homes along streams from which they could themselves divert the water to reclaim their holdings. Such opportunities are practically gone. There remain, however, vast areas of public land which can be made available for homestead settlement, but only by reservoirs and main-line canals impracticable for private enterprise. *These irrigation works should be built by the National Government. The lands reclaimed by them should be reserved by the Government for actual settlers, and the cost of construction should be repaid as possible by the land reclaimed.* The distribution of the water, the division of the streams among irrigators, should be left to the settlers themselves in conformity with State laws and without interference by those laws or with vested rights. *The policy of the National Government should be to aid irrigation in the several States and Territories in a manner as will enable the people in the local communities to help themselves, and as will stimulate needed reforms in the State laws and relations governing irrigation.*"

"The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while wider markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectively prevent western competition with eastern agriculture. In fact, the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding local centers of mining and other industries, which would otherwise not come into existence at all. *Our people as a whole will profit, for successful irrigation is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation.*"

"When the national reclamation act was passed, but not before the President had used his personal influence successfully to improve the law in the interest of the actual settler and against land speculation in every form. He was mainly responsible for the passage of the great law, which will give homes to the West, and therefore home markets for the manufactured products of the East."

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
RE: [REDACTED]

Rural

Free Delivery

J

"RURAL FREE DELIVERY."—"GOOD ROADS."

*Extract from Message of THE PRESIDENT published
in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 7, 1903.*

The rural free-delivery service has been steadily extended. The attention of the Congress is asked to the question of the compensation of the letter carriers and clerks engaged in the postal service, especially on the rural free-delivery routes. More routes have been installed since the first of July last than in any like period in the Department's history. While a due regard to economy must be kept in mind in the establishment of new routes, yet the extension of the rural free delivery system must be continued, for reasons of sound public policy. No governmental movement of recent years has resulted in greater immediate benefit to the people of the country districts. Rural free delivery, taken in connection with the telephone, the bicycle and the trolley, accomplishes much toward lessening the isolation of farm life and making it brighter and more attractive. In the immediate past the lack of just such facilities as these has driven many of the more active and restless young men and women from the farms to the cities; for they rebelled at loneliness and lack of mental companionship. It is unhealthy and undesirable for the cities to grow at the expense of the country, and rural free delivery is not only a good thing in itself but is good because it is one of the causes which check the unwholesome tendency towards the urban concentration of our population at the expense of the country districts. It is for the same reason that we sympathize with and approve of the policy of building good roads. The movement for good roads is one fraught with the greatest benefit to the country districts.

"RURAL FREE DELIVERY."—"UNDER REPUBLICAN RULE THIS SERVICE HAS BEEN NURTURED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin, in daily Congressional Record, April 20, 1904.

The subject of rural free-delivery service is one of commanding interest and importance—interest, because it is a comparatively new proposition, and important because of the very great benefit it confers on a most worthy class of people.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker in 1892 first recommended the establishment of this service. In three or four years following small appropriations were made, but not expended, and *the system was never given a thorough trial until under President McKinley's first Administration*, when a number of routes were established and a thorough test made. Since then each annual report submitted by the head of the Post-Office Department has made special reference to this service, to its development, and to the benefits accruing to the people through its establishment.

Postmaster-General Gary, in his annual report, in speaking of rural free delivery, used the following language:

"It would be difficult to point to any like expenditure of public money which has been more generously appreciated by the people or which has conferred greater benefits in proportion to the amount expended. In every instance the introduction of the service has resulted in an increase in the amount of mail matter handled. There is no doubt of the desire, wherever the system has been tried, that it should be made permanent."

Postmaster-General Smith, in referring to this service, said:

"The benefits accruing from the extension of postal facilities to the rural communities may be summarized as follows:

"Increased postal receipts, making many of the new deliveries almost immediately self-supporting.

"Enhancement of the value of farm lands reached by this service and better prices obtained for farm products through more direct communication with the markets and prompter information of their state.

"Improved means of travel, some hundreds of miles of country roads, especially in the Western States, having been graded specifically in order to obtain rural free delivery.

"Higher educational influences, broader circulation of the means of public intelligence, and closer daily contact with the great world of activity extended to the homes of heretofore isolated rural communities."

In 1900 the Postmaster-General spoke of rural free delivery as follows:

"The extraordinary extension of rural free delivery during the past two years has proved to be the most salient, significant, and far-reaching feature of postal development in recent times."

In 1901 the Postmaster-General, in speaking of the service, said:

"The policy of rural free delivery is no longer a subject of serious dispute. It has unmistakably vindicated itself by its fruits."

In 1902 he said:

"Rural-delivery service has become an established fact. It is no longer in the experimental stage, and undoubtedly Congress will continue to increase the appropriation for this service until all the people of the country are reached where it is thickly enough settled to warrant it."

In 1900 President McKinley in his message to Congress, in speaking of the postal service, used language as follows:

"Its most striking new development is the extension of rural free delivery. * * * This service ameliorates the isolation of farm life, conduces to good roads, and quickens and extends the dissemination of general information. Experience thus far has tended to allay the apprehension that it would be so expensive as to forbid its general adoption or make it a serious burden. Its actual application has shown that it increases postal receipts and can be accompanied by reduction in other branches of the service, so that the augmented revenues and accomplished savings together materially reduce the net cost."

In his first message to Congress President Roosevelt said:

"Among recent postal advances the success of rural free delivery wherever established has been so marked and actual experience has made its benefits so plain that the demand for its extension is general and urgent. It is just that the great agricultural population should share in the improvement of this service."

Again, in his last annual message, the President says:

"The rural free-delivery service has been steadily extended. The attention of Congress is asked to the question of the compensation of the letter carriers and clerks engaged in the postal service, especially on the new rural free-delivery routes. More routes have been installed since the last of July last than in any like period in the Department's history. While due regard to economy must be kept in mind in the establishment of new routes, yet the extension of the rural free-delivery system must be continued for reasons of sound public policy. No governmental movement of recent years has resulted in greater immediate benefit to the people of the country districts."

"Rural free-delivery, taken in connection with the telephone, the bicycle, and the trolley, accomplishes much toward lessening the isolation of farm life and making it brighter and more attractive. In the immediate past the lack of just such facilities as these has driven many of the more active and restless young men and women from the farms to the cities, for they rebelled at loneliness and lack of mental companionship. It is unhealthy and undesirable for the cities to grow at the expense of the country; and rural free delivery is not only a good thing in itself, but is good because it is one of the causes which check this unwholesome tendency toward the urban concentration of our population at the expense of the country districts."

These indorsements demonstrate beyond the possibility of question that under Republican rule this service, fraught with so much good to the people of the rural communities, has been nurtured and cared for until it has become one of our permanent institutions, against which no political party will ever dare raise a voice.

This service under the present Administration is being rapidly extended. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, 8,339 routes were inspected and 6,653 established.

The total number of routes in operation at that time was 15,119, and on March 1, 1904, the total number had increased to 22,000.

"RURAL FREE DELIVERY."—"DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEORGE W. NORRIS of Nebraska, in daily Congressional Record, March 16, 1904.

The inauguration of rural free delivery in the United States was beset with many difficulties. In its infancy it was pounced upon by the Democratic party, a party that has an unbroken history of never missing an opportunity to try to throttle the life of every infant industry that may be so unfortunate as to meet it upon the great highway of progress. In making appropriations for the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, the sum of \$10,000 was appropriated for the purpose of making an experiment in the rural free delivery of mail.

This money was available from and after the 1st day of July, 1893. The country was at that time under a Democratic Administration. The Post-Office Department, headed by the Democratic Postmaster-General, was not only opposed to rural free delivery, but it refused and neglected to make any experiments or to institute any rural free-delivery routes. As an excuse for this failure and neglect to obey the mandates of the law the Assistant Postmaster-General, in his report transmitted to Congress in December, 1893, expressed strong views against rural free delivery and the Postmaster-General of this same Democratic Administration approved these views, and in his report to this same Congress spoke of rural free delivery as follows:

"Although it was provided by Congress in the appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, that \$10,000 should be devoted, at the discretion of the Postmaster-General, to testing the feasibility of establishing a system of free delivery in rural districts, it has been found impossible, by reason of the pressure of more important questions, for the officers having that subject in charge to give the subject the study and consideration that it demands, much less to establish such rural free delivery. It was soon discovered, furthermore, that the appropriation for this experiment is not at all sufficient for thorough and reliable tests, for, in order to give the rural free-delivery system a fair and thorough trial, tests would have to be made in many localities, differing, necessarily, in density of population, topography, class of interests, and condition of highways and thoroughfares. To inaugurate a system of rural free delivery, it would require an appropriation of at least \$20,000,000. I therefore adopt the opinion of the First Assistant Postmaster-General that the Department would not be warranted in burdening the people with such a great expense, when it can more properly, adequately, and economically meet the requirements of postal extension by widening its scope along reasonable and conservative lines and by establishing additional post-offices wherever the communities are justified in asking for them."

Mr. MURDOCK. Is it not true also that before this report Postmaster-General Wanamaker, in 1892, recommended strongly this service?

Mr. NORRIS. I think it is. I think the recommendation was made by the Republican Postmaster-General that preceded this Democratic one.

The reasonable and just demands of 40,000,000 of our people, the very bone and sinew of our Republic, were thus ruthlessly cast aside by a wave of the hand of this great Democratic Postmaster-General.

Not only was the Administration against rural free delivery, but the Democratic opposition included the other Democratic branches of our National Government. The House of Representatives was also Democratic at that time, and on February 27, 1894, the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads in reporting to the House the annual post-office appropriation bill, used the following language in reference to rural free delivery:

"It has been found impossible, by reason of the pressure of more important questions, for the officers having that subject in charge to give the subject the study and consideration that it demands, much less to establish such rural free delivery. It was soon discovered, furthermore, that the appropriation for this experiment is not at all sufficient for thorough and reliable tests; for, in order to give the rural free-delivery system a fair and thorough trial, tests would have to be made in many localities, differing, necessarily, in density of population, topography, class of interests, and condition of highways and thoroughfares."

Mr. THOMAS of North Carolina. What report is that?

Mr. NORRIS. This is a report of the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads made—

Mr. THOMAS of North Carolina. I simply wanted to know under what Postmaster-General it was.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, this was under a Democratic Administration.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY SERVICE OWES ITS EXISTENCE TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEORGE W. NORRIS of Nebraska, in daily Congressional Record, March 16, 1904.

Under a Democratic Administration, the Post-Office Department, headed by the Democratic Postmaster-General, was not only opposed to rural free delivery, but it refused and neglected to make any experiments or to institute any rural free-delivery routes. As an excuse for this failure and neglect to obey the mandates of the law the Assistant Postmaster-General, in his report transmitted to Congress in December, 1893, expressed strong views against rural free delivery and the Postmaster-General of this same Democratic Administration approved these views.

The first Postmaster-General under the McKinley Administration in his first annual report, in speaking of rural free delivery used the following language:

It would be difficult to point to any like expenditure of public money which has been more generously appreciated by the people, or which has conferred greater benefits in proportion to the amount expended. In every instance the introduction of the service has resulted in an increase of the amount of mail matter handled. There is no doubt of the desire wherever the system has been tried that it should be made permanent. There is equally no doubt in my mind that, as stated in the report of the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads to the Fifty-fourth Congress, the continuance of the rural free delivery will "elevate the standard of intelligence and promote the welfare of the people."

This Postmaster-General, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, used the following language, and it is Postmaster-General Smith, of the McKinley Administration:

The benefits accruing from the extension of postal facilities to the rural communities may be summarized as follows:

Increased postal receipts, making many of the new deliveries almost immediately self-supporting. In Great Britain, where an extension of rural free delivery on a broader scale has been in progress since 1897, the number of additional letters mailed because of additional facilities afforded is estimated at 50,000,000 for the present year.

Enhancement of the value of farm lands reached by this service and better prices obtained for farm products through more direct communication with the markets and prompter information of their state.

Improved means of travel, some hundreds of miles of country roads, especially in the Western States, having been graded specifically in order to obtain rural free delivery.

Higher educational influences, broader circulation of the means of public intelligence, and closer daily contact with the great world of activity extended to the homes of heretofore isolated rural communities.

In 1900 the Postmaster-General under this same Administration spoke of rural free delivery as follows:

The extraordinary extension of rural free delivery during the past two years has proved to be the most salient, significant, and far-reaching feature of postal development in recent times.

Free delivery in rural communities has been regarded as too costly and burdensome to be admissible. On these grounds the movement encountered great opposition when first proposed, and even when Congress authorized the experiment there was reluctance in trying it. It took time and experience to develop and enforce the more just view, first, that the great body of people who live outside cities and towns are entitled to share in advanced mail facilities even if the cost exceeds the returns; and second, that the barrier of unbalanced expense is not as formidable as was apprehended.

With all these results clearly indicated by the experiment as thus far tried, rural free delivery is plainly here to stay.

In 1901 the Postmaster-General estimated that in four years the service would be extended to the entire country and recommended such extension.

In speaking of the service he said:

The policy of rural free delivery is no longer a subject of serious dispute. It has unmistakably vindicated itself by its fruits.

In 1902 the Postmaster-General spoke of rural free delivery as follows:

Rural-delivery service has become an established fact.

It will thus be seen that the rural free-delivery service owes its existence, its advancement, and its present high state of efficiency to the Republican party, and that the comfort and happiness which it carries to the homes of millions of our people is due to the watchful care of the Republican party and in spite of the fact that the Democratic party tried to throttle it and crush the life out of it in its infancy.

"FREE RURAL MAIL DELIVERY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. CHARLES F. SCOTT of Kansas, in the Congressional Record, December 17, 1903.

In a colloquy the other day with the gentleman from Iowa several gentlemen on the other side made assertions which left the impression that the Democratic party was the author and finisher of this system of free rural mail delivery which has become so popular during the past few years.

I apprehended that this sort of scheme would make its first appearance officially in the reports of the Postmasters-General of the United States. I have therefore examined these reports with some care and for some years back. The first reference which I find to this system appears in the report of the Hon. John Wanamaker, Postmaster-General during the Harrison Administration.

The recommendation which was made by Postmaster-General Wanamaker, and to which I have just alluded, was followed up by the Administration and resulted in an appropriation for experiments in the direction suggested. These experiments in the first place were in the nature of extending free delivery to villages and small towns. At the close of the Harrison Administration the experiments which had been set on foot under the direction of Mr. Wanamaker were proceeding with great satisfaction to the country and to the people, and propositions had been made to extend these systems still further so as to reach out into the rural regions. That was the situation which prevailed when a Democratic Administration, the second Cleveland Administration, came into power. Referring to this matter, the First Assistant Postmaster-General under that Administration made the following report. After having discussed in a discouraging way the entire system, he says:

"It would require an appropriation of at least \$20,000,000 to inaugurate a system of rural free delivery throughout the country."

Following the recommendation of the First Assistant, the Postmaster-General, Bissell, incorporated the following in his annual report:

"Although it was provided by Congress in the appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, that \$10,000 should be devoted, at the discretion of the Postmaster-General, to testing the feasibility of establishing a system of free delivery in rural districts, it has been found impossible, by reason of the pressure of more important questions, for the office having that subject in charge to give the subject the study and consideration that it demands, much less to establish such rural free delivery. It was soon discovered, furthermore, that the appropriation for this experiment is not at all sufficient for thorough and reliable tests, for in order to give the rural free-delivery system a fair and thorough trial tests would have to be made in many localities differing necessarily in density of population, topography, class of interests, condition of highways and thoroughfares. To inaugurate a system of rural free delivery it would require an appropriation of at least \$20,000,000."

He then refers to the report of his First Assistant, and indorses the recommendation made there that the attempt be not made.

The next official reference which I find to this matter appears in the second report of William L. Wilson as Postmaster-General, in which he says, referring to the appropriation which had been made in the preceding year and which he had not used:

"Should Congress see fit to make it available for the current year, I will make the experiment ordered by the best tests I can devise; but the difficulties in the way of such experiments and the reasons for viewing the whole plan as impracticable are fully set forth in the report of the House committee on the post-office appropriation bill, second session of the Fifty-third Congress."

It will be seen, therefore, that Mr. Cleveland's Postmaster-General, after two years of study and reflection upon the subject, after having absolutely refused to use the money which Congress placed at his disposal for this purpose, gave it as his opinion that the whole plan was impracticable and should be abandoned.

The next official allusion to this matter to which I wish to call the attention of the House appears in the message of President Cleveland to Congress, under date of December 4, 1893. Referring to the matter of free rural delivery he says:

"I am decidedly of the opinion that the provisions of the present law permit as general an introduction of this feature of mail service as is necessary or desirable, and that it ought not to be extended to smaller communities than are now designated."

I next call attention to a single sentence from the annual message of the following year, by President Cleveland, in which he says:

"The estimated cost of rural free delivery generally is so very large that it ought not to be considered in the present condition of affairs."

Thus dismissing it with a wave of the hand as an utterly impracticable scheme by reason of the vast expense that would be involved.

It appears, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that a Democratic Postmaster-General, the Democratic chairman of the Committee on the Post-Office and the Post-Roads, and a Democratic President all united in agreeing that the establishment of free rural delivery was an impracticable proposition.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY."—"A SERVICE SIDETRACKED, NEGLECTED, AND ABUSED UNDER DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. GILBERT N. HAUGEN of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

What would our cities, towns, and villages be without the agricultural products? What would our railroads be? Our farms certainly furnish the bulk of the freight traffic. What would our manufacturers be without raw materials?

What would our export trade be without our farms and farmers? In 1903 and ninety-eight one-hundredths per cent. to 83¼ per cent. of our exports for the last one hundred and four years came from the farm. We exported 3,543,043,022 pounds of cotton last year, valued at \$316,180,429, or nearly \$1,000,000 per day. The first eight months of this fiscal year we exported 13,394,562 barrels of flour, valued at \$53,037,418; 784,299 bushels of wheat, valued at \$33,053,949; 172,064,186 pounds of bacon, valued at \$16,914,013, and 135,513,538 pounds of ham, valued at \$15,833,620. We exported in 1902, 234,772,515 bushels of wheat and 102,688 bushels of corn. Our industrious tillers of the soil furnished the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, for export—

Wheat and corn meal	\$84,593,415
Wheat and flour	166,231,093
Pastry and bread stuffs	275,594,618
Butter and beef products	81,792,299
Pork and hog products	120,199,968
Tobacco and manufactures of tobacco	28,172,818
Cotton and manufactures of cotton	333,945,861
Total domestic agricultural products	943,811,020

Being nearly \$3,000,000 for every working day in the year.

The balance of trade in our favor for the last fiscal year was \$394,249.2. Without our domestic agricultural export trade the balance of trade would have been against us to the extent of \$478,900,440, this amount being ten times as great as the gold coinage and sixteen times the silver coinage in 1902. Our domestic agricultural exports for the last fifty years are in the aggregate \$23,957,997,735, being more than one-quarter the national wealth of the United States. What would our supply of money be without the income from the farms? * * * * * For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, under the Democratic Administration, Congress appropriated \$654,715 for agriculture. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, under Republican Administration, Congress appropriated \$5,978,160 for agriculture, an increase of more than 800 per cent. For the year 1887, Congress appropriated \$23,753,057.21 for the Army, and for 1904, \$77,375,283. In 1887, Congress appropriated \$16,489,907.20 for the Navy, and in 1904, \$81,876,791.43. For 1887, Congress appropriated \$54,365,325 for the Post-Office Department, and for 1904, \$153,511,549.75. For 1887, Congress appropriated \$82,075,200 for pensions, and for 1904, \$9,847,600.

The appropriation for rural free delivery was then \$10,000; this year we have appropriated \$20,180,000. * * * *

We all agree that the post-office bill contained no item of greater importance than the \$20,180,000 for this service which is yet in its infancy. Ten years ago not a single route was in operation in my district—very few in the United States—a service sidetracked, neglected and abused under Democratic Administration. After these seven years of fostering, nourishing, and friendly encouragement by a Republican Administration it has grown from a \$10,000 appropriation to over \$20,000,000. During the last fiscal year 48,954,390 pieces were collected and 390,428,128 pieces of mail were delivered by Uncle Sam's 15,119 carriers; 8,339 routes were investigated, of which 6,653 were established and 1,714 were rejected. On June 30, 1903, there were 15,119 routes in operation, an average number of 40 for each of the 386 Congressional districts. On that day there were 700 petitions for routes awaiting investigation, and on April 1, 1904, there were 22,537 rural free-delivery routes in operation, or an average of 59 for each Congressional district.

With the liberal appropriation made for this service for the coming year, before the next fiscal year ends we will have in operation more than 100,000 routes, extending the service to the firesides of more than 3,000,000 homes. We hope in the near future to extend the service to every county, home where it is practical and possible, a recognition justly due a serving people, the bone and sinew of our great Republic, where love, loyalty, patriotism, virtue, and morality prevail, adding much to the blessing of advancement, advantages, happiness, comfort, and convenience of a people who have contributed so much to our progress, prosperity, stability, unity, and peace, and who have always been found in the foremost ranks in our days of unpleasantness, gallantly marching on to victory in times of peace and war.

"RURAL FREE DELIVERY." — "DEMOCRATIC NEGLECT AND ABUSE"—"REPUBLICAN ENCOURAGEMENT AND ENTHUSIASM."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. GEORGE W. NORRIS
Nebraska, in daily Congressional Record, March 16, 1904.*

Now, in this report, made by the Postmaster-General, where he gives the account of these tests, as well as in all other reports made by Democratic officials, there is *not one sentence and not one word in favor of rural free delivery, no word for its encouragement, no hope for its life.* From Democratic officials there never has been a recommendation in its favor, but, on the other hand, every recommendation has been against it, every effort was to discourage every move was to delay it, and every attempt was to kill it.

But now, Mr. Chairman, we come to a time when the Democratic party, as far as rural free delivery is concerned, passes into a state of "innocuous desuetude."

On the 4th of March, 1897, the Republican party took charge of the national branches of our Government, and rural free delivery was given a new lease of life. It had passed through the Democratic purgatory of neglect and abuse, and in a weak, struggling condition it became the ward of the McKinley Administration. It was now about to be touched with the magic wand of Republican encouragement and enthusiasm, and to become a bright and a living reality at the fireside of a million humble homes. *From that time on rural free delivery has been given encouragement by every official connected with it in any way.*

It has been given respectful consideration, friendly encouragement and favorable recommendation in every annual report of the Post-Office Department since the Republican party took charge in 1897. Nowhere in any report of any Republican official is the any word of condemnation or discouragement. The officials devoted themselves to the expansion and the upbuilding of the service, and at no time did they neglect it or refuse to perform their duty. The reason of "the pressure of more important questions," as the Democratic predecessors admittedly did.

I should like to read at length from some of the reports of the Republican officials, showing the favorable consideration given to rural free delivery since the beginning of the McKinley Administration, but as my time is limited I shall read only a few extracts. First, I desire to call attention to a report from the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, made to this House in the Fifty-fourth Congress. It must be remembered that at that time the House of Representatives was Republican, and this committee necessarily Republican. This committee, in speaking of rural free delivery, said:

While the demand for rural free delivery comes from the people in the main, it has been made the subject-matter of discussion by the Post-Office Department from time to time, and it is agreed by those who have investigated the subject that there is no good reason why such accommodations should be withheld.

The first Postmaster-General under the McKinley Administration in his first annual report, in speaking of rural free delivery, used the following language:

It would be difficult to point to any like expenditure of public money which has been more generously appreciated by the people, or which has conferred greater benefits in proportion to the amount expended. In every instance the introduction of the service has resulted in an increase of the amount of mail matter handled. There is no doubt of the desire wherever the system has been tried that it should be made permanent. There is equally no doubt in my mind that, as stated in the report of the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads to the Fifty-fourth Congress, the continuance of the rural free delivery will "elevate the standard of intelligence and promote the welfare of the people."

This Congress that he refers to is the Fifty-fourth Congress, Republican Congress, from the report of whose Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads the Postmaster-General makes the following quotation. He says further:

It has unquestionably proved itself a potent factor in the attainment of what should be one of the chief aims of our Government, the granting of the best possible postal facilities to the farmer and his family.

In 1899 the Postmaster-General under the McKinley Administration spoke in the highest terms of the service, and expressed the opinion that its general adoption would be desirable.

TELEPHONE DELIVERY OF SPECIAL RURAL MAIL MATTER."

Extract from debate in daily Congressional Record, April 5, 1904.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk, to be in at the end of line 7 on page 31.

The SECRETARY. On page 31, line 7, it is proposed to insert:
For experimental telephone delivery of special rural mail matter, under direction of the Postmaster-General, \$20,000.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let us have some explanation of that amendment, Mr. President.

Mr. GORMAN. What does the amendment mean?

Mr. FAIRBANKS. The Postmaster-General has this to say upon the subject in his last annual report:

The extension of the rural free-delivery service and the consequent increase in the use of the mails by the patrons residing along the rural routes, together with the extension of the telephone service into the farming districts of the country, has suggested the propriety of extending the privilege of the special delivery of such letters, or the contents thereof, by means of the telephone, it being proposed that a special stamp be provided covering the cost of such transmission, the use of which stamp would authorize the postmaster at the office of delivery to open such letter and telephone contents to the person to whom it is addressed. It will be seen that if such plan is feasible, twenty-four hours' time will be saved in the transmission of important messages to many people residing along the lines of the rural delivery routes. I would recommend that a small appropriation be made by Congress for the purpose of enabling the Postmaster-General to investigate this subject.

I will state to the Senator that since this same matter was before the Senate last year it has received pretty careful consideration in some sections of the country. There are a great many people in the rural districts who believe it is an entirely feasible proposition. *It is simply carrying into the country by the telephone the special-delivery service which is enjoyed in the cities through special-delivery carriers.*

Mr. COCKRELL. Who pays for it?

Mr. FAIRBANKS. It will be paid for by those who get the special service. The special-delivery service in the cities is more than self-supporting. The Government requires a special stamp upon special-delivery letters, which is intended to cover the cost of the extra service; and thus far the Government has received a considerable excess over and above the cost of maintaining the service. The service proposed in the country will not impose any burden whatever upon the Government, because it will be paid for fully by those who enjoy it.

Mr. COCKRELL. Of course the man who gets the stamp pays for it.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. Yes.

Mr. COCKRELL. But who pays, and how is the telephone company paid, for transmitting the message?

Mr. FAIRBANKS. In most of the districts the farmers have telephones, for the use of which they pay rent, as is done in cities.

The contents of urgent special-delivery letters may be transmitted over the farmer's own telephone by the postmaster in the adjoining city or village. The details will all be worked out by the Postmaster-General. It is purely experimental, just as rural free delivery was for several years.

Mr. TELLER. It may be that this is a good thing to do, but it seems to me hardly justifiable under the conditions existing. It does not seem to me that a farmer need to be in such haste to get his mail that he will necessarily call on the postmaster in his neighborhood to open his mail and read it and telephone it to him.

That is paternalism run mad, it seems to me. Let us leave something for the farmer himself to do. Let him go to town and let him communicate with his friends, if they are near enough, by telephone; and he can now telephone a couple of thousand miles without much trouble.

If the point of order will lie against the amendment, I make it.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado if it is any more paternalistic than the special delivery in the cities, and if there is any good reason why the farmers of the United States should not enjoy just as great special benefits as are enjoyed by the inhabitants of cities and villages?

Mr. TELLER. The delivery in the great cities is an absolute necessity. Take the city of New York. You would have to have innumerable offices, and no man would ever know to which office his letter was coming. It is necessary in the city. It is not necessary in the rural districts at all.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Chair understand the Senator from Colorado to make the point of order?

Mr. TELLER. I make it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. I understand very well that the same point of order would lie against it that was made against the amendment last year. I hoped the Senator would not interpose it.

"FREE RURAL DELIVERY."—"CONCLUSIVE PROOF OF ITS BENEFIT AND WISDOM."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. ARTHUR L. BATES of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, March 15, 1904.

MR. BATES. Mr. Chairman, the existence, growth, and development of free rural delivery are the best evidences in recent years that this is a government of the people and for the people. That service has been called a "luxury." It is more than that; and eagerly has it been sought after in all portions of this country and so thoroughly appreciated wherever bestowed that it has come to be regarded as a necessity by the millions who enjoy it.

As late as June 30, 1902, there were only some 8,000 rural routes established, and on the 1st day of April, 1904, there will be 21,900 rural routes in operation in this country, apportioned among the several States and Territories of the Union largely in proportion to the number of petitions received.

It is my belief that the \$21,000,000 appropriated in this behalf brings more direct benefit to the inhabitants of this Republic who it affects than almost any other appropriation made by the General Government.

Forty years ago everyone went or sent to the post-office for mail, and the farmer in the busy season, when his horses and team were working in the fields, could sometimes only receive mail for himself and family possibly once a week—on Saturday afternoon. Now it is not only delivered several times daily at the homes and places of business of the inhabitants of more than a thousand cities but for the last six months of the fiscal year (January 1 to June 30, 1903) there were delivered by the carriers of this service some 310,000,000 pieces of mail on rural routes throughout the United States to farmers and inhabitants of sparsely settled regions.

Increased facilities always bring increased use and enjoyment; more letters are written and received; more newspapers and magazines are subscribed for.

INCREASED VALUE OF FARM LANDS OF THE COUNTRY.

The testimony adduced from all over the country proves that by reason of rural free delivery *the actual value of our farm lands has been increased.* Many farmers state that they would not dispense with the service for \$50 or even \$100 per annum. It has been estimated that the value of farm lands has risen by this means as high as \$5 per acre in several States. A moderate benefit to the farm lands of the whole country would be from \$1 to \$3 per acre.

BETTER PRICES FOR FARM PRODUCTS.

The producers, being brought into daily touch with the state of the markets and in better communication with those who buy the products, are able to obtain better prices for all that the farm produces. More definite knowledge of trade conditions is always of great advantage.

GOOD ROADS ENCOURAGED.

Good roads have been built and induced as an incentive for rural free-delivery establishment and to better encourage their maintenance. The Department wisely states that as a prerequisite to the granting of the benefits of rural free delivery there must be good passable roads at all seasons of the year. In many localities the farmers have taken the matter of good roads into their own hands and through their pathmasters and supervisors have lowered grades, built bridges, turned waterways, and aided in this way the general communication between different points.

FREE DELIVERY OPPOSED BY LAST DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

During the last Administration of President Cleveland the system of rural free delivery was condemned and rejected by the House Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and under the same Administration, in 1894, Postmaster-General Bissell refused to make use of the appropriation of \$10,000 offered him to inaugurate the service, stating that the project was impracticable and unwise. The entire service has been practically established and built up within the last seven years, until it has become one of the most beneficent, wise, and useful items of legislation provided by the Federal Congress. The alacrity and unanimity with which it has been asked for and used by the people at large is conclusive proof of its benefit and wisdom.

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"THE PANAMA CANAL QUESTION."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio,
daily Congressional Record, Feb. 1, 1904.*

I say that the brightest star in the galaxy that to-day shines upon the pathway of the candidate of the Republican party, his course in the Panama Canal question. [Applause on the Republican side.] It was not unduly precipitate. It was intelligent, wise, and characteristic of the Administration, doubtless in some part advised and recommended by the distinguished Secretary of State, than whom we have had no better, more clear-headed Secretary of State within the memory of living man. [Applause on the Republican side.]

And the people of the United States are in favor of the man who did it. If you want to be wise you must not drive the rank and file of the American people to vote for Roosevelt because of his action on the Panama Canal, and that is what you are likely to do. He will be nominated by acclamation, and among the strongest arguments that we shall make in his favor will be two things: First, when you say he is over strenuous, overactive, overimpetuous, we will ask you, "What has he done?" Name the thing now. When was he overimpetuous? What public act of Roosevelt would you criticize to-day on the stump of the United States. What act has he done that the Republican party can not indorse in its convention and the people of the country can not indorse at the polls? [Applause on the Republican side.] What is it? There is not one such act.

He promised at Buffalo to execute the policy and principles adhered to by William McKinley. *I challenge any man—not to get up and interrupt me now—but I challenge him to take time and come here and tell me and tell the American people what principles, what act, what policy of McKinley Roosevelt has not executed.* And when we go to the American people and say to them, "You must either vote for Roosevelt or you must condemn McKinley," and when you supplement all that by saying, in addition, "You must condemn the policy of the American nation in the eyes of the whole world because of the Panama question," you will find yourselves in a dilemma that I hope you will never get into. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. SMITH, of Kentucky. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question for information?

Mr. GROSVENOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH, of Kentucky. I observe that the official correspondence between our representative on the Isthmus of Panama and the State Department here in Washington indicates that a knowledge of the revolution was possessed here before it was down there.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I do not care—

Mr. SMITH, of Kentucky. What I want to ask the gentleman is this: Thinking that he might be able to throw some light on that question, I would like to know if he can give to this committee any information showing that the State Department derived its knowledge of the revolution from Panama first—I mean, whether there was any official correspondence sent to the State Department from Panama before this message was sent from the State Department to Panama advising that a revolution had occurred or was about to occur?

Mr. GROSVENOR. I did not get my information in that way. I got my information in July. I read it again in the London Times of the early days of September, that there was in motion an element in Colombia sure to result in revolution in Panama if that treaty was defeated, and I believed it, and I believe the gentleman now believes it; and whether the President of the United States heard of it first or not, I do not know. Where he got his information I do not know. But I will tell the gentleman from Kentucky one thing. *Roosevelt may be impetuous and he may be strenuous, but he is honest, he is truthful, and he would not lie, even under the pressure of the Senate of the United States.* [Applause.] *Whatever he says about the matter I implicitly believe, and so do 10,000,000 voters of the American people, as they will show the gentleman in good time.*

Mr. SMITH, of Kentucky. I wish to say that I have the utmost confidence in the President's integrity, and I have asked these questions simply to get information, if it were possible to elicit it from the gentleman.

PANAMA." — "THE CROWNING GLORY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. ALBERT J. HOPKINS, of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, February 8, 1904.

The President well knew that if the threats of the leaders of the province of Panama were carried into execution, and the people, as I have already shown, were ripe to support any declaration of independence upon the part of their leaders, that Colon and Panama and the line of the railroad would be the first points of collision between the Colombian Government and the people of Panama. It was his duty as the representative of our Government to take every precaution to protect our rights under the treaty of 1846 and to preserve the lives and property of our citizens in those cities and on the line of the railroad. *Instead of being subjected to criticism for the promptitude with which he sent our cruisers to Colon and other points, he is entitled to the greatest praise.* To my mind, Mr. President, nothing that has occurred in his entire Administration reflects greater credit than the foresight that was exercised and the promptness with which he took the necessary means to protect American interests when Panama had in fact declared her independence.

Mr. President, when we come to the last analysis on this whole subject, the President is condemned for carrying out the wishes of the great majority of the people of the United States. He is denounced for promptly responding to an overwhelming American sentiment in protecting American interests on the Isthmus, in recognizing the new Republic which was established in Panama, and in promptly negotiating a treaty which, if ratified, has secured to the United States the construction of this great canal, which has been the dream of navigators for four hundred years, an enterprise that will be the crowning glory of the twentieth century.

Mr. President, Theodore Roosevelt needs no defense at my hands. His administration of the affairs of our great Republic has been such as not only to endear him to the people of all sections of our common country, but to stamp him as one of the greatest men of this generation. *He is a typical American. His every aspiration is for the greatness and glory of his country and the well-being of the people.* Carping critics may jeer at him; calumniators may revile him; but, Mr. President, they can not destroy him. It is the fate of greatness to be reviled and denounced. Our President will survive all this, as other great men of the past have survived the calumnies and slanders that have been hurled at them during their lives.

What ambitious ends have our President and Secretary of State other than the good of our common country? The recognition of the Republic of Panama and the negotiation of the treaty known as the Hay-Varilla treaty are for the interests of our common country, not to enhance the power or dignity of either of these great men. There was a time, Mr. President, when Mr. Lincoln was thought to be as bad a man as the junior Senator from Colorado now seems to think President Roosevelt. There was a time during his life when he occupied that great office of President when Democratic Senators and Representatives denounced him as a usurper and as a violator of the Constitution, and indulged in language that makes the criticism of President Roosevelt of to-day seem tame indeed.

During the life of Mr. Lincoln no man was more reviled by Democratic members, both North and South, than he. In comparison with the language used during the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln and General Grant the criticisms that have thus far been indulged in against President Roosevelt seem like a gentle zephyr compared with a Kansas cyclone.

But for the purpose of placing the Republican party in a false light, and for the purpose of dwarfing the influence of President Roosevelt before the American people, these Republicans, who were traduced by the Democrats of a generation ago, are taken up as models, their virtues exploited, their great acts referred to in complimentary language, and their names placed high on the list of the honored statesmen of this country.

A generation from now, Mr. President, will find President Roosevelt placed in this great galaxy of Republican Presidents and statesmen, and the Democratic statesmen of the days in the future will refer to him in the same complimentary terms that are now used when any of our good friends on the opposite side of the Chamber refer to the "Great Emancipator" or the "Silent Soldier."

"PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT COULD TAKE NO OTHER COURSE THAN TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. SHELBY M. CULLOM of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, February 22, 1904.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, I do not feel like allowing the discussion in the Senate on the general question of a treaty with the Republic of Panama and the conditions, history, and law, national and international, involved, to pass without asking the attention of the Senate for a little while on this general subject.

The Isthmian Canal Commission, authorized by Congress to make the investigation, reported in favor of the Panama route. The Spooner Act was passed, and the President under authority of that act negotiated a treaty with Colombia. That treaty was promptly and almost unanimously ratified by the United States Senate, sent to Colombia March 18, 1903, where it was unanimously rejected by the Colombian Congress with very little consideration on October 18, 1903, and on October 31 the Colombian Congress adjourned.

* * * On November 3, three days after the Colombian Congress adjourned, Panama seceded and peaceably regained her independence.

The secession of Panama could not have been a surprise to either the Colombian Government or to the United States. The correspondence shows that Senator Obaldia, a prominent Senator from the State of Panama, openly declared that should the canal treaty be rejected Panama would secede and would be right in doing so. * * *

All of the correspondence in possession of the Executive Department has been laid before the Senate, either in open or executive session. There has been no concealment on the part of the Executive. That correspondence has been gone into in considerable detail here, and there is not one particle of evidence to show that any officer of the United States encouraged or instigated the revolution. * * *

There was no resistance to the revolution by Colombia, and on November 4 the three consuls, constituting the provisional government of Panama, notified the Secretary of State officially that in consequence of a popular and spontaneous movement of the people of Panama, the independence of the Isthmus was proclaimed and the Republic of Panama instituted and a provisional government organized. An envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary was later appointed by the new Government of Panama to the United States. On November 6 our consul at Panama notified the State Department that the situation was peaceful, that the movement was a success, and that no Colombian soldiers were on isthmian soil. After receiving that message on November 6, our consuls at Panama and Colon were instructed to recognize the new Government of Panama.

I will not go into the correspondence pertaining to this revolution further at this time; but, in my judgment, that correspondence shows that President Roosevelt could take no other course, under the circumstances, than to recognize the new Republic.

There were no Colombian officials in charge on the Isthmus, and if we did not recognize the new government there would have been no government at all on the Isthmus to which we could look for the protection of our citizens and their property. * * *

Every act of our Executive, every order given to the commanders of our vessels of war during and after this revolution, has been justified by our treaty of 1846.

The treaty, entered into in 1846 with the end in view of the construction of a canal or railroad across the Isthmus, as is shown in President Polk's message, in article 35 provides:

The United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus with the view that the free transit from one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists.

This treaty was made in 1846 and still continues in full force. It has survived a number of revolutions. New Granada has become the Republic of Colombia. One revolution has succeeded another, placing different parties in control, but the treaty has remained and has been recognized by every succeeding government, and the United States has a number of times exercised its right under Article XXXV to keep the Isthmus open.

The treaty of 1846 continues in force even though the State of Panama has seceded from the Republic of Colombia. No longer binding upon Colombia, after she lost her sovereignty over the territory to which Article XXXV refers, it is now binding and its rights and obligations have succeeded to the new Republic of Panama. In other words, the thirty-fifth article of the treaty of 1846 is binding and descends to any government which exercises sovereignty over the Isthmus of Panama. * * *

Without our aid the people of the Isthmus have declared and regained their independence and have set up a government of their own; no warfare exists, and peace prevails. Under these circumstances it could not be expected that the United States would forcibly overthrow this new Republic or would permit a civil war to be waged on the Isthmus.

OUR PEOPLE WILL NEVER AID COLOMBIA IN THE INFLICTION OF WRONG UPON PANAMA."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE of Massachusetts in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.

Mr. President, I desire to call attention now to the feelings and the attitude of Panama. I want to show to the Senate that the revolution, about which Senators speak as if it were the creation of a moment, represents not only the preparations of months, but that it represents the feelings and the hostilities of years. I am going to read from a speech made by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] on the 20th of December, 1902. I could not hope myself to put in better or in such eloquent language the feelings of the people of Panama toward the Government of Colombia. The Senator then said:

They remember what the people of Panama can never forget—that their State, once sovereign and independent, was the first State of this hemisphere, after the United States of North America, that achieved their independence and sovereignty.

Neither can they forget that the church party has stripped that badge of honor and power from their national flag and has reduced Panama to a department of Colombia, ruled by a governor appointed at Bogota. It is as if Ohio should be reduced to the former condition of a part of our Northwestern Territory. Above all, they can not forget the degrading bondage of the concordat that the church party in Colombia has forced upon them in the agreement of 1888 with Pope Leo XIII. While memory of these events lasts in Panama peace will have only a precarious and temporary residence there.

These thoughtful men know that agitation in Panama will be incessant to enlarge the canal concession we may obtain from Colombia into a bond of union with the United States, and no occasion that promises success will be overlooked to promote and intensify that feeling; and they know that even the security of the canal property will be made a reason why the United States should accept the annexation of Panama as a measure of necessity. This is not a new thought or an abandoned hope in Panama. I dread the thought of placing such a temptation, so lit up with the hopes of restored liberty, honor, and sovereignty, before those people, unless they could be again realized in their separate independence.

If Panama could be again restored to her sovereign independence, I would hail the event with joy, but I will not consent to an agreement with Colombia that may drive Panama into our Union to escape her present bondage to Colombia.

Above all else, we should be careful and entirely frank in our dealings with Colombia. The belief or the pledge that we will even aid her actively in fastening upon Panama the fetters of the concordat of 1888 or in maintaining her hold on Panama against the will of her people, if they choose to throw it off, will prove to be a mistake that may deceive Colombia, for our people will not sustain us in supporting such a pledge.

Our people will never aid Colombia in the infliction of wrong and injustice upon the people of Panama at the will and pleasure of that Government, and this appears to be the pledge we are asked to give. They will never extinguish or prevent the rekindling of the light of liberty, independence, and sovereignty in that once brilliant star that has been stricken from the galaxy of American republics by the fratricidal hand of Colombia. A casual concession offers no temptation to the people of the United States for an act that is so unnatural.

It would be a far better use to make of the \$40,000,000 we are asked to pay the Panama Canal Company for a title that is a mere possession of a property they are anxious to get rid of to pay \$30,000,000 of it to Colombia for the restoration of Panama to independence and \$10,000,000 to Panama for the concessions claimed by the New Panama Canal Company. The French could then work out their concession, if they wish to do so, and if they can get the money, or if not, they could forfeit it to the United States.

When the treaty of 1846-1848 was made Panama was a State with sovereign powers. Now she is a department of Colombia, and that treaty has made the United States accessory to her degradation. I can never vote for its renewal. To pledge the protection of Colombia in her sovereignty over one of her departments, without restriction as to any abuses of power over those people, is to bind our country to assist Colombia in any policy she may choose to adopt toward them. It is not a pledge of protection to Colombia against foreign aggression, but a pledge of assistance to that Government against any resistance by the people of Panama to any policy or law Colombia may choose to impose upon a people who are already degraded in their political rights from the proud position of sovereign statehood to that of a mere department that is governed from Bogota.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly; with pleasure.

Mr. MORGAN. I have no word in that statement to change—no sentiment, no thought, no word. I have not changed it, and I do not propose to change it.

"THE PRESIDENT WOULD HAVE BEEN CENSURABLE IF HE HAD NOT TAKEN EVERY PRECAU- TION ON THE ISTHMUS."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE of Massachusetts
in daily Congressional Record, January 5, 1904.*

All the world knew last summer that there was revolution impending. The correspondent of the New York Evening Post for December 8, says that they were planning revolution in Panama early in May. I happened to be out of the country, seeing only foreign newspapers in London and elsewhere, but it was a matter of common knowledge there in Europe and England that revolution was impending in Panama if the treaty was not agreed to.

That knowledge, of course, came to the Executive. He had information also from our naval and military officers, which has been cited in his message. It was his business to keep informed, but the fact of information does not imply assurances or connivance, and the insinuations of connivance and incitement have already been denied in a manner which requires neither repetition nor support from me or anyone else. *The President would have been in the highest degree censurable if he had not taken every proper precaution to prepare for the event which the reports of the disturbance on the Isthmus suggested.* He was bound to carry out the provisions of the treaty of 1846. We have always construed that treaty to mean that we were charged with the responsibility of keeping open the transit across the Isthmus; that we were not charged with the duty of enforcing the power of Colombia if there was a revolt; that we were there to protect it against foreign aggression, but that our primary duty was to keep it open and uninterrupted.

All this information had come in upon the President, and he had as in duty bound considered it and watched events. Finally there came what constitutes the first act of our Government. There came news that Colombia was about to land a force of 6,000 men at Colon, and the Acting Secretary of the Navy on November 2 sent this dispatch:

Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. If interruption threatened by armed force, occupy the line of railroad. Prevent landing of any armed force with hostile intent, *either Government or insurgent*, either at Colon, Porto Bello, or other point. Send copy of instructions to the senior officer present at Panama upon arrival of Boston. Have sent copy of instructions and have telegraphed *Dixie* to proceed with all possible dispatch from Kingston to Colon. Government force reported approaching the Isthmus in vessels. Prevent their landing if in your judgment this would precipitate a conflict. Acknowledgment is required.

That was the first step. The next day, November 3, a press bulletin having announced an outbreak on the Isthmus, the Acting Secretary of State telegraphed to the consul at Panama:

Uprising on Isthmus reported. Keep Department promptly and fully informed.

The reply goes back that there was no uprising, that it was expected that night. Within a short time, a little more than an hour came the dispatch:

Uprising occurred to-night, 6; no bloodshed, etc.

Mr. President, the preparations that have been very largely talked about, and which I have no doubt were adequately made, really resulted in the presence of one vessel of war at Colon. We landed from that vessel forty-two sailors and marines. The landing party was commanded with judgment. The captain of the *Nashville* showed the utmost discretion and firmness. *He prevented with an even hand either party from using the railroad. He prevented bloodshed. He kept peace on the Isthmus.*

Now, Mr. President, the President has been assailed for landing troops. He has landed no troops. Some sailors and some marines have been landed, and he has been charged with having made war by that act of recognition and by the landing of the forces of the United States.

It is perfectly certain, Mr. President, that the act of recognition by all the best authorities is held not to be in itself an act of war. As for the landing of those sailors and marines to keep order, we have done it over and over again. We did it in 1900; we did it in 1901; we did it in 1902. * * *

The United States recognized Panama on November 13, then France, China, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Denmark, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Belgium, Nicaragua, Peru, Cuba, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Costa Rica, and Switzerland.

*List of Governments which have recognized the independence of Panama,
with dates of recognition.*

United States	Nov. 13, 1903	Nicaragua	Dec. 15, 1903
France	Nov. 16, 1903	Peru	Dec. 19, 1903
China	Nov. 26, 1903	Cuba	Dec. 23, 1903
Austria-Hungary	Nov. 27, 1903	Great Britain	Dec. 24, 1903
Germany	Nov. 30, 1903	Italy	Dec. 24, 1903
Denmark	Dec. 3, 1903	Japan	Dec. 28, 1903
Russia	Dec. 6, 1903	Costa Rica	Dec. 28, 1903
Sweden and Norway ..	Dec. 7, 1903	Switzerland	Dec. 28, 1903
Belgium	Dec. 9, 1903		

Those recognitions indicate that the rest of the civilized world do not think it was a very unreasonable thing for us to have recognized that new Republic quickly.

ALL THE GREAT POWERS INDORSED THE ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, February 1, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not attempt in the very brief moments that I shall occupy, to discuss in detail the speech of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. THAYER]. There is nothing that I could say, and there is nothing he has said, but has been repeated a hundred times in this Capitol during the last three months. I have no disposition to refer disrespectfully to any branch of the Government; but if there ever was a subject worn threadbare, worn out, until it became odious to the ears and obnoxious to the nostrils of the American people, it has been this endless and infernal iteration of a lot of platitudes about the recognition of the Panama Republic. So I shall not try to say anything new about it.

I have this to say, however, that I have a lawyer's training and a lawyer's instinct about the question of the receiver of stolen goods, and I can not by any possibility disconnect the act of the acquirement of the Isthmus of Panama from the receipt of it afterwards and the enjoyment of it afterwards. By no ethics, by no logic, no argument that I can make can I disconnect the criminality of the one, if there is any, from the character of the other; and, therefore, when the gentleman says, "We want a canal and we are going to have it," he has admitted away all of his case, and stands indictable at the same bar, by the same grand jury, and upon the same evidence that he brings against the President.

Now, I want to say another thing. If the United States was guilty of a violation of international law, it was that violation and that alone that made any republic, or government, or combination, whatever it may be called, possible in the Isthmus of Panama.

Bear in mind that my argument consists, in the first instance, of this: "Whatever there is of the Republic of Panama," says the gentleman, "was born of a conspiracy between somebody in the United States"—and by insinuation born within the knowledge at least of the President of the United States—"and a little irresponsible coterie down at Panama," all of which now is laid bare by the gentleman, and all of which is known by the whole civilized world; and yet, over the protest of Colombia, and yet with just as much information as the gentleman from Massachusetts has, and without any purpose of partisan advantage, England, France, Germany, Russia, Holland, Austria, Spain, Portugal, *all the nations, all the great powers of the world, with every South American republic, have come in and indorsed the action of the United States Government by ratifying, as it were, the recognition of this new Republic.*

So when the gentleman, for partisan purposes, assails the President of the United States and assails the fair fame of his own country, he is assailing the intelligence and law-abiding character of the whole civilized world.

For more than a hundred years we have been trying by every process of diplomacy and by every known acquirement of knowledge to build a canal, and the time has come when the country is acutely in favor of it, when the necessity for it is pressing much stronger upon the great agricultural region of the South than it is upon the North.

And when all the people looked forward and witnessed the great battle that was fought here with so much distinguished success and ability by the gentleman on my left [Mr. HEPBURN] chairman of the great committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, in favor of the Nicaragua Canal, and finally, when that question seemed to turn the other way, all the people of the country said, "We are in favor of now going forward," and it ceased to be a party question, or had reduced itself down to the struggle of a few men. Then came the question. We accepted the proposition of Colombia, because that was in fact what took place. The treaty that was afterwards rejected was a treaty drawn in effect and agreed to absolutely by their own agent.

Then they came to a point where they undertook to jockey with us and force the payment of a larger sum of money. Believing that the President's position now is true, that when it had passed beyond the power of the President to negotiate for the Nicaragua Canal, actuated by the mere purpose of attempting to hold up the Government of the United States by seizing it by the throat and compelling the payment of ten million more dollars to them, and when that attempt came and the people of this country witnessed the uprising of Panama—that was the time when the patriotism of this country said, "We have settled the great question of the world by the genius of American diplomacy and the American courage of action."

"PANAMA IS THE SOVEREIGN."—"WITH WHOM ELSE COULD WE DEAL?"

Extracts from remarks of Hon. W. B. HEYBURN of Idaho, in daily Congressional Record, February 5, 1904.

I do not feel called upon to apologize for any act or thing that has been done by the Republican Administration in dealing with this question. No apology is necessary, because no act of the Administration has been beyond the scope of its powers and without the scope of wisdom.

The proposition to dig a canal across the Isthmus of Panama is practically as old as is the history of that country.

Those efforts were not relaxed until in 1843 the Government of New Granada sent its representatives to the strong governments of the earth to see if it could not enter into some arrangement with them that would result in the construction and operation of this canal. To England, to France, to Germany, and to the United States their representatives went. That action resulted, so far as we are concerned, in the making of the treaty of 1846, which gave us a right of way and a right to participate in the enjoyment of any other rights across the Isthmus.

That treaty was not negotiated with Colombia. Senators have spoken of it as a treaty with Colombia, and of Colombia's rights under the treaty. That treaty, so far as the Isthmus of Panama was concerned, was one in which the guaranty of sovereignty and of neutrality ran with the land to which it was applied—to Panama. Panama was one of the states or provinces which by compact constituted a larger government at that time. She was recognized as such and spoken of as such by Mr. Polk in the message with which he transmitted the treaty to the Senate. It was the Province of Panama.

New Granada, being the center of power that governed Panama and the other provinces that constituted the Government of New Granada, speaking for this province and for the things that peculiarly belonged to it, to wit the Isthmus of Panama and the right to cross it, entered into a treaty with the United States that the United States should guarantee the neutrality and the sovereignty of Panama. The language confines that guaranty to Panama. They did not undertake to guarantee the neutrality or sovereignty of New Granada, but only of Panama. So long as Panama was a part of the Government of New Granada, of course no question could arise as to the local application of this treaty, but just as soon as Panama ceased to be a part of the Government of New Granada, then the question did arise as to the application of this provision in the treaty that guaranteed the neutrality and the sovereignty.

I maintain, Mr. President, that our guaranty in the treaty of 1846 does not extend, nor did it ever extend, beyond the geographical limits of Panama; and in whatever hands we find the Government of Panama, there is where the obligation of the treaty attaches. It did not attach to Bogota or to any other portion of what then constituted the Government of New Granada, but attached to Panama, and from the hour that we recognized Panama as a sovereign Government, it did not become us, nor was it necessary for us to consider the rights or the will of any other government than that of Panama. If we guaranteed the neutrality and the sovereignty of Panama, then after the recognition of Panama we could go there and we could prevent the troops of any other country on earth from landing there, because our obligation attached to that political geographical government, and no other.

If that is true, all the criticism as to the protest and the rights to be given to Colombia, as represented by its Government at Bogota, falls to the ground and the President was entirely within the scope of his power; he was within the letter and the spirit of the law that governed him when he dealt solely and alone with Panama as a separate government. I do not care, Mr. President, if that Government had not been organized an hour. More than one of the great governments of the earth has come into power in an hour, and the power has been sustained through centuries. The process of revolution is not a growing process. It is one that turns with the hand of time—quick, conclusive, just as though it had come up through the process of a constitutional convention and ratification by the people.

The Government of Panama is recognized by all the great powers of the earth. In what position would we stand to-day if we were to attempt in any measure to discredit its sovereignty or its existence? With whom else could we deal for any rights that related to the Isthmus of Panama to-day but with the Government of Panama? Panama is the sovereign, and the only sovereign, power with which to deal, and we must measure the acts of the Administration as they are applicable to that sovereignty and not as they are applicable to the sovereignty of Colombia.

NO ONE DOUBTS THAT IT WAS THE DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT TO KEEP THE HIGHWAY OPEN ACROSS THE ISTHMUS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW of New York, in daily Congressional Record, January 14, 1904.

Mr. President, the most interesting and vitally important question to the American people is the construction of the Isthmian Canal. There is absolute unanimity of opinion for the work to be begun, prosecuted, and completed at the earliest possible moment. * * *

The Republic of Colombia recognizing this need sent here a diplomatic representative carrying a proposition. With scarcely any modification on our part this tentative agreement presented by Colombia was embodied in the Hay-Herran treaty. In that instrument was the most generous treatment of all interests to be acquired. We were to buy the plant and the properties of the French Company for \$40,000,000. We were to give to Colombia \$10,000,000 for a franchise which would be of incalculable benefit to that country. * * * This Colombian treaty, agreed to by the President, approved by the Secretary of State, and ratified by the Senate of the United States, was carried back to Bogota by the Colombian minister. * * * Then began upon the stage of that capital a drama of unequalled interest, whether we look upon it as tragedy, comedy, or opera bouffe. * *

The Congress, to the tearful regret and over the wishes of the dictator and vice-president, rejected the treaty by an almost unanimous vote and then adjourned. The Senators and Representatives who participated in this picturesque drama of national aggrandizement said that the object of the adjournment was to wait until the old concession of the Panama Canal Company had expired, in October, then to recall Congress in extraordinary session in November, declare the concession canceled, and seize upon the property of the French Canal Company. Then, they said, we will offer to the United States the properties of the French Canal Company for the \$40,000,000 which are to be paid that corporation and the ten million which are coming to us. * * * This leads us at once to the new phase of the problem presented by the organization of the Republic of Panama. Panama was one of the first settlements made in the Western Hemisphere. * * *

When General Bolivar succeeded in the revolution which he organized, he formed a loose-jointed republic out of the States of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama. There was little in common, territorially, commercially, or industrially between these States. After a few years Venezuela seceded and formed a separate government. Three years afterwards Ecuador did the same. Panama remained to all intents and purposes an independent Republic. In the new arrangement which was made Panama joined Colombia under a constitution which distinctly recognized the right of secession for any cause, and bound the several parts only to federal contributions according to their judgment. This relation continued practically from 1861 to 1886.

Then a dictator arose by the name of Nunez and got control of the army and navy and all the resources of the country. He suspended the constitution, the Congress, and the laws, and governed the country according to his own despotic will for a number of years. He subjugated the several States, overturned their sovereignty and forced them to become mere departments of the centralized power at Bogota. * * * There have been many revolts in Panama in the effort on the part of tyrannized, plundered, and patriotic citizens to regain their liberties and rights. Every one of them has been sternly and ruthlessly suppressed by the central Government at Bogota. The success of the Bogotan Government was due in nearly every instance to the fact that the United States would not permit interruption of transit across the Isthmus. When the revolutionists would have seized the railroad which connected the oceans, the United States was the ally of the Bogotan Government to keep that open.

The result was that it was easy for the Government forces every time to put down a rebellion because the recruits of the State could not be gathered into a successful army. But lo! the working of this provision the other way. Citizens of Panama in November of this year, without a dissenting voice, reasserted the sovereignty of the State, which they had never surrendered, and proclaimed a Republic. The Colombian army joined the revolution. With the military forces of the Bogotan Government enlisting under the flag of the new Republic, the authority of Panama was complete throughout all its borders. When, therefore, some time after the Republic had been established and was in working order, and had at Panama its army, a Colombian army landed at Colon for the purpose of invasion and battle, the United States took toward it the same position that it had toward the revolutionists in the many efforts made by them for the freedom of Panama.

Our Government simply said to these soldiers, "You can not take possession of this railroad and interrupt traffic across the Isthmus. You can not engage in a battle or a series of battles which would stop communication for an indefinite period." * * * No one doubts that it was the duty of the President to keep the highway open across the Isthmus. No one doubts that if the rights of American citizens were in peril because of revolution or anarchy the United States must have a force on the spot sufficient for their protection.

"THIS ADMINISTRATION NEED NOT WAIT FOR THE VERDICT OF HISTORY TO APPROVE ITS PANAMA POLICY."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. M. STEWART of Nevada, in date
Congressional Record, January 27, 1904.*

Mr. PRESIDENT: The honor of the country is assailed under a misapprehension of facts. After the Spanish rule in Central America was broken, a confederacy was formed between Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. This confederacy, as the records will show, was for common defense against foreign aggression. There was a full recognition of the right of secession.

In 1846 a treaty was formed between this confederacy, which was then known as New Granada, and the United States. By this treaty the New Granadan Government grants to the Government of the United States—

"the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any mode of communication that now exist or that may be hereafter constructed shall be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States." And the United States—

"guarantees the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada had and possesses over said territory.

Venezuela seceded from the confederacy of New Granada. Afterward Ecuador did the same. Another confederacy was then formed between Colombia and Panama, having the same object as the former confederacy, namely, defense against foreign aggression.

The right of secession was expressly reserved in this new confederacy. There was no trade or commercial relations between Panama and Colombia.

No public improvements were made in Panama, but the vast accumulations from customs and other resources were expended at Bogota. The treatment of the people of Panama by the oligarchy at Bogota was never exceeded by Spain in any of her provinces, Weyler's rule in Cuba not excepted.

Uprisings and revolutions were almost continuous from the beginning of 1850 until the final revolution in 1903, whereby Panama acquired her independence. During all this time the influence and authority of the United States were exerted to prevent the rebels of Panama acquiring the independence. It was impossible for the people of Panama to conduct a war for independence without making the transit across the Isthmus the theatre of action. The bulk of the population of the Isthmus is at the cities of Panama and Colon and along the line of the Panama Railroad. Fighting at either of these cities or along the line of the road would necessarily interfere with travel and commerce, and the United States stood guard over the only part of the Isthmus where a war for independence could be conducted and thereby upheld and maintained the wicked and tyrannical rule of the oligarchy of Colombia!

Was it wrong, after the usurping President Marroquin and his co-workers had rejected the treaty for a canal without debate, after it had been given out from high sources in Bogota that twenty-five millions were wanted from the United States, besides the forty millions that this country was about to pay the French company, for the President of the United States to refuse to suppress another revolution on the Isthmus? Was it wrong after the delegates from Panama at Bogota had given notice that there would be a renewed attempt on the part of Panama for independence, for the President to direct our ships to Panama and Colon to protect the interests of the United States?

Was it wrong, when the soldiers of Colombia were threatening the lives of our people and the destruction of the property of citizens of the United States, for the President to cause troops to be landed for the protection of the lives and property of Americans?

This Administration need not wait for the verdict of history to approve its Panama policy. That policy has already been approved by the nations of the world in their speedy recognition of the Government of Panama. If by the honest and patriotic course of the Administration the United States have acquired a right of way to build the canal across the Isthmus, who has been injured? The people want the canal. The folly and extravagance of Colombia cleared the way. The new Government has granted the rights and privileges which are necessary in the vast undertaking of connecting the two oceans by a waterway. Civilization and progress and the aspirations of the American people are promoted by the action of the Administration. I have no intention to discuss details, but I feel called upon to enter my protest against reflections upon the honor of the Government based upon a total misapprehension of facts.

"PANAMA HAD A RIGHT TO GO INTO REBELLION."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. B. FORAKER of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, December 17, 1903.

In the first place, Mr. President, when it was resolved that we would build an isthmian canal, negotiations were entered into not only with Colombia but with Costa Rica and with Nicaragua. Then protocols were signed with all those countries. A protocol was signed with Colombia, one condition of which was that we should pay her \$7,000,000 if finally we determined that we would accept the Panama route. We then undertook the negotiation of a treaty with Colombia in accordance with the terms and conditions of that protocol; but when we had turned from the Nicaragua route, and had accepted the Colombia route, instead of a cash payment of \$7,000,000, she demanded the payment of \$10,000,000 in cash. She exacted from us other terms and conditions that were severely criticised in this Chamber, but finally, after a long debate, the treaty was ratified. We sent it there. That treaty embodied every demand that Colombia had made of us, whether of money or other kind of terms and conditions. What happened? Instead of ratifying it with these increased payments and other terms and conditions that she had demanded and we had generously granted, months passed, when finally the treaty was rejected unanimously, without any consideration whatever having been given to it by the ratifying power of Colombia.

No official explanation was offered to this Government for such action. The only explanation ever given was an informal explanation given out by a distinguished citizen of Colombia, who apparently journeyed all the way from Colombia to New York to give us that information. He gave it in the shape of a newspaper interview, in which he announced that they could not agree to the treaty unless we struck out \$10,000,000 and inserted \$25,000,000.

At once it became known through the newspapers—not by any agent sent here or sent elsewhere, but as common knowledge, reported by the Associated Press and otherwise—that the people of Panama were in a state of discontent and that they would not submit to such disregard of their interests by the Government under which they were then living. It became at once known, in other words, that she was proposing to secede and set up an independent government for herself.

That was published everywhere. I read of it. I spoke about it in public speech during the campaign in Ohio. No agent came to the President of the United States. The President of the United States sent no agent to Panama. It was not necessary. Panama was acting in her own interest. She was exercising her right to object to the action of her Government, and her Government persisting in wronging her, she had a right, if she saw fit, to go into rebellion.

In other words, weeks before she declared her independence it became known that she would take that step—not officially, but it became known to every man who studied the situation and considered what human nature would do under such circumstances. The clouds were gathering. Should the United States, through its Administration at Washington, be unmindful of that fact? Not at all. It was our duty to be watchful with respect to it under any circumstances, but particularly so in view of our obligations to preserve that transit free from interruption.

Ever since 1846, when the treaty between this Government and New Granada, as that country was then called, was entered into, we have been under that obligation. Time and again we have landed our marines to preserve order and to protect that transit from interruption and embarrassment. Repeatedly we have done that at the request of Colombia; we have done it in a number of instances on our own motion. The President of the United States, seeing the storm coming, seeing the action that was threatened, remembering his obligation to preserve peace and order and protect that transit from interruption, but did his duty in taking all preliminary necessary steps to preserve order when such a contingency should arise.

Mr. President, as is suggested to me, suppose he had not done it; suppose the rebellion had come; that secession had been accomplished; that war had ensued, and all the results that accompany war had followed, what would have been the criticism then of our friends on the other side? It would have been a criticism, not that the President had acted precipitately, not that he had acted without cause, but that he had acted at all; that he had lost the canal after the United States had pressed her preference for it, and after the people of the whole country, without regard to party and without regard to section, had demanded it.

"A REVOLUTION IN PANAMA WAS INEVITABLE." "INTERVENTION APPROVED BY THE NATIONS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. LOUIS E. McCOMAS of Maryland, in daily Congressional Record, January 4, 1904.

Those who criticise the President are few, and when all the facts become known will be fewer still.

Under the treaty of 1846 we have often been called on to intervene for New Granada and Colombia, as now we have intervened for Panama the third successor to this isthmian territory. The treaty guarantees that "The right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any of the modes of communication that now exist, or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be free to the Government and citizens of the United States, while the United States in turn guarantee for that consideration 'the perfect neutrality of the above-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time.'" Bound by this treaty of 1846, against foreign invasion against domestic dissension, we have time and again intervened to protect the transit of the Isthmus.

For half a century, as I remarked to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] a while ago, we have again and again repressed the aspirations of the people of Panama for liberty. We have helped put down their revolutions.

This people have again revolted when Colombia's corrupt scheming was about to drive away from their Isthmus the great canal. *Are we now to be asked to suppress the established Republic, recognized by all the world? Are we to repeat the Hawaiian folly of 1893? Are we to make war on Panama merely to destroy a republic?*

If the President had not been so prompt, so decided; if he had kept our ships away from the Isthmus, whereon we were bound to keep peace and to keep open the transit, we might now behold devastation and massacre there. *We might now expect the French Republic, when called upon by the French canal company to protect its franchises and interests, to send French ships and French soldiers to hold its unfinished canal to defeat the shameless spoliation of the French company by Colombia.*

The correspondence sent to Congress by the President acquaints us with the spirit and the proceedings of the Colombian Congress. The treaty ratified was never really considered by that Congress.

In the late summer I apprehended and stated in the press and on the stump, and other Senators here apprehended and stated in the press and on the stump, as I have heard them say, that there was impending a revolution in Colombia, and that it would surely occur if this treaty were defeated and Panama was robbed of her canal. Every thoughtful American either did foresee or ought to have foreseen that a Panama revolution would follow the rejection of the Hay-Herran treaty, as the President has stated in this message of to-day.

The President knew—what every ordinary citizen knew—from all the channels of information, as well as from additional direct information, new which he received officially from our minister and our officers, that a revolution in Panama was inevitable.

He did his best to get war ships there. The world is large and our Navy small. We are becoming more and more proud of its prowess and power, but it could not be everywhere. He contrived to have what? Not a fleet, but one cruiser there in time to protect American life and property and to keep open the transit. He ought to have had a war vessel on each side, but the revolution was almost too quick for his resources. The President has since hurried other war ships and marines to both sides of the Isthmus to guard the transit. He did his duty, and no more.

The Government of the United States, in a near-by sea, where last year at this time we had the whole fleet under Admiral Dewey, happened to have in November one vessel which could land forty-two marines on one side of the Isthmus, and yet for fifty-seven years, during which we have been bound to protect that transit, were we never so ill prepared to land forces from one side and from the other side to protect that isthmian transit and the life and property of Americans in that country.

This duty so often performed by our Navy and our marines was never more promptly, more discreetly, or more bravely done than in November last. American lives and property were protected. The isthmian railway was guarded. Was it our next duty to stand aloof until the new Republic be drowned in blood or wasted by long civil war?

This intervention, I repeat, has been quickly approved by the nation within the pale of international law. They recognized this new Republic. They agree with President Roosevelt that Colombia has forced us "to take decisive steps to bring to an end a condition of affairs that had become intolerable." The time had come and the justification is already plain.

"THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE WILL BE CARRIED OUT; THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CANAL WILL PROCEED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. M. STEWART of Nevada, in daily Congressional Record, January 6, 1904.

When the Congress of the United States adopted the Spooner amendment and gave preference to the Isthmus of Panama for an interoceanic canal the real character of the Colombian Government was forcibly displayed. The \$10,000,000 offered in the Hay-Herran treaty to Colombia for the privilege of constructing the canal was rejected at Bogota without debate. It now appears, however, that the treaty would have been discussed if it had been \$25,000,000 instead of \$10,000,000, but there is every reason to believe that no action would have been taken until the expiration of the concession to the French company. The patriots of Bogota would then have supposed that they would be in a position to demand the whole thing—the forty millions and the twenty-five millions—and as much more as they desired.

When Colombia rejected the Hay-Herran treaty and put in jeopardy the construction of any canal across the Isthmus, had not the people of Panama a right to rebel? They did it openly and above board. They declared their purpose before the treaty was rejected that Panama would declare her independence in case of such rejection. When Panama did declare her independence and was in visible possession of the entire Isthmus, what was the duty of the President? Was he compelled, under the treaty of 1846 to land marines and fight for the sovereignty of Colombia? Had not the power of the United States kept the dark shadow of Colombian sovereignty over the Isthmus long enough? Had it not enabled the oligarchy at Bogota to levy enough tribute upon the highway of nations?

The President had the alternative either to recognize the Republic of Panama or to crush it by force of arms, because in any event the United States was under obligations to keep the Isthmus open for the transit of commerce.

Among the fortunate circumstances connected with this transaction is the fact that the President has demonstrated that he is neither a quibbling witfogger nor a slippery diplomat, but a straightforward, common-sense man, who acts promptly when occasion requires. It is significant that many public men in the country who are opposed to the President politically and whose constituents enthusiastically approve what he has done with regard to Panama devote themselves to criticising the manner of doing it. They suggest that he knew beforehand that Panama was going to declare her independence. Was that a crime? Did not everybody else know it? Did not Panama proclaim it months before? It is then suggested that our war ships were at the Isthmus. Where else should they have been, when it was the duty of the United States to keep the transit across the Isthmus open? Then, again, it is suggested that the recognition was too hasty, that the President ought to have waited. The people of Panama have been in practical rebellion always against the extortions of the foreign rule of Colombia. Is not an uprising or a revolution every year for nearly fifty-seven years sufficient to satisfy anyone that the people of Panama desire their independence? Is it not the fact that the revolution was unanimous and that the people favored it and now acquiesce in it sufficient?

I do not object to the kind of criticism that we have heard with regard to the Republic of Panama. The fact that they are small side issues only goes to prove that the main action was right.

It has given the American people what they wanted—a right of way across the Isthmus to construct a canal; a right that no honest man ever ought to have questioned.

The people of the United States, conscious that the President has done right and gratified that he has obtained a right of way free from further blackmail, will strengthen the hands of our Government. *The will of the people will be carried out; the construction of the canal will proceed.* The people of the United States have so determined. The fault-finders with the thing has been done will subside as they have always done when a great governmental enterprise has been undertaken and accomplished. It will be as it was with the acquisitions of Louisiana, Florida, Alaska, the Sandwich Islands, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. In all these acquisitions complaints were made as to the manner of bringing them about, however beneficial the result might be.

There is no political capital in criticising the manner of acquiring the right of way across the Isthmus or in complaining of the fact that it has been acquired. *Candidates for popularity, if they consult their own interest, will get out of the line of obstruction.*

The people are satisfied with the acquisition by President Roosevelt of the right of way which was dedicated to the public hundreds of years ago.

"UNDISTURBED TRANSIT ACROSS THE ISTHMUS OF TRANSCENDENT IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES."

Extract from message of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, published in daily Congressional Record, December 7, 1903.

In the year 1846 this Government entered into a treaty with New Granada, the predecessor upon the Isthmus of the Republic of Colombia and of the present Republic of Panama, by which treaty it was provided that the Government and citizens of the United States should always have free and open right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama by any mode of communication that might be constructed, while in turn our Government guaranteed the perfect neutrality of the above-mentioned Isthmus with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea might not be interrupted or embarrassed. * * *

Last spring, under the act above referred to, a treaty concluded between the representatives of the Republic of Colombia and of our Government was ratified by the Senate. This treaty was entered into at the urgent solicitation of the people of Colombia and after a body of experts appointed by our Government especially to go into the matter of the routes across the Isthmus had pronounced unanimously in favor of the Panama route. In drawing up this treaty every concession was made to the people and to the Government of Colombia. * * *

* * * when the Colombian Congress was called to ratify it the vote against ratification was unanimous. It does not appear that the Government made any real effort to secure ratification. When it became evident that the treaty was hopelessly lost, the people of Panama rose literally one man. Not a shot was fired by a single man on the Isthmus in the interest of the Colombian Government. Not a life was lost in the accomplishment of the revolution. The Colombian troops stationed on the Isthmus who had long been unpaid, made common cause with the people of Panama and with astonishing unanimity the new Republic was started. The duty of the United States in the premises was clear. In strict accordance with the principles laid down by Secretaries Cass and Seward in the official documents above quoted, the United States gave notice that it would permit the landing of no expeditionary force, the arrival of which would mean chaos and destruction along the line of the railroad and of the proposed canal and an interruption of transit as an inevitable consequence. The de facto Government of Panama was recognized. * * *

*The control, in the interest of the commerce and traffic of the whole civilized world, of the means of undisturbed transit across the Isthmus of Panama has become of transcendent importance to the United States. We have repeatedly exercised this control by intervening in the course of domestic dissension, and by protecting the territory from foreign invasion. In 1853 Mr. Everett assured the Peruvian minister that we should not hesitate to maintain the neutrality of the Isthmus in the case of war between Peru and Colombia. In 1864 Colombia, which has always been vigilant to avail itself of its privileges conferred by the treaty, expressed its expectation that in the event of war between Peru and Spain the United States would carry into effect the guaranty of neutrality. There have been administrations of the State Department in which this treaty has not, either by the one side or the other, been used as a basis of more or less important demands. * * **

The above recital of facts establishes beyond question: First, that the United States has for over half a century patiently and in good faith carried out its obligations under the treaty of 1846; second, that when for the first time it became possible for Colombia to do anything in requital of the services thus repeatedly rendered to it for fifty-seven years by the United States, the Colombian Government peremptorily and offensively refused to do its part, even though to do so would have been to its advantage and immeasurably to the advantage of the State of Panama, at that time under its jurisdiction; third, that throughout this period revolutions, riots, and factional disturbances of every kind have occurred one after the other in almost uninterrupted succession, some of them lasting for months and even for years, while the central government was unable to put them down or to make peace with the rebels; fourth, that these disturbances instead of showing any sign of abating have tended to grow more numerous and more serious in the immediate past; fifth, that the control of Colombia over the Isthmus of Panama could not be maintained without the armed intervention and assistance of the United States. In other words, the Government of Colombia, though wholly unable to maintain order on the Isthmus, has nevertheless declined to ratify a treaty the conclusion of which opened the chance to secure its own stability and to guarantee permanent peace and the construction of a canal across the Isthmus.

Under such circumstances the Government of the United States has not been guilty of folly and weakness, amounting in their sum to a crime against the Nation, had it acted otherwise than it did when the revolution of November 3 last took place in Panama.

"WHEN COLOMBIA LOST THE CANAL THE ETERNAL PRINCIPLES OF RIGHT PREVAILED."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. F. McL. SIMMONS of North Carolina, in daily Congressional Record, January 27, 1903.

The President has assured us in a formal message to this Senate in the most emphatic manner that he did not, consciously and intentionally, in any way, direct or indirect, incite, encourage, or promote this revolution.

The fact, Mr. President, that as long ago as last August, when the Colombian Congress had begun to show an unfriendly disposition toward the treaty, there were mutterings of secession; that later, when it became apparent that the treaty would not be ratified, there were thinly veiled threats of separation uttered upon the very floors of the Colombian Congress, which later broke out into bold, open, and defiant threats of secession, both at Panama and at Bogota; the fact that there was at Panama, long anterior to the revolt, an organized band actively engaged in the organization of the insurrection; that these conspirators had, under the pretense of organizing a fire department, organized a military force of over 400 picked men in the city of Panama and arranged for the cooperation of the Colombian general and the forces under his command stationed in that city, as well as with the commander and the marines under him of one of the two Colombian gunboats then stationed in that harbor, tends to show that in their desperation the Isthmians, acting on their own initiative, had made up their minds to seek remedy for their wrongs in revolution.

It may be—in fact, it is almost certain—the Panaman conspirators knew what course this Government would pursue in the event of insurrection in the Isthmus and that they counted on that action to make their revolution successful. If they had such information—and, as I said, I think they did—I do not know how they obtained it, but I can see how it might have been acquired without the actual or guilty knowledge or complicity of either the President or the Secretaries of State, War, or the Navy.

Such secrets are notoriously hard to keep. The possession of this information should not, in my judgment, be accepted as contradicting or discrediting the positive statement of the President. *In entire deference to the views of others on this side of the Chamber who may differ with me in this opinion, I think that the statement of the President in this respect should be accepted, and for myself I do accept it.* Undoubtedly the President knew of the forthcoming revolution in Panama, and so knowing it was his duty, in view of the imminence of insurrection there, to have on the ground a sufficient force to protect the lives and property of American citizens.

Mr. President, I can not find it in my heart to blame the Panamans for seceding from Colombia. If oppression, if tyranny, if despotism ever justified revolutions, they were justified in revolution. They were bound to a State which had never felt or shown any interest in them or in their welfare. They were forced to pay ruinous taxes with only nominal representation, without receiving in return any of the benefits of taxation in government or administration, in public improvements or in the education of the people.

The canal was their only hope for relief from the miserable and wretched conditions to which Colombia's greed and tyranny had reduced them, and even that the Government at Bogota denied them.

Perhaps their aspirations for freedom were wrong, but our forefathers under like conditions did not think so. Perhaps they should have submitted supinely to oppression, but our forefathers under similar conditions struck for liberty and with the help of France achieved it.

On the other hand, Mr. President, I can not enthuse over the alleged wrongs of Colombia. The treaty we made with her was of her own seeking. It was signed by her authorized agents, with full knowledge of its contents. It provided for the construction upon her own territory of the greatest work of internal and international improvement and development ever essayed by man.

By duplicity and treachery she defeated that treaty, *not because she did not want the canal, and would not have gladly taken it upon the terms provided therein, but because she wanted in an indirect way to extort more money from us or the Panama Canal Company, or perhaps from both.*

Her treachery toward Panama and toward us in this canal matter illustrates both her traditional policy toward Panama and her standard of diplomacy. In all of her history I know of nothing to excite the admiration of any humane man or any patriotic liberty-loving American citizen.

Mr. President, when I consider the wrongs Colombia has perpetrated against Panama, and when I consider this last great act of indifference to the welfare of that long-suffering people, the conclusion forces itself upon me that when Colombia lost the canal, when Panama succeeded in establishing her independence, the eternal principles of right and righteousness once again prevailed.

"POLICY OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY REGARDING CANAL QUESTION."

Extract from debate in daily Congressional Record.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. President, I can not let the opportunity pass without challenging a portion of the statement of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] with reference to the policy of the late President McKinley regarding this canal question. If I understood the Senator correctly, he stated that President McKinley up to the time of his death was in favor of the construction of an interoceanic canal by the Nicaragua route, and that had he lived no doubt a policy would have been carried out resulting in the construction of the canal by that route.

I desire to state that in 1899, when for the first time it came to his knowledge that the Panama Canal Company's property could be purchased, President McKinley seriously considered the proposition; he investigated the question, and the result was that he asked this body through the instrumentality of the Committee on Commerce, to report an amendment to the river and harbor bill appropriating the sum of \$1,000,000 for the further investigation of all routes on the Isthmus, with a view of constructing an isthmian canal.

What I say I say from personal knowledge, obtained in personal interviews with the late President as to his ideas and as to his future policy. He became so impressed with the importance of this question and the eligibility of the Panama route that he determined as far as lay in his power, to have a full knowledge of all the routes, and in his recommendation to Congress that was his sole purpose and desire.

After the appropriation was made and he had obtained authority to appoint a Commission, through frequent conferences with him personally, as I was a member of the committee having charge of the subject, I knew of the interest he felt that all possible routes across the Isthmus should be thoroughly investigated, and in the selection of that Commission he was extremely careful. He took plenty of time, diligently inquired into the reputation and fitness of every man who was considered for a place on that Commission and when the personnel of the Commission was completed he felt that as far as lay in his power he had done his whole duty to secure the aid and advice of the best talent which the country afforded for such a purpose. It was his intention, so far as his policy was concerned, to be guided by the report of that Commission.

As to the alleged change of policy after the death of President McKinley, the present Executive has made no change, because President McKinley had decided to follow the advice which might be given by the Commission of his own creation as to the ultimate route to be established in the construction of that canal.

I make this statement because I am unwilling under the present situation that such statements as have been made by the Senator from Alabama should go before the country when I know to the contrary.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, the Senator speaks from personal conversations with President McKinley, which I have no opportunity in the world of testing in any form. I had no personal or political intimacy with President McKinley that would have justified me in asking him his private opinions upon any question. I go upon his record—his public record—and his public record was that he did, in 1899, recommend the appointment of this Commission and that on November 30, 1900, the Commission made their report to him, and that on the next morning he made the agreement—the solemn compact with Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Therefore he had become convinced of the correctness of the report of this Commission which he had selected with such great care in the effort to secure wise, just, honorable, and upright men, so that he could afford to stand on what they said.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. President, in reply to that statement I have only to say, in confirmation of what I have said before, that President McKinley was willing to abide by the decision of the Commission. On the first report of that Commission, when the price for the property of the Panama Canal Company was fixed at \$104,000,000, it was decided to stand by the report in favor of Nicaragua. But when it is stated that President McKinley thought that the Nicaragua Canal route was the better route, I know to the contrary. It was the question of price and the conditions under which that price was made to this Government that led to the protocol of which the Senator speaks.

THE EXISTENCE OF PANAMA IS A FACT ACCOMPLISHED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE of Arkansas, in daily Congressional Record Feb. 10, 1904.

The Republic of Panama has received the recognition of this Government through the act of the President in receiving her minister and in negotiating a treaty with her. This action on the part of the President, in my opinion, is not subject to review in any proceeding, directly or collaterally, connected with the ratification of the pending treaty. The recognition, no matter whether by the action of the Congress or by the President alone, is the act of the Government of the United States and is to be respected and supported as such. The recognition is final, and the existence of Panama is a fact accomplished, and this, to borrow a phrase from Bismarck, removes every objection and silences every dispute. Approval of our course, if approval by others of anything this country does can ever be deemed to add anything to its validity or justice, is shown in the action taken by other governments, as follows:

List of governments which have recognized the independence of Panama, with the dates of recognition.

United States	Nov. 13, 1903	Nicaragua	Dec. 15, 1903
France	Nov. 16, 1903	Peru	Dec. 19, 1903
China	Nov. 26, 1903	Cuba	Dec. 23, 1903
Austria-Hungary	Nov. 27, 1903	Great Britain	Dec. 24, 1903
Germany	Nov. 28, 1903	Italy	Dec. 24, 1903
Denmark	Dec. 3, 1903	Japan	Dec. 28, 1903
Russia	Dec. 6, 1903	Costa Rica	Dec. 28, 1903
Sweden and Norway	Dec. 7, 1903	Switzerland	Dec. 28, 1903
Belgium	Dec. 9, 1903	The Netherlands	Jan. 10, 1904

The terms of the treaty being satisfactory and the technical competency of the parties to the contract being established, my support of this treaty would follow naturally and without further question. But it is objected that while the recognition of the Republic of Panama may conform to the mere forms of the law governing such matters, the facts which preceded it show such an utter disregard by the President and those acting under his orders of the cardinal principles of right and justice as to make it the imperative duty of every right-thinking man to condemn his actions and to refuse to take any steps that can directly or indirectly be construed into a condonation of his course. * * * Such investigation and consideration as I have been able to give to the matter has not enabled me to reach the conclusion that I should oppose the ratification of the treaty on the grounds which have been stated in opposition to it. * * *

I do not find it necessary to deny that I believe that the President of the United States knew what was taking place on the Isthmus and what was likely to take place there. *If it is necessary to show his ignorance of events there in order to establish his integrity, to maintain that this can only be done at the expense of his intelligence and sagacity, if not his fidelity to his duty.* Every well-informed observer of public events knew it. It was the logical and necessary culmination of forces which the Colombians themselves had set at large. *After the rejection of the treaty in the manner it was done we owed to the Colombians nothing and could afford to laugh when their calamity came.* Our only duty in the premises was to ourselves, and that was to respect the cardinal principles of right and justice, refraining religiously from clandestinely or openly inflicting wrong upon her. That we did so refrain have no doubt. * * *

Leaving out of the view of the President's denial, not because I have any doubt about its sincerity, for I have none, the development of the facts show no aid or comfort given to the revolutionists prior to their declaration of independence, and any haste thereafter extending recognition to the new Republic was a matter of detail and largely within the discretion of the President. *A jury composed of nearly all the nations of the civilized world has rendered its verdict of the issue tendered by our action, and I see no reason why we should view it with less favor than they.* Any sympathy bestowed on Colombia is, in my opinion sympathy wasted. * * *

Democratic legislatures, Democratic boards of trade, and Democratic citizens throughout the country have manifested their approval in open, unmistakable, and enthusiastic expressions. And indisputable Democratic votes to-day will make it a certainty.

"THE TIME HAS COME TO BUILD THE ISTHMIAN CANAL."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. HENRY T. RAINEY, of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 15, 1893.

Mr. Chairman, in the brief time I propose to speak I shall address my remarks to the recent events occurring on the Isthmus of Panama which have attracted the attention of the civilized world. I propose to consider the building of the Panama Canal in its relation to a deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The Republic of Panama is an established fact. Nothing I can say will in any manner alter existing conditions. It has been recognized by the great world powers, and so far as I am concerned as a citizen of this Republic and representing here in part one of its greatest States, I would not alter existing conditions if I could. * * *

*In the great events which have just occurred, I do not think the President and his advisors have acted at the dictation of any party or in the interests of any party. They have simply become the instruments to carry into effect the fixed determination of 80,000,000 people. In the history of the centuries the time has come to build the Isthmian canal, and the strongest nation in all the world proposes now to build it. * * * * ** I see no reason why we should not police the seas in the vicinity of the proposed canal [Applause.] We ought to prevent the landing of troops by Colombia on the Isthmus. The personal ambitions of a few professional agitators and revolutionists in that part of the world must not be permitted to stand in the way of such an enterprise as this.

But there is another and a more potent reason why no man who lives in the Mississippi Valley ought now to complain of recent events or object.

The time has arrived in the history of the western world when the east and west movement of commerce is, in a measure, about to end, and when the north and south movement of commerce is about to commence. The building of this canal is a most important step in this direction, and its immediate construction becomes a matter of vast importance to every man, woman, and child living in that part of our country which lies between our great mountain ranges.

During the past century and a quarter of our national existence commerce has moved along east and west lines. Our development has been from the East toward the West. Raw material has been brought from the West to the Eastern States. The manufactured product has been shipped back from the East to the West.

As a result of these conditions great transcontinental railways have been constructed. The idea heretofore has prevailed that there is some normal law which compels the movement of commerce across meridians of longitude. As a matter of fact, the natural direction for commerce to move on this continent and in the world is across parallels of latitude. The north and south movement is about to commence.

The different sections of our country are becoming self-sustaining. When that happens commerce must naturally travel across parallels of latitude in order that the products of colder climates may be more readily exchanged for the products of tropical countries.

The northward movement of our agricultural population, the completion by Chicago of her great canal, large enough to permit the passage of almost any vessel that could go through the Suez Canal, and the prospect that this Government will in the immediate future complete the canal commenced by the French across the Isthmus thus opening the entire Pacific Ocean to the north-and-south movement of commerce—all these things concur and mark unmistakably the beginning on this continent of a movement of commerce across parallels of latitude.

The development of a great waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf and through the Gulf to Atlantic ports, and through the Isthmian canal to the South Pacific Ocean is now almost an assured fact. It requires only a little more excavation between the Chicago Drainage Canal and the Illinois River, the removal of the locks and dams in that river, a little dredging, some provision for protecting valley lands by levees against the increased flow of water through the rivers, and the thing is done, and the coast line of the United States is in effect doubled.

"PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE ISTHMUS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. EDGAR D. CRUMPACKER, of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 15, 1903.

Mr. Chairman, in my judgment the attacks upon the Administration for the recognition of the Republic of Panama are unjustified and unwarranted from any standpoint. In 1846 this Government negotiated with New Granada the treaty that is so common in the literature and discussion of the day. By the terms of that treaty the Government of the United States assumed certain responsibilities respecting the neutrality of the Isthmus and the preservation of the sovereignty of the Republic of New Granada over it. * * * During the fifty-seven years of the existence of that treaty there have been fifty-three rebellions, revolutions, and riots of a political character upon the Isthmus, and upon six distinct occasions during that time the United States has been compelled to land sailors and marines upon the Isthmus to patrol the railroads across the Isthmus and to prevent disorder and destruction. And on three or four other occasions the Government of New Granada and the succeeding Government of Colombia have called upon, nay, have demanded of the United States that it intervene to preserve the sovereignty of those Governments against Peru and other powers in South America.

The history of recent legislation on the canal question is in the minds of all members of the committee. In 1902 the Congress declared that the time had come when the United States should enter upon that great world undertaking, that it should enter upon the construction of that mighty enterprise, and it passed what is known as the Spooner law, vesting in the President the discretion to negotiate for the right to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and, in the event that he should be unable to do that, to take steps to construct the canal upon the Nicaraguan route.

A broad discretion was vested in the President by that law, and Congress, in unmistakable terms, declared its preference for the Panama route. The Hay-Herran treaty was negotiated in pursuance of that law, ratified by the Senate of the United States, and submitted to the Colombian Congress for consideration, and it was rejected by unanimous vote of that Congress.

The people of Panama arose practically as one man and denounced the action of the Colombian Government in refusing to agree to a treaty that meant so much to them; a treaty that would make the Isthmus of Panama the great commercial thoroughfare of the hemisphere. Revolution was the result, and I say it was the natural result, and the people of Panama arose with practical unanimity and established a government of their own.

The United States was then confronted with this situation: The de facto Government of Panama was the only Government in control of affairs, as far as control existed anywhere. There was an absolute absence of authority upon the part of the Republic of Colombia to perform the responsibilities of sovereignty and afford protection to the rights and interests of the United States.

What was the duty of this Government in that exigency? Where did it owe its highest and first duty? Why, to its own interests. It had interests there that required to be taken into consideration without delay. It could not stand supinely by and await the result of a long and tedious warfare between the insurgents and the forces of the Colombian Government. Its interests were at stake, and were of such a character that they required immediate protection. The President did that which I believe duty and good conscience required. He recognized the provisional government as the only government able and willing to carry out the conditions of the treaty of 1846 and afford protection to American interests in the Isthmus.

I insist, Mr. Chairman, that not a single precedent has been referred to in the course of this debate and not a single one can be found that is not in harmony with the action of the Administration in recognizing the independence of the Republic of Panama. It was the de facto government, clothed with all the machinery, the officers, the public agencies necessary to enable it to discharge its public duties.

"PANAMA."—"UNQUALIFIED INDORSEMENT OF THE COURSE OF OUR GOVERNMENT."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. C. BURROWS, of Michigan, in daily Congressional Record, February 23, 1904.

Mr. BURROWS. I present a preamble and resolutions adopted by the Detroit Board of Commerce, relative to the recognition of the Republic of Panama. I ask that the resolutions be printed.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PREAMBLE.

The action of the National Administration in accrediting the Government recently established upon the Isthmus of Panama has been subjected to undeserved criticism, upon the accusation that United States officials incited the revolt and that our Government showed unseemly haste in recognizing the newly formed Republic.

It is not reasonable to predicate the revolution in Panama upon any outside influences. The relations between Colombia and that State furnish provocation sufficient to incite revolt. The central Government at Bogota imposed heavy burdens of taxation upon Panama without the consent of that State and without giving it adequate representation in the confederated Senate, at the same time expending the revenue not for needed administrative work in the territory where it is raised, but in other parts of the Confederation. It was guilty of many acts of oppression which had been a cause of irritation for years. Our Government, by its own avowals and by other unimpeachable testimony, is acquitted of the charge of inciting the revolution, but it could not fail to be aware that such an event was impending, for its prospect was seen and discussed by the public journals of this and other countries. It would have been unpardonable negligence for our officials not to be aware of its approach or prepared for the emergency.

It is a recognized rule of international law that "a state shall not be recognized as independent until it has shown its ability to maintain its independence." But it is also an accepted doctrine that there are exceptions to this rule when treaty rights or national interests and safety or interest of collective civilization are involved. *Under all these exceptions the United States was, beyond question or peradventure, justified in recognizing the Panama Government as the only alternative to a condition of disorder that would have put in actual peril American rights and interests, and would have jeopardized a work that was of great importance to the whole commercial world.*

This country was the first to recognize the new Republic, and very properly, because it was more immediately concerned than any other. That the administrative action was judiciously taken is confirmed by the fact that the new Government was speedily recognized by the great nations of the earth, including Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, and Italy.

When the Republic of Panama declared its independence our Government was confronted with a new situation in respect to the great improvement which the whole commercial world expects it to make—the construction of a canal across the Isthmus. "On the one hand," as stated in a communication from Secretary Hay, "stood the Government of Colombia, invoking in the name of the treaty of 1846 the aid of this Government in its efforts to suppress the revolution; on the other hand stood the Republic of Panama, that had come into being in order that the great design of that treaty might not be forever frustrated, but might be fulfilled. The Isthmus was threatened with desolation by another civil war. The interests of the whole civilized world were involved. The Republic of Panama stood for these interests; the Colombian Government opposed them. It recognized the independence of the Republic of Panama, and upon its judgment and action in the emergency the powers of the world have set the seal of their approval."

Resolved, That the action of the United States Government in recognizing the Government of Panama is deserving of unqualified support and commendation.

Resolved, That it is for the best interests of this country and of the whole commercial world that the pending treaty with the Republic of Panama be speedily ratified, and that the construction of the interoceanic canal be immediately begun and advanced to completion as rapidly as practicable.

"THE PATH OF TRANSIT WE WERE BOUND TO KEEP OPEN."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. ROBERT R. HITT of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 11, 1903.

The Congress gave the initiative to this movement. This body and the Senate directed the organization of a great commission of learned men, of skilled engineers. They reduced the question to two possible canals, one at Nicaragua and the other at Panama. After the conditions had all been gone over, and some of them had been greatly changed by events, Congress determined that the canal at Panama should be built. * *

A treaty drawn up by the Colombian Government was presented by the representative of Colombia here, and after modification was at last assented to, was ratified by our Government, and taken back to Bogota to be ratified there. Then followed strange events. To the grasping men at Bogota, who now had in hand a treaty giving them ten millions, a higher game seemed easy. Their ideas went up to fifteen millions and then to twenty millions and then to twenty-five millions. When they had convinced themselves that it was probable that this amount could be obtained from the Yankees, they rejected the very treaty they had proposed and urged upon us.

The people in Panama now looked at the prospect in utter despair. They had long and anxiously hoped to see the canal constructed in their midst by a route of 47 miles, believing they had the best line, as against the 139 miles of the Nicaragua route. Now, by the greed of those at Bogota, who were a long way from them, and had very little interest in the affairs at Panama, all was thwarted.

Their action was immediate and unanimous, and they tossed off the central government with that South American facility not easily known to us. * *

The United States, says the gentleman from Arkansas, caused and upholds the Republic of Panama, and is unquestionably maintaining it by its armed forces and resources and agents.

The President of the United States had no agents there except two very low-salaried consular officers and one clerk. He couldn't get any more; he had no money for any purpose except what had been appropriated by this body. Why, if there had been any such plot or scheme by the ruler of this country, if he had had any such purpose in view of kindling trouble there, would he not have had our ships there at least? There was not a ship on the Panama side. There was only one on the Colon side, and it landed its slender force to keep order and protect American property, as had often before been done by our ships. * * The gentleman has made much of certain words in the telegrams, which have all been placed before the public (and first before this House), that our Government sent to all the officers, civil or naval, who were concerned in the affairs that took place in the beginning of November. He says they indicate that our Government anticipated the revolution. Why, sir, our Government is not administered by men so ignorant as to be unaware of the current of events. *There was not a man in this House, there was not an idle wayfarer who passed through the galleries, who did not know that for weeks and months preceding newspapers all over the world had been discussing the critical state of the Isthmus of Panama, the liability of those people to have disorder.*

Our officers received the orders which the gentleman read in part and which are given fully in the official documents. Some were issued by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy, again and again repeating that injunction, which is a commonplace in the Navy, that naval officers at Panama are to obey the injunction and engagement of the treaty of 1846, to keep that pathway of transit open. *Every President has given that injunction when disorder arose there or threatened to arise—not Republican Presidents, not Democratic Presidents, but American Presidents have all done that, keeping the solemn faith of the nation in the treaty of 1846—clear away any and all obstruction and disorder in that transit. They have driven away government troops, they have driven away reactionary troops, any that came in the path of transit which we were bound to keep open, which pledge we have faithfully executed for now over fifty years. There were no American troops there, no agents of the Government there when the revolution broke out to aid in troubles, as is insinuated.*

"TRUSTEE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE CIVILIZED WORLD."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.

Mr. President, this question is an American question, and our interests in it are very profound indeed. The portion of the country which I have the honor to represent in part is far removed from the canal, and yet it is of immense interest to the people of New England that there should be that quickened communication to the East. Deep as our interest is far up there on the Atlantic coast, it is nothing to the interest of the people of the Gulf—to the people who are selling their cotton as well as their manufactures in the East. Most important of all, Mr. President, more important than any commercial advantage, is the fact that it makes the coast of the United States practically continuous from the Columbia to the extremest boundary of Maine.

Mr. President, the commercial interests, the interests for our self-protection, involved in that canal are of the largest possible kind. It seems to me that it gives us a stake in that Isthmus which can not be overestimated. We also stand before the world as the nation which has taken up this great task of opening communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The civilized world has committed that task to us and has gladly committed it to us. We stand in relation to that Isthmus not only for our own interest, but as the trustee of the interests of the whole civilized world. The people who live there, who own it if any people in the world own it absolutely, are anxious that we should go there, and build a canal on our own terms.

We are not taking it from the people who dwell there. They are only too anxious to have us go there; but there are a few people up in the mountains and on the great plateaus in the interior, farther removed from Panama, so far as actual communication goes, than we are in the United States. They have undertaken to say that Panama shall not have that canal; they propose to take from Panama, if they could make a treaty, every dollar that is involved in it—people who do not own the territory and whose interests are trivial compared to the rest of the world.

I do not think, Mr. President, that those people have the right to stand across the pathway of the world's commerce and say "Here it shall not come." I think that it is part of our duty to do just what we have done. I think we should have been false to our duty if we had not done it, and there is nothing whatever in all the action of the Colombians, of whom our treatment has been more than generous, which should make us repent of any act that has there been committed.

Mr. President, this seems to me—if it can be said truly of any question—to be a question that is not one of party. Certainly it is a question in which the interests and the hopes of all the people of the United States—North and South, Democrat and Republican—are alike bound up. I think it is a great achievement, in which we should all be proud to take a part.

I confess the attitude assumed by some portions, at least, of the Democratic party is very curious and interesting.

I know that there are some members of that party and large sections of that party outside of Washington who are as zealous and as eager for the promotion of this canal and the ratification of this treaty as any people can possibly be. I know there are others—for I have read debates which have occurred elsewhere—who, while they protest their hatred of the sinner, seem perfectly willing to embrace the sin.

Mr. President, think of the proposition of making political capital out of a question of this nature. As a Republican I should ask nothing better than to have the Panama Canal made the issue in the impending campaign. I think a good deal of valuable material has already been given us in that direction, but I should be very sorry, as an American, to see the work of building the canal delayed, and I think, Mr. President, that when it is thought over seriously by the Democratic party they will see that there are more judicious courses than to oppose simply because the other party proposes. There must be grounds of opposition more relative than that if you would satisfy the American people.

"THE PANAMA QUESTION TRANSCENDS THE NARROW BOUNDS OF PARTY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. W. FAIRBANKS, of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, Feb. 2, 1904.

There are several conclusions which the record seems to establish. They may be summarized thus:

The revolution of the people of Panama was due to a long series of wrongs inflicted upon them by the Government at Bogota, and more particularly to the rejection of the Hay-Herran treaty.

The revolution was initiated by the people of Panama and was not inspired by the United States.

It was the duty of the President to adopt such measures as he deemed necessary to preserve the freedom of transit across the Isthmus and to protect the lives and property of American citizens, and of citizens of other countries upon the line of transit.

The independence of Panama was accomplished by the people of the Isthmus.

There was no vessel or armed force of the United States at the city of Panama, and only one vessel, the *Nashville*, third rate, at Colon; only 42 marines were landed at Colon. They were landed to protect the lives of American citizens who were in serious and imminent peril and were returned to the ship after accomplishing their purpose.

The President recognized the fact that Panama had secured her independence three days after the revolution.

In recognizing the independence of the new Republic the President acted solely within his constitutional rights. The duty of recognition rested upon him, and having exercised it his act became binding upon the United States.

The independence of the Republic of Panama was recognized by France and many other powers soon after recognition by the United States.

Within eight days after the recognition of the new Republic she signed a treaty with the United States, through her accredited minister to Washington, granting to the United States the requisite concessions for an isthmian canal.

When the Republic of Panama concluded the treaty with the United States, she was in the exercise of sovereign power. She was discharging fully her domestic and international functions and had full capacity to enter into a valid convention with the United States.

Under the treaty of 1846, the United States obtained rights and incurred obligations in Panama. She obtained the right of free transit across the Isthmus and the right to preserve the freedom of such transit. She also guaranteed in consideration of this right and other privileges the sovereignty of the government in Panama. By the transfer of sovereignty upon the Isthmus to the Republic of Panama, the obligation to guarantee her sovereignty against foreign aggression rests upon the United States.

If the new treaty with the Republic of Panama is ratified by the Senate, the United States will obtain adequate concessions, rights, and privileges for the construction and perpetual maintenance of an isthmian canal.

Mr. President I have endeavored to consider only the more salient features of the Panama question, and those which appear to me to be controlling. Much more might be said, but there would appear to be little profit in unduly prolonging the discussion. In one form or another the isthmian canal question has been under consideration for several centuries. The time for decisive action has come. We have but to call the roll of the Senate upon the treaty with Panama, and we will instantly set in motion the machinery which will soon accomplish the great desire.

Others have said that this is an American question, and so it is. It transcends the narrow bounds of party. It is as wide as the ample limits of the Republic.

Who doubts in the present condition of affairs that the Panama Canal will be built? It will have back of it the best pledge any vast undertaking can have, for it will have the assurance of the United States. What we say for and against it will swiftly fade away and be gone forever, but the canal—the rich fruit of four centuries of hope and human effort, the colossal tribute of our people to the commerce of the world—will stand. Yes, we can well believe that it will survive the pyramids.

"GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAVE RECOGNIZED THE INDEPENDENCE OF PANAMA."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. ALBERT J. HOPKINS of Illinois, in daily
Congressional Record, February 8, 1904.*

If the President had violated any principle of international law in recognizing the Republic of Panama, those who would have been first heard to complain would have been our commercial and industrial rivals, the nations who are competitors with us for trade in the Orient. Have any of the great commercial nations of the world filed any protest against the early action taken by the United States in the recognition of this new Republic? I affirm, Mr. President, not one. On the contrary, I hold in my hand, and will insert in my remarks, a list of the governments which have recognized the Republic of Panama, and the dates of such recognition.

List of governments which have recognized the independence of Panama—the dates of recognition.

United States	November 13, 1903
France	November 16, 1903
China	November 26, 1903
Austria-Hungary	November 27, 1903
Germany	November 30, 1903
Denmark	December 3, 1903
Russia	December 6, 1903
Sweden and Norway	December 7, 1903
Belgium	December 9, 1903
Nicaragua	December 15, 1903
Peru	December 19, 1903
Cuba	December 23, 1903
Great Britain	December 24, 1903
Italy	December 24, 1903
Japan	December 28, 1903
Costa Rica	December 28, 1903
Switzerland	December 28, 1903
Guatemala	January 14, 1904
Netherlands	January 19, 1904

*I find that within less than sixty-five days from the date of the declaration of independence on the part of the Republic of Panama twenty governments have recognized the independence of this little Republic. This list of countries, Mr. President, which have followed so quickly the example of the United States is the best refutation which it is possible to make of those charges made on this floor by Senators who are opposed to the ratification of the treaty between the two Republics, the United States and Panama, that the President has violated international law by the alleged precipitate manner in which he has recognized the Republic of Panama. * * **

During the progress of the debate on this question a number of Senators animadverted with a good deal of severity on the conduct of the President in having the Nashville at Colon and other war vessels and marines at Panama and Colon for the protection of American interests and to maintain a free route across the Isthmus. They have insinuated rather than made the direct charge that our Government, through the President and his Cabinet officers, connived at the uprising in Panama and are responsible for the breaking away of that province from the Colombian Government. I have said, Mr. President, they have made no direct charge to this effect. No self-respecting Senator could well do that in view of the statement made by the President on that point, which I desire to again call to the attention of the Senate. In his message sent to the Senate January 4, in speaking upon this identical point, he said:

I hesitate to refer to the injurious insinuations which have been made of complicity by this Government in the revolutionary movement in Panama. They are as destitute of foundation as they are of propriety. The only excuse for my mentioning them is the fear lest unthinking persons might mistake for acquiescence the silence of mere self-respect. I think proper to say, therefore, that no one connected with this Government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama, and that save from the reports of our military and naval officers, given above, no one connected with this Government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs.

Our honored Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, in his response to General Reyes on January 5 was equally as emphatic. He said:

Equally so is the insinuation that any action of this Government prior to the revolution in Panama was the result of complicity with the plans of the revolutionists. The Government sees fit to make these denials, and makes them finally.

I, for one, Mr. President, am willing that that issue, if issue it has to be, be made here and before the people of this country. Whatever may be charged against our President, it never can be successfully intimated that he is not a thoroughly honest and truthful man. Nor can it be charged that he has not the courage of his convictions. Had our Government in any manner connived with the revolutionists to create a rebellion in Panama and cause the separation of that province from Colombia, President Roosevelt is the man who has the courage to state that and justify his acts before his countrymen.

"A CANAL ACROSS THE ISTHMUS."—"THE DREAM OF THE AGES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. SHELBY M. CULLOM of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, April 27, 1904.

PANAMA CANAL.

The diplomatic complications which had for years stood in the way of an interoceanic canal connecting the two great oceans have been finally disposed of during the last two Republican Administrations, and the practical work of constructing the canal is about to commence under the Administration of President Roosevelt.

A canal across the Isthmus connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean, in the interest of the commerce of the world, has been the dream of the ages. For almost three-quarters of a century an interoceanic canal has been a policy of every party and almost of every Administration.

In 1850 the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was entered into between the United States and Great Britain. That treaty contemplated that the canal should be constructed by private capital under the joint protectorate of the two governments; its effect was to prevent the United States itself from constructing the canal and having exclusive jurisdiction over it. A few years after the conclusion of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty it was found that that treaty stood almost as an effectual barrier against the construction of any canal across the Isthmus, and hence it was that almost every Administration, both Republican and Democratic, sought, but in vain, to secure its peaceful abrogation.

It remained for the McKinley-Roosevelt Administrations, through the diplomacy of Secretary Hay, to successfully negotiate the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain, by which the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was finally superseded and the United States given authority to build a canal and assume the responsibility of safeguarding and regulating its neutral use by all the nations of the world on terms of equality.

The way was thus opened for the negotiation of a treaty with one of the two Governments which had sovereignty over the two available canal routes, Colombia or Nicaragua. Congress expressed its preference for the Panama route. A treaty with Colombia was ratified, and rejected by Colombia. The State of Panama seceded and regained her independence, and is now a complete and independent Republic. A new treaty was negotiated with Panama, much superior to the one which Colombia had rejected, which gives to the United States every concession which we desire or could ask for the construction of a canal. The property of the Panama Canal Company has been purchased. That purchase has been finally consummated, the necessary money appropriated, a commission for the actual construction of the canal appointed, and is now in Panama making the preliminary investigation.

Unless something unforeseen occurs, within a few years the canal will be constructed and in operation.

Mr. President, the discussion in this Senate of the Colombian treaty and afterwards of the Panama treaty, together with all the facts in relation to the Panama revolution, its success and recognition by our Government, are so recent and fresh in our minds that I shall not discuss it further than to say that the President in dealing with Colombia has pursued an honest, straightforward, and open course, as he does in all things.

This is only another illustration of the success of the Roosevelt Administration in bringing to a triumphant termination a question which other Presidents had failed to settle.

Thus under the short three years of President Roosevelt's Administration more progress has been made toward the construction of an interoceanic canal than in three-quarters of a century of our previous history.

"SPECIAL FACTS JUSTIFY OUR CONDUCT IN DEALING WITH BOTH COLOMBIA AND PANAMA."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. ALEXANDER S. CLAY of Georgia, in daily Congressional Record, February 9, 1904.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I shall not contend that, under the general rules of international law regulating the conduct of nations in dealing with each other, we can justify our treatment of Colombia. There are, however, special facts and circumstances connected with this transaction that will take it out of the general rules of international law, and to some extent justify our conduct in dealing with both Colombia and Panama. This case must be tried by every fact and circumstance connected with it. I propose to consider this controversy from three different standpoints.

First, our treaty rights with Colombia; second, Colombia's conduct in rejecting the Hay-Herran treaty; third, the importance, not only to our commerce, but to the commerce of the world, necessarily involved in the construction of an isthmian canal. These propositions I will consider in their order, and each proposition will demonstrate to thoughtful men that our Government was not bound by the general rules of international law in recognizing the independence of Panama. In 1846 our Government entered into a solemn treaty with New Granada; Colombia succeeded to the New Granadian Government, and that treaty sets forth fully the duties and obligations we owed to Colombia, as well as the duties and obligations Colombia undertook to discharge to us. * * Colombia guaranteed to the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama, upon any modes of communication that may now exist or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States, and for the transportation of any article of produce, manufactures, or merchandise of lawful commerce belonging to the citizens of the United States. * * *

Colombia also guaranteed in this treaty that the transit across the Isthmus leading from Panama to Colon should always be kept open; that at no time should the passage leading from one ocean to the other be stopped by war or any other means. * *

In return for the benefits which we were to receive by virtue of this treaty, our Government guaranteed positively and efficaciously to Colombia the perfect neutrality of the entire Isthmus * * the United States guaranteed the rights of sovereignty and property which Colombia has and possesses over said territory.

What does the treaty mean? How is it to be construed? What is a reasonable construction? Colombia entered into a solemn obligation to keep the transit free and unobstructed. Nothing would excuse Colombia from violating this feature of the treaty. *If she failed to do so, clearly we would have the right to go there and force Colombia to perform her part of this contract.*

Now, inasmuch as Colombia obligated herself by a solemn treaty, can she in any way obstruct, hinder, embarrass, or delay the passage across the Isthmus? To state the case more plainly: If Panama seceded and resolved to separate from the mother country, and organized an independent government, and Colombia resolved at the same time to subdue the revolution and to force Panama to return to the Colombian Government and submit to its sovereignty, what would this mean? Colombia would at once enter into war with Panama, Panama would resist, and then the Isthmus would become the theatre of war.

If such civil war interfered with travel and commerce across the Isthmus, under our treaty, in my judgment, we would have the undoubted right to say to Colombia: You dedicated this Isthmus to peace, you are under a solemn promise to keep open and free to transit the route across the Isthmus leading from ocean to ocean, and you shall not violate that solemn treaty. *It was clearly contemplated by the terms of the treaty that passage across the Isthmus should not be obstructed by any means whatever.*

It was intended, so long as this treaty lasted, that this transit should always be free and open, and that no war, either foreign or domestic, should ever at any time interfere with such transit. We would have no right, however, to interfere with the internal quarrels existing between Colombia and Panama, unless such quarrels were likely to interfere with travel and commerce from ocean to ocean across the Isthmus.

*If we sent our war ships there simply to keep the transit open and protect the lives and property of American citizens in the event of a revolution, then we did not violate the treaty of 1846. * * **

I am unwilling to say that the President in his message has not told us the truth so far as the Executive branch of the Government is concerned. He may be impulsive, but I do not believe that he is dishonest. I do not believe the American people have ever elevated a dishonest man to the high office he now occupies. To make such a charge would reflect on the intelligence, the wisdom, and honesty of the American people. *I vote for the treaty because on this issue I find in favor of the integrity of my own country and in favor of the honesty of an American President. It will be a sad day for this Republic if any man is ever elevated to the high office of President who is dishonest.*

"WHEN COLOMBIA LOST THE SOVEREIGNTY SHE LOST THE OWNERSHIP."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOHN C. SPOONER of Wisconsin, in daily
Congressional Record, February 26, 1904.

INTERNATIONAL LAW JUSTIFIED THE PRESIDENT IN ENTERING INTO RELATIONS WITH THE RE- PUBLIC OF PANAMA NOVEMBER 6.

The President's action in recognizing on the 6th of November the independence of the Republic of Panama by entering into relations with it was not only within his power, but was strictly in accordance with the settled principles of international law upon the subject. On that date there no longer remained—and none can challenge this statement—a vestige of Colombian authority or power on the Isthmus of Panama. The Colombian troops which had been sent there had sailed away. The governing power of the Isthmus was a provisional committee, which had created a temporary government under the name of the Republic of Panama. It was a republic which, it is true, had no constitution. It had no laws of its own enactment, except so far as the governing body, supported by the people, changed existing laws. It was supported by the people. It enforced law. It protected life and property.

It had definite boundaries. It ruled within the ancient limits of the former State of Panama, with none within its boundary to dispute its authority. It had a supreme court. Its municipalities were in operation. It had an army. It had nearly as much of a navy as Colombia had. It had the *Patilla*, one of the strongest of the naval ships of Colombia. It had a flag, and on that date it was the only power on the Isthmus to which the United States or its citizens or any other government could look for protection, or with which it could deal. It was the sole sovereignty there, and its sovereignty was complete and undisputed.

*Mr. President, I emphatically assert that when the President found that Government established, with no struggle for its conquest in progress or threatened, exercising sovereignty and jurisdiction throughout the Isthmus, enforcing law, protecting property—independent in fact—it was his right and his duty to recognize it promptly, and the facts do not warrant any man in this country in impeaching either his wisdom or honesty of purpose in so doing. * * **

THE EFFECT OF RECOGNITION AND INDEPENDENCE.

The moment the Republic of Panama became independent, that moment, from the international standpoint, it was as completely free from Colombia as if from the beginning of time the Republic of Panama had existed as an independent nation. Colombia became absolutely a foreign State to the Republic of Panama. Its people are no longer under the Colombian constitution, and what legal result follows from that? The Senator from Alabama argues, and upon my life I can not comprehend such a contention, that Colombia still owns the canal concession and the railway concession, and that neither can be transferred to the Government of the United States without her consent. That is an impossibility, Mr. President, in law.

The moment the Republic of Panama became sovereign and independent it became the successor in sovereignty and proprietorship to Colombia of the railway concession and the canal concession as fully as if she had originally granted them. They are all on territory now a part of her domain. Being independent, Colombia has no more sovereignty over her territory or ownership within her boundaries than I have over the home of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. ALGER] in Detroit. It must be admitted, of course, that so long as Colombia maintained her sovereignty over the Isthmus she retained her rights of property; no longer. All money she received by way of rentals from the railroad concession and for extensions of time to the canal company before Panama became independent are hers. They were rentals and money received by the proprietor during the proprietorship. The ownership by operation of law has changed. It inheres in the sovereignty, and when Colombia lost the sovereignty she lost the ownership, and the nation which acquired the sovereignty acquired the ownership. * * *

It is not to be expected that the harsh voice of criticism will be hushed until next November. That need not and will not disturb the President.

He may take to himself with exultant pride the safe assurance that this triumph in Executive achievement which he has wrought for his country, for the South American republics, and for the world will be the chief glory of his Administration and the enduring foundation of his fame; and it will not be forgotten by history in praise of him that out of his prompt and wise action there has also come, without breach of national tradition, violation of national or international law, a new republic, affording to a long-suffering people on the Isthmus opportunity of life, liberty, and prosperity. For it all he deserves and will receive not only the plaudits of thoughtful men of our own day, but the grateful remembrance of posterity.

"PANAMA." — "ANOTHER GLORIOUS CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR of Massachusetts, in daily Congressional Record, February 22, 1904.

I introduced a resolution on the 9th of December calling upon the President to give such information as he might deem not inconsistent with the public interest as to what had been done in dealing with Colombia and the new Republic of Panama so far as it affected the canal treaty.

Mr. President, there was a very peculiar condition of things at the time. A large portion of the press of the country, Democratic and what is called "independent," were making very bitter charges against the President. The echoes of those charges were beginning to reach us from foreign countries. They charged the President with instigating the revolution in Panama. * * These charges were, in my judgment, foul and infamous. * * Now, I pointed out in what I said, affirming with all my might, that I did not believe a word of them myself; that if they were to be contradicted by a history of the transactions we ought to have the whole of it.

Mr. President, whether I was right or wrong, the President and the Secretary of State seem to have agreed with me. They sent in the first a few days after I spoke, and again still later, two messages giving all the history of the transaction and of our relations with Colombia and New Granada, arguing all these questions very powerfully, so far as they are matters of argument, and accompanied by emphatic and indignant denials of all the imputations to which I referred, expressing at the time my own belief that they were false. * * *

By the language of the treaty of 1846 the United States guaranteed "positively" and "efficaciously" to New Granada— as special compensation for the right of way and the advantage and favor of the treaty, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the transit from one sea to the other may not be interrupted or embarrassed at any future time. * * *

But, Mr. President, this obligation is, in my judgment, limited by all reason and in all justice by the absolute necessity of the case to the protection and guaranty of that sovereignty only when it is so exerted that it gives no occasion or justification for a lawful resistance by the people over which it is exercised. We did not mean to bind ourselves in violation not only of our own Declaration of Independence but of the doctrine we had been preaching from the beginning to all South American republics that an oppressed people had no right to overthrow a tyrannical government, and that if they undertook to do it our power was to be pledged to their subjugation. * * *

I hold, therefore, Mr. President, that although, in my opinion, the treaty of 1846, as expounded again and again since, required us to protect the sovereignty of Colombia against all assailants, either foreign or domestic, and of course bound us to respect it ourselves, yet that the only bound us to guarantee and protect it in its lawful exercise. When it became intolerable, so that its subjects had a fair right of revolution on principles which we ourselves have declared are the fundamental and natural rights of every people, we were no longer bound by the obligation. And the question whether that condition of things had arisen was necessarily and solely for the Executive.

Now, Mr. President, if this doctrine be sound, and I do not think it likely to be questioned, what follows? The moment Panama declared her independence and had established it, of which the President is the sole judge, our obligation to defend the sovereignty over that Isthmus which had come down from New Granada to Colombia, came down from Colombia to Panama. She had the right to claim the advantage as she had succeeded to the obligation of the treaty of 1846, just as she would have the right to claim the right and succeed to the obligation of the treaty of this year if the Hay-Herran treaty with Colombia had been ratified on both sides and she had accomplished her revolution afterwards. * * *

All the facts, all the history affecting that transaction were well known to the President when he acted. There were reasons for prompt haste growing out of our relations with that Isthmus and by reason of the necessity of having some power with whom we could deal in the pending negotiations relating to the Isthmian canal.

The President has declared, as I did, that having once treated it as worthy of attention it is better to make his denial complete and absolute as he has done, and enable the American people and foreign critics and the men who are to write history to judge of the transaction by the whole story and not by a hasty narrative which begins on the 2d of November.

I shall, Mr. President, cordially and gladly support this treaty, as I said, when I spoke the other day, it was my hope and expectation to do. I shall share the exultation of the whole people when in the near future, the construction of the canal shall be begun by the only power on earth competent to complete it, and another glorious chapter in the history of the world will be also another glorious chapter in the history of the Republic.

"THE SOLEMN CONTRACT TO SAFEGUARD FOR THE ISTHMUS."

Extract from message of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, published in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 7, 1903.

When the Congress directed that we should take the Panama route under treaty with Colombia, the essence of the condition, of course, referred not to the Government which controlled that route, but to the route itself; to the territory across which the route lay, not to the name which for the moment the territory bore on the map. *The purpose of the law was to authorize the President to make a treaty with the power in actual control of the Isthmus of Panama. This purpose has been fulfilled.*

In the year 1816 this Government entered into a treaty with New Granada, the predecessor upon the Isthmus of the Republic of Colombia and of the present Republic of Panama, by which treaty it was provided that the Government and citizens of the United States should always have free and open right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama by any modes of communication that might be constructed, while in turn our Government guaranteed the perfect neutrality of the above-mentioned Isthmus with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea might not be interrupted or embarrassed. The treaty vested in the United States a substantial property right carved out of the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada then had and possessed over the said territory. The name of New Granada has passed away and its territory has been divided. Its successor, the Government of Colombia, has ceased to own any property in the Isthmus. A new Republic, that of Panama, which was at one time a sovereign state, and at another time a mere department of the successive confederations known as New Granada and Colombia, has now succeeded to the rights which first one and then the other formerly exercised over the Isthmus. *But as long as the Isthmus endures, the mere geographical fact of its existence, and the peculiar interest therein which is required by our position, perpetuate the solemn contract which binds the holders of the territory to respect our right to freedom of transit across it, and binds us in return to safeguard for the Isthmus and the world the exercise of that inestimable privilege.* * * *

Last spring, under the act above referred to, a treaty concluded between the representatives of the Republic of Colombia and of our Government was ratified by the Senate. This treaty was entered into at the urgent solicitation of the people of Colombia and after a body of experts appointed by our Government especially to go into the matter of the routes across the Isthmus had pronounced unanimously in favor of the Panama route. In drawing up this treaty every concession was made to the people and to the Government of Colombia. * * * Nevertheless the Government of Colombia not merely repudiated the treaty, but repudiated it in such a manner as to make it evident by the time the Colombian Congress adjourned that not the scantiest hope remained of ever getting a satisfactory treaty from them. * * *

Immediately after the adjournment of the Congress a revolution broke out in Panama. The people of Panama had long been discontented with the Republic of Colombia, and they had been kept quiet only by the prospect of the conclusion of the treaty, which was to them a matter of vital concern. When it became evident that the treaty was hopelessly lost, the people of Panama rose literally as one man. Not a shot was fired by a single man on the Isthmus in the interest of the Colombian Government. Not a life was lost in the accomplishment of the revolution. The Colombian troops stationed on the Isthmus, who had long been unpaid, made common cause with the people of Panama, and with astonishing unanimity the new Republic was started. *The duty of the United States in the premises was clear. In strict accordance with the principles laid down by Secretaries Cass and Seward in the official documents above quoted, the United States gave notice that it would permit the landing of no expeditionary force, the arrival of which would mean chaos and destruction along the line of the railroad and of the proposed canal, and an interruption of transit as an inevitable consequence.*

"THIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT UNDERTAKE TO SET ON FOOT THE REVOLUTION."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. W. FAIRBANKS of Indiana, in daily
Congressional Record, February 2, 1904.*

For centuries attention has been directed to securing a waterway across the Isthmus of Panama.

In all the centuries the most significant and decisive step was taken by the Congress of the United States less than two years ago when it enacted into law the bill presented by the very able and distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin. * * *

The act authorized the President to secure the property of the New Panama Canal Company and to obtain the requisite concessions from Colombia for a canal across the Isthmus. Being thus clothed with the authority of law, the President proceeded with the utmost dispatch to negotiate a treaty with Colombia for the necessary property rights and franchises for the construction and maintenance of the Panama Canal. He also agreed with the New Panama Canal Company upon terms for the purchase of its property which were to be effective when the requisite concessions were obtained from Colombia.

The treaty with Colombia in due time was ratified and transmitted to the Colombian Government for its approval. * * * As early as May 4, 1903, our minister informed the Secretary of State that—

"Private discussion, which perhaps more clearly reflects the real situation, is to the effect that the price is inadequate; that a much greater sum of money can be obtained, and that the United States can be obligated to guarantee the sovereignty of Colombia ports outside the Department of Panama against the invasion or seizure by foreign enemies. The one great determining point, however, is the belief that the price can be greatly augmented."

On October 31 following he was obliged to report:

"Congress adjourned to-day. No action has been taken upon the last report concerning the canal. Therefore, nothing more than the vote of August 12 rejecting treaty done. * * *"

Panama saw in the machinations at Bogota the possible ruin of her long-deferred hope. * * * They took counsel of their own future welfare; they laid carefully their plans; there was no division of sentiment among them, and on the 3d of November, 1903, they moved as by a common impulse. They took possession of their own country, and set up their own independence. They were guilty of no barbarities; they avoided bloodshed, and treated their oppressors with rare forbearance and kindly consideration.

For nearly sixty years the United States has had very important rights across the Isthmus which were derived from the treaty of 1846. By article 35 of the convention New Granada (Colombia) stipulated—

"The Government of New Granada guarantees to the Government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any modes of communication that now exist, or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States; and for the transportation of any articles of produce, manufactures, or merchandise, of lawful commerce, belonging to the citizens of the United States."

It further provided that—

"In order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and as an especial compensation for the said advantages and for the favors they have acquired by the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles of this treaty, the United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists; and in consequence, the United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory. * * *"

Accepted interpretation of the meaning and effect of this guaranty is that the United States did not undertake to maintain such sovereignty except against foreign powers; that she did not engage to protect her against overthrow by domestic convulsion. * * *

The President was in the very nature of the situation clothed with large discretionary power, and it seems to me, in view of all that occurred, and in the light of all that has followed, no one can say that he did not act well within the limits of sound executive discretion.

He informed Congress in his last annual message that his instructions were in accordance with our rights as interpreted by former Administrations. "The duty of the United States in the premises," he says, "was clear. In strict accordance with the principles laid down by Secretaries Cass and Seward * * * the United States gave notice that it would permit the landing of no expeditionary force, the arrival of which would mean chaos and destruction along the line of the railroad and of the proposed canal, and an interruption of transit as an inevitable consequence."

We have the positive assurance of the President of the United States that this Government did not undertake to set on foot the revolution. There was nothing occult, or "sinister," to employ the language of the opposition, in the course of the Government. It had no advices with respect to the contemplated uprising which were not possessed by every observer of passing events. In his message of the 4th of last month the President says:

"I think proper to say, therefore, that no one connected with this Government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama, and that save from the reports of our military and naval officers, given above, no one connected with this Government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs."

"PANAMA."

"THE INSINUATIONS OF COMPLICITY ARE DESTITUTE OF FOUNDATION."

Extract from message of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 4, 1904.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I lay before the Congress for its information a statement of my action up to this time in executing the act entitled "An act to provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans," approved June 28, 1902.

By the said act the President was authorized to secure for the United States the property of the Panama Canal Company and the perpetual control of a strip 6 miles wide across the Isthmus of Panama. It was further provided that "should the President be unable to obtain for the United States a satisfactory title to the property of the New Panama Canal Company and the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia * * * within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms, then the President" should endeavor to provide for a canal by the Nicaragua route. * *

When this Government submitted to Colombia the Hay-Herran treaty three things were, therefore, already settled. One was that the canal should be built. * * Second. While it was settled that the canal should be built without unnecessary or improper delay, it was no less clearly shown to be our purpose to deal not merely in a spirit of justice but in a spirit of generosity with the people through whose land we might build it. * * * Third. Finally the Congress definitely settled where the canal was to be built. It was provided that a treaty should be made for building the canal across the Isthmus of Panama; and if, after reasonable time, it proved impossible to secure such treaty, that then we should go to Nicaragua. * * *

When in August it began to appear probable that the Colombian Legislature would not ratify the treaty, it became incumbent upon me to consider well what the situation was and to be ready to advise the Congress as to what were the various alternatives of action open to us. There were several possibilities. One was that Colombia would at the last moment see the unwisdom of her position. * * A second alternative was that by the close of the session on the last day of October, without the ratification of the treaty by Colombia and without any steps taken by Panama, the American Congress on assembling early in November would be confronted with a situation in which there had been a failure to come to terms as to building the canal along the Panama route, and yet there had not been a lapse of a reasonable time—using the word reasonable in any proper sense—such as would justify the Administration going to the Nicaragua route. * * A third possibility was that the people of the Isthmus, who had formerly constituted an independent state, and who until recently were united to Colombia only by a loose tie of federal relationship, might take the protection of their own vital interests into their own hands, reassert their former rights, declare their independence upon just grounds, and establish a government competent and willing to do its share in this great work for civilization. This third possibility is what actually occurred. Everyone knew that it was a possibility, but it was not until towards the end of October that it appeared to be an imminent probability. Although the Administration, of course, had special means of knowledge, no such means were necessary in order to appreciate the possibility, and toward the end of the likelihood, of such a revolutionary outbreak and of its success. It was a matter of common notoriety. Quotations from the daily papers could be indefinitely multiplied to show this state of affairs. * * *

In view of all these facts I directed the Navy Department to issue instructions such as would insure our having ships within easy reach of the Isthmus in the event of need arising. * * * On November 2 when, the Colombian Congress having adjourned, it was evident that the outbreak was imminent, and when it was announced that both sides were making ready forces whose meeting would mean bloodshed and disorder, the Colombian troops having been embarked on vessels, the following instructions were sent to the commanders of the *Boston*, *Nashville*, and *Dixie*:

"Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. If interruption is threatened by armed force, occupy the line of railroad. Prevent landing of any armed force with hostile intent, either Government or insurgent, at any point within 50 miles of Panama. Government force reported approaching the Isthmus in vessels. Prevent their landing if, in your judgment, the landing would precipitate a conflict."

These orders were delivered in pursuance of the policy on which our Government had repeatedly acted. * * *

On November 3 Commander Hubbard responded to the above-quoted telegram of November 2, 1903, saying that before the telegram had been received 400 Colombian troops from Cartagena had landed at Colon; that there had been no revolution on the Isthmus, but that the situation was most critical if the revolutionary leaders should act. On this same date the Associated Press in Washington received a bulletin stating that a revolutionary outbreak had occurred. When this was brought to the attention of the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Loomis, he prepared the following cablegram to the consul-general at Panama and the consul at Colon:

"Uprising on Isthmus reported. Keep Department promptly and fully informed."

Before this telegram was sent, however, one was received from Consul Malmros at Colon, running as follows:

"Revolution imminent. Government force on the Isthmus about 500 men. Their official promised to support revolution. Fire department, Panama, 441, are well organized and favor revolution. Government vessel *Cartagena*, with about 400 men, arrived early to-day with new commander-in-chief, Tobar. Was not expected until November 10. Tobar's arrival is not probable to stop revolution."

This cablegram was received at 2.35 p. m., and at 3.40 p. m. Mr. Loomis sent the telegram which he had already prepared to both Panama and Colon. Apparently, however, the consul-general at Panama had not received the information embodied in the Associated Press bulletin, upon which the Assistant Secretary of State based his dispatch; for his answer was that there was no uprising, although the situation was critical, this answer being received at 8.15 p. m. Immediately afterwards he sent another dispatch, which was received at 9.50 p. m., saying that the uprising had occurred, and had been successful, with no bloodshed. The Colombian gunboat *Bogota* next day began to shell the city of Panama, with the result of killing one Chinaman. The consul-general was directed to notify her to stop firing. Meanwhile, on November 4, Commander Hubbard notified the Department that he had landed a force to protect the lives and property of American citizens against the threats of the Colombian soldiery.

Before any step whatever had been taken by the United States troops to restore order, the commander of the newly landed Colombian troops had indulged in wanton and violent threats against American citizens, which created serious apprehension. As Commander Hubbard reported in his letter of November 5, this officer and his troops practically began war against the United States, and only the forbearance and coolness of our officers and men prevented bloodshed. * * *

This plain official account of the occurrences of November 4, shows that, instead of there having been too much prevision by the American Government for the maintenance of order and the protection of life and property on the Isthmus, the orders for the movement of the American war ships had been too long delayed; so long, in fact, that there were but forty-two marines and sailors available to land and protect the lives of American men and women. *It was only the coolness and gallantry with which this little band of men wearing the American uniform faced ten times their number of armed foes, bent on carrying out the atrocious threat of the Colombian commander, that prevented a murderous catastrophe.* At Panama, when the revolution broke out, there was no American man-of-war and no American troops or sailors. At Colon, Commander Hubbard acted with entire impartiality towards both sides, preventing any movement, whether by the Colombians or the Panamanians, which would tend to produce bloodshed. On November 9 he prevented a body of the revolutionists from landing at Colon. Throughout he behaved in the most creditable manner. * * *

I hesitate to refer to the injurious insinuations which have been made of complicity by this Government in the revolutionary movement in Panama. They are as destitute of foundation as of propriety. The only excuse for my mentioning them is the fear lest unthinking persons might mistake for acquiescence the silence of mere self-respect. I think proper to say, therefore, that no one connected with this Government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama, and that save from the reports of our military and naval officers given above, no one connected with this Government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs.

By the unanimous action of its people, without the firing of a shot—with a unanimity hardly before recorded in any similar case—the people of Panama declared themselves an independent Republic. Their recognition by this Government was based upon a state of facts in no way dependent for its justification upon our action in ordinary cases. I have not denied, nor do I wish to deny, either the validity or the propriety of the general rule that a new state should not be recognized as independent till it has shown its ability to maintain its independence. This rule is derived from the principle of non-intervention, and as a corollary of that principle has generally been observed by the United States. But, like the principle from which it is deduced, the rule is subject to exceptions; and there are in my opinion clear and imperative reasons why a departure from it was justified and even required in the present instance. These reasons embrace, first, our treaty rights; second, our national interests and safety; and, third, the interests of collective civilization. * * *

That our position as the mandatary of civilization has been by no means misconceived is shown by the promptitude with which the powers have, one after another, followed our lead in recognizing Panama as an independent State. Our action in recognizing the new Republic has been followed by like recognition on the part of France, Germany, Denmark, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Nicaragua, Peru, China, Cuba, Great Britain, Italy, Costa Rica, Japan, and Austria-Hungary.

"THE PANAMA CANAL."

Extracts from an address by Hon. Elihu Root, at Chicago, February 22, 1904, printed in Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Reluctantly, and with a sense that it was unjust exaction, the United States agreed to pay \$10,000,000 down, and \$250,000 per annum in perpetuity—substantially the entire amount exacted by Colombia. We were not going into the enterprise to make money, but for the common good. We did not expect the revenues of the canal to repay its cost, or to receive any benefit from it, except that which Colombia would share to a higher degree than ourselves. * * *

The concessions made in the treaty to the Government of Colombia, however, seemed merely to inspire in that Government a belief that there was no limit to the exactions which they could successfully impose. They demanded a further \$10,000,000 from the Panama Canal Company, and upon its refusal they rejected the treaty.

This rejection was a substantial refusal to permit the canal to be built. It appears that the refusal contemplated not merely further exactions from us, but the spoliation of the canal company. That company's current franchise was limited by its terms to the 31st day of October, 1904. There was an extension for six years granted by the President and for which the company had paid 5,000,000 francs. These patriots proposed to declare the extension void and the franchise ended and to confiscate the \$40,000,000 worth of property of the company and take from the United States for themselves, in payment for it, the \$40,000,000 we had agreed to pay the company. * * *

By becoming a party to this scheme we might indeed have looked forward to the time when, the appetite of Colombia being satisfied at the expense of the unfortunate stockholders of the French company, we could proceed with the work, but such a course was too repugnant to the sense of justice that obtains in every civilized community to be for a moment contemplated. We had yielded to the last point beyond reason and justice in agreeing to pay for a privilege to which we were already entitled, and we could not with self-respect submit to be mulcted further. We could negotiate no further. Rejection of the treaty was practically a veto of the canal. * * *

These were the conditions existing when the revolution of November 3 happened. To an understanding of that revolution a knowledge of the character and history of Panama is essential. Some uninformed persons have assumed that it was merely a number of individual citizens of Colombia living in the neighborhood of the proposed canal who combined to take possession of that part of Colombian territory and set up a government of their own. No conception could be more inadequate. The sovereign State of Panama was an organized civil society possessed of a territory extending over 400 miles in length, from Costa Rica on the west to the mainland of South America on the east. It had a population of over 300,000. * * *

The people of Panama were the real owners of the canal route; it was because their fathers dwelt in the land, because they won their independence from Spain, because they organized a civil society there, that it was not to be treated as one of the waste places of the earth. They owned that part of the earth's surface just as much as the State of New York owns the Erie Canal. When the sovereign State of Panama confederated itself with the other States of Colombia under the constitution of 1863 it did not part with its title or its substantial rights, but constituted the Federal Government its trustee for the representation of its rights in all foreign relations and imposed upon that Government the duty of protecting them. The trustee was faithless to its trust; it repudiated its obligations without the consent of the true owner; it seized by the strong hand of military power the rights which it was bound to protect; Colombia itself broke the bonds of union and destroyed the compact upon which alone depended its right to represent the owner of the soil.

The question for the United States was, Shall we take this treaty from the true owner or shall we take it from the faithless trustee, and for that purpose a third time put back the yoke of foreign domination upon the neck of Panama, by the request of that Government which has tried to play toward us the part of the highwayman? There was no provision of our treaty with Colombia which required us to answer to her call, for our guaranty of her sovereignty in that treaty relates solely to foreign aggression. There was no rule of international law which required us to recognize the wrongs of Panama or the justice of her cause, for international law does not concern itself with the internal affairs of state. But I put it to the conscience of the American people, who are passing judgment upon the action of their government, whether the decision of our President and Secretary of State and Senate was not a righteous decision.

By all the principles of justice among men and among nations that we have learned from our fathers, and all peoples and all governments should maintain, the revolutionists in Panama were right, the people of Panama were entitled to be free again, the Isthmus was theirs, and they were entitled to govern it; and it would have been a shameful thing for the Government of the United States to return them again to servitude.

It is hardly necessary to say now that our Government had no part in devising, fomenting, or bringing about the revolution on the Isthmus of Panama. President Roosevelt said in his message to Congress of January 4, 1904:

"I hesitate to refer to the injurious insinuations which have been made of complicity by this Government in the revolutionary movement in Panama. They are as destitute of foundation as of propriety. The only excuse for my mentioning them is the fear lest unthinking persons might mistake for acquiescence the silence of mere self-respect. I think proper to say, therefore, that no one connected with this Government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama, and that, save from the reports of our naval and military officers, given above, no one connected with this Government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs."

The people of the United States, without distinction of party, will give to that statement their unquestioning belief.

Cuba

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"RECIPROCAL COMMERCIAL CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA."

Printed in daily Congressional Record, December 14, 1903.

ARTICLE I. During the term of this convention all articles of merchandise being the product of the soil or industry of the United States which are now imported into the Republic of Cuba free of duty and all articles of merchandise being the product of the soil or industry of the Republic of Cuba which are now imported into the United States free of duty shall continue to be so admitted by the respective countries free of duty.

ARTICLE II. During the term of this convention all articles of merchandise not included in the foregoing Article I and being the product of the soil or industry of the Republic of Cuba imported into the United States shall be admitted at a reduction of 20 per cent. of the rates of duty thereon as provided by the tariff act of the United States approved July 24, 1897, or as may be provided by any tariff law of the United States subsequently enacted.

ARTICLE III. During the term of this convention all articles of merchandise not included in the foregoing Article I and not hereinafter enumerated being the product of the soil or industry of the United States imported into the Republic of Cuba shall be admitted at a reduction of 20 per cent. of the rates of duty thereon as now provided or as may hereafter be provided in the customs tariff of said Republic of Cuba.

ARTICLE IV. During the term of this convention the following articles of merchandise as enumerated and described in the existing customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba being the product of the soil or industry of the United States imported into Cuba shall be admitted at the following respective reductions of the rates of duty thereon as now provided or as may hereafter be provided in the customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba:

Schedule A. To be admitted at a reduction of 25 per cent.: Machinery and apparatus of copper or its alloys or machines and apparatus in which copper or its alloys enter as the component of chief value; cast iron, wrought iron, steel, and manufactures thereof; articles of crystal and glass, except window glass; ships and water-borne vessels of all kinds, of iron or steel; whiskies and brandies; fish, salted, pickled, smoked or marinated; fish or shellfish, preserved in oil or otherwise in tins; articles of pottery or earthenware now classified under paragraphs 21 and 22 of the customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba.

Schedule B. To be admitted at a reduction of 30 per cent.: Butter; flour of wheat; corn; flour of corn or corn meal; chemical and pharmaceutical products and simple drugs; malt liquors in bottles; non-alcoholic beverages; cider; mineral waters; colors and dyes; window glass; complete or partly made up articles of hemp, flax, pita, jute, henequen, ramie, and other vegetable fibres now classified under the paragraphs of group 2 Class V, of the customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba; musical instruments; writing and printing paper, except for newspapers; cotton and manufactures thereof, except knitted goods (see Schedule C); all articles of cutlery; boots, shoes, and slippers, now classified under paragraphs 197 and 198 of the customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba; gold and silver plated ware; drawings, photographs, engravings, lithographs, chromolithographs, oleographs, etc., printed from stone, zinc, aluminium or other material, used as labels, flaps, bands, and wrappers for tobacco or other purposes, and all the other papers (except paper for cigarettes, and excepting maps and charts), pasteboard and manufactures thereof, now classified under paragraphs 157 to 164, inclusive, of the customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba; common or ordinary soaps, now classified under paragraph 105, letters A and B, of the customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba; vegetables, pickled or preserved in any manner; all wines, except those now classified under paragraph 279 (a) of the customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba.

Schedule C. To be admitted at a reduction of 40 per cent.: Manufactures of cotton, knitted, and all manufactures of cotton not included in the preceding schedules; cheese; fruits, preserved; paper pulp; perfumery and essences; articles of pottery and earthenware now classified under paragraph 20 of the customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba; porcelain; soaps, other than common, now classified under paragraph 105 of the customs tariff of the Republic of Cuba; umbrellas and parasols; dextrine and glucose; watches; wool and manufactures thereof; silk and manufactures thereof; rice; cattle.

ARTICLE XI. The present convention shall be ratified by the appropriate authorities of the respective countries, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington, D. C., United States of America, as soon as may be before the 31st day of January, 1903, and the convention shall go into effect on the tenth day after the exchange of ratifications, and shall continue in force for the term of five years from date of going into effect, and from year to year thereafter until the expiration of one year from the day when either of the contracting parties shall give notice to the other of its intention to terminate the same.

THE TREATY SECURES TO THE UNITED STATES ADVANTAGES AS GREAT AS THOSE GIVEN CUBA."

Message of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT printed in daily Congressional Record, November 10, 1903.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I have convened the Congress that it may consider the legislation necessary to put into operation the commercial treaty with Cuba, which was ratified by the Senate at its last session, and subsequently by the Cuban Government. I deem such legislation demanded not only by our interest but by our honor. We can not with propriety abandon the course upon which we have so wisely embarked. When the acceptance of the Platt amendment was required from Cuba by the action of the Congress of the United States, this Government thereby definitely committed itself to the policy of treating Cuba as occupying a unique position as regards this country. It was provided that when the island became a free and independent Republic she should stand in such close relations with us as in certain respects to come within our system of international policy; and it necessarily followed that she must also to a certain degree become included within the lines of our economic policy. Situated as Cuba is, it would not be possible for this country to permit the strategic abuse of the island by any foreign military power. It is for this reason that certain limitations have been imposed upon her financial policy, and that naval stations have been conceded by her to the United States. The negotiations as to the details of these naval stations are on the eve of completion. They are so situated as to prevent any idea that there is the intention ever to use them against Cuba, or otherwise than for the protection of Cuba from the assaults of foreign foes, and for the better safeguarding of American interests in the waters south of us.

These interests have been largely increased by the consequences of the war with Spain and will be still further increased by the building of the isthmian canal. They are both military and economic. The granting to us by Cuba of the naval stations above alluded to is of the utmost importance from a military standpoint, and is proof of the good faith with which Cuba is treating us. Cuba has made great progress since her independence was established. She has advanced steadily in every way. She already stands high among her sister republics of the New World. She is loyally observing her obligations to us; and she is entitled to like treatment by us. *The treaty submitted to you for approval secures to the United States economic advantages as great as those given to Cuba. Not an American interest is sacrificed. By the treaty a large Cuban market is secured to our producers. It is a market which lies at our doors, which is already large, which is capable of great expansion, and which is especially important to the development of our export trade. It would be indeed shortsighted for us to refuse to take advantage of such an opportunity, and to force Cuba into making arrangements with other countries to our disadvantage.*

This reciprocity treaty stands by itself. It is demanded on considerations of broad national policy as well as by our economic interest. It will do harm to no industry. It will benefit many industries. *It is in the interest of our people as a whole, both because of its importance from the broad standpoint of international policy, and because economically it intimately concerns us to develop and secure the rich Cuban market for our farmers, artisans, merchants, and manufacturers.* Finally, it is desirable as a guaranty of the good faith of our Nation towards her young sister Republic to the south, whose welfare must ever be closely bound with ours. We gave her liberty. We are knit to her by the memories of the blood and the courage of our soldiers who fought for her in war; by the memories of the wisdom and integrity of our administrators who served her in peace and who started her so well on the difficult path of self-government. We must help her onward and upward; and in helping her we shall help ourselves.

The foregoing considerations caused the negotiation of the treaty with Cuba and its ratification by the Senate. They now with equal force support the legislation by the Congress which by the terms of the treaty is necessary to render it operative. A failure to enact such legislation would come perilously near a repudiation of the pledged faith of the Nation.

I transmit herewith the treaty, as amended by the Senate and ratified by the Cuban Government.

WHITE HOUSE, November 10, 1903.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"RECIPROCITY WITH CUBA."—"IT IS A BILL TO CARRY OUT A NATIONAL PLEDGE."

Extract from debate in daily Congressional Record, November 16, 1903.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, just a single word in explanation of the rule that has been read at the Clerk's desk. If adopted, it will bring before the House for immediate consideration the bill reported by the Ways and Means Committee on Friday last, a bill to carry out the provisions of the treaty between the Republic of Cuba and the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, this is perhaps one of the most drastic rules that have ever been introduced into the House of Representatives.

Now, the minority has wanted to offer an amendment to this bill, and I want to explain the character of that amendment, so as to show how unjust this bill is.

Mr. DE ARMOND. I am glad to be able to say, I am proud to be able to proclaim, that I believe there is not a solitary vote on this side of the House that will be cast for this rule; that not a solitary gentleman upon this side of the House present and able to vote will refrain from the exercise of that high duty and that great Democratic pleasure of voting against the adoption of the rule.

Mr. DALZELL. This is a bill to carry out a convention heretofore entered into by the President and the Senate with the Republic of Cuba. It is a bill to carry out a national pledge, to stand by the national honor, and you gentlemen know that we must take that treaty as it is made or we must leave it. An amendment to this bill would necessitate a new convention between the Republic of Cuba and the United States.

I was coming to the point of showing the hypocritical attitude of the Democracy as to this measure. They claim that they are all for it, and yet insist upon an opportunity to offer an amendment which if placed upon it in the words of their own representatives, will work the defeat of the bill. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, the direct, immediate question pending here is not a question of what this House may or might do upon an independent bill involving the points that have been suggested by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND]. The question here is a question concrete in form and easily understood by every Member of the House, and about which and the results growing out of which no man here is ignorant.

The attitude of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] is this put in a simple form: Here is a matter that we are all in favor of. "We Democrats," says that gentleman, in effect, "we want to pass this bill; we are in favor of it because it has something of reciprocity in it, and furthermore, we want to pass it because it reduces the tariff, possibly, contingently upon certain products of a foreign country coming into this country. But we want to mutilate this bill so that no Republican can vote for it and maintain his position toward the protective principles of the party, and then we want to pass it afterwards."

What I am aiming at is this: The gentleman from Missouri says that he is willing to defeat this treaty. I can understand that, Mr. Speaker, perfectly well. The gentleman and his party owe nothing to the promise, and the attempt to fulfill that promise, implied, if not expressed, made by the Administration in this country. I am willing to take upon myself the burden of stating that no duty was ever more seriously incumbent upon the President of the United States than was made incumbent upon the present President of the United States by the action of his predecessor and by the concurrent history of the period in which this question grew up. The duty devolved upon him to try to carry into effect the treaty which we are to vote upon next Thursday. Bravely and truly he has discharged the great duty of his office.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Chairman, the question of reciprocity with Cuba came before the country some three years ago. It was, as is well known, in accordance with the desires and designs of the late President McKinley that relations of this kind should be entered into between the United States and the infant Republic. On the other side of the House, we were told, as we are told to-day, that they were in favor of the treaty; that, figuratively speaking, they were crying for the treaty and desired to have it passed, and still they were for this amendment, which they believed then and which they state to-day will kill the bill and kill the proposition that came before the House.

"WE OUGHT TO HAVE ALL OF CUBA'S MARKET."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York, in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 14, 1903.

Cuba imports \$60,000,000 worth of goods annually, of which we sell \$20,000,000. They are all articles we either produce or manufacture, and we have a ferry to the island as against the Atlantic Ocean to our competitors. With the concessions in our favor by this treaty we ought to have all of Cuba's market. It will grow with the population and in time will amount to \$200,000,000.

Now, as to fears of the trouble which will come to the beet-sugar interests of the country and cane-sugar interests of Hawaii and Louisiana, the testimony shows that the profits upon beet sugar at present are such that 20 per cent. can be yielded in the tariff and the beet-sugar interests still receive a very handsome profit.

The beet-sugar men testified that if uncertainty is removed and they can be secure by this legislation for five years they will feel much safer and more ready to increase their factories and areas of planting than they would if uncertainty and agitation continue. This testimony also shows that there is an increase of consumption in the United States proportionate to the increase in population, amounting in the neighborhood of 6 per cent. per year. The beet and cane sugar production so far have not grown any more rapidly, or hardly appreciably more rapidly, than the consumption of sugar in the United States.

The speech of the Senator of Louisiana developed what I suspected before, what every man who has studied this question knows—that there is to be an internal fight to the death in this country between the beet and cane interests and between the beet and beet interests in different sections. The Senator says that cane will produce one ton of sugar to the acre in Louisiana. The beets in Michigan and States which are farther north, having a more humid climate, and with less sunshine, will produce about three tons to the acre, while in the favored land of my friend from Colorado beets yield up to 10 tons per acre, and the same can be done in California.

With this difference of three times the production per acre of saccharine matter in certain sections of the country over others, when production becomes greater than the demand, then Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and California will make for Kansas, Michigan, and New York sugar producing difficult. The future will regulate itself. The fact that 3-ton-per-acre land can prosper while other territories produce 10 tons to the acre bears remarkable testimony to the profits of the business.

We are in the habit in this country of predicting trouble. It is almost a national peculiarity. We are a highly imaginative, a sensitive and apprehensive people. Two-thirds die before their time from worrying about what never happens. When Hawaii was about to be annexed, the wail which went up in both Houses of Congress, which shook the rafters of the sugar planters' houses in Louisiana, and sent terror through the beet-sugar States, is only equaled by the peril which so scares my distinguished friends now.

When Porto Rico received a reduction to 15 per cent. of the rates of the Dingley tariff we all remember that you could cut the blue in this Chamber with a knife. Even those of us who were on the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, who had examined the question and knew by the facts that these dreadful disasters could not happen, had our apprehensions aroused. Now Porto Rico's products are admitted free and the ghost has vanished.

So will it be with Cuba. To be sure there is, as stated by the Senator from Louisiana, land enough in Cuba possibly to raise all the sugar that we could consume in the United States, and maybe all the sugar enough for the world. So there is land enough in the United States to raise all the wheat, if devoted entirely to that, or all the corn, or oats, or barley. But in the science of production peoples and neighborhoods adjust themselves to conditions, and if there is more sugar land than it is profitable to cultivate, that same land will be devoted to the raising of other products which are more profitable, and for which there is a better demand.

"OUR FUTURE RELATIONS WITH CUBA."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts, in daily Congressional Record, Nov. 23, 1903.

Joint resolution (S. R. 15) inviting Cuba to become a State of the American Union.

Whereas, the Republic of Cuba is desirous of securing commercial union with the United States; and

Whereas, the best commercial union can be secured by and through political union by means of the admission of the Republic of Cuba as a sovereign State in the Union: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, etc., That the Republic of Cuba be, and is hereby, invited to become a State of the United States, upon terms of equality with all other States of the Union.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I regretted very much the introduction of this resolution, but I do not regret the discussion that has arisen this morning, for I think the resolution has made some such discussion absolutely and immediately necessary.

The question what this resolution means is to us of no consequence. The important thing is the impression that it has made or is likely to make upon the people of Cuba. Here in Congress it is well understood that to read a bill twice and refer it to a committee means very little. It often represents nothing but an individual opinion, and it very frequently does not represent even the opinion of the Senator or Representative who introduces it.

The enormous gap that exists between the introduction of a bill and its enactment into legislation is not well understood even in this country and among our own people. We know that the introduction of a resolution or a bill is not a very serious thing, and that it is very far removed from any affirmative action. But if our own people do not understand the distinction, how can we expect the people of Cuba to understand it? To them the resolution introduced by the Senator from Nevada appears a very serious matter.

I think it ought to be said that in the opinion of some of us, at least, that resolution does not in the least represent the opinion of the Government or of the people of the United States. Our relations with Cuba, as the map shows, must always be of a peculiar kind. The importance of Cuba to the United States was set forth many years ago by John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay. It has been the policy of all succeeding Administrations to watch carefully over all that concerns Cuba. We have made the world understand that our relations to that island must always be different from our relations to any other territory lying outside of our boundaries.

Mr. President, when in the fullness of time it became necessary to cut the knot of the difficulties that had there arisen, when the flag of Spain went back across the Atlantic, whither, I hope, in the process of the years all European flags will return, the determination of our future relations with Cuba, at last free and independent, became a very immediate and important subject of the policy of the United States. We determined those relations by what is known as the Platt amendment, in my judgment one of the most statesmanlike and far-seeing pieces of legislation ever placed by Congress upon the statute book.

My own desire, and I believe it is the desire shared by the great mass of the American people, was that under these relations the Island of Cuba should have a prosperous, successful, and independent Government.

I think, Mr. President, it is our duty to offer to the Cubans every encouragement. They have done well. We want them to continue to prosper and be successful. It seems to me that every reflecting man must hope that the conditions will never arise under which we should be obliged to extend our control of Cuba any further. We are glad to be her protector against the other nations of the world, but we prefer that she should be an independent State, with her own Government carried on by her own people.

"RECIPROCAL TRADE ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA PROPER AND RIGHT."

Extracts from the remarks of Hon. JAMES B. McCREARY, of Kentucky, in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 11, 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT: The relations of Cuba to the United States are unusual and unprecedented. No nation in the world occupies such relations to the United States as Cuba. When war was declared by the United States against Spain we proclaimed to the world that our object was to give to Cuba a stable and independent government. We have complied with that promise fully and literally, and in all the history of our country there is no more glorious record than that we rescued Cuba from tyranny, gave to her people freedom and popular government, and made Cuba a free and independent republic. *We must not hesitate now in the grand work so auspiciously commenced; we must not mar our nation's splendid record of justice and magnanimity, but we must, as far as possible, give to Cuba industrial prosperity and commercial progress.*

I voted for the Cuban reciprocity treaty last March, which contained a proviso that it should not take effect until it was approved by the Congress, and the enactment of the pending bill is necessary to give effect to the treaty providing for reciprocal trade between our country and Cuba. The bill comes to the Senate after having received the almost unanimous indorsement of the House of Representatives—335 votes having been cast for it and only 21 against it.

Reciprocal trade arrangements between the United States and Cuba seem proper and right when we consider the contiguity of Cuba to our country, her political relations to our country, and that we should sell her a great portion of what she buys, and buy from her nearly all she has to sell; besides, the bill under consideration reduces the burdens now pressing so heavily on both Americans and Cubans, and enables Americans to buy Cuban products at more reasonable prices, and enables Cubans to buy American products at more satisfactory prices.

Reciprocity with Cuba caused our export trade to that island to nearly double in 1893, when the reciprocity treaty was in force, and it also caused our imports from that island to advance very much. We have a right to expect the same good results when the new treaty takes effect.

I may also add in this connection that when the Platt amendment was made a law by our Congress the Cubans accepted it in good faith and by our request put it in their constitution. That amendment seems to prevent Cuba from making commercial treaties with other nations, and under these circumstances our Government should, in every proper way, grant trade relief to Cuba.

If we want the trade of a people we must deal fairly with them, and buy their products if we desire them to buy our products. If there is a tariff wall in the way and we can lower it or make a breach in it, we should do so, and agree, as is provided in the pending bill, that if Cuba will allow the products of the United States to enter her ports at from 20 to 40 per cent. reduction, we will allow the products of Cuba to enter our ports at a reduction of 20 per cent. of our existing duty. * * * The President in a special message declares "the treaty submitted for approval secures the United States advantages as great as those given to Cuba. Not an American interest is sacrificed. * * * It is demanded on considerations of broad national policy as well as our economic interests. It will do harm to no industry. It will benefit many industries."

"RECIPROCITY WITH CUBA."—"THE TREATY WILL HELP US AND PROVE OF BENEFIT TO CUBA."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois,
in daily Congressional Record, December 7, 1903.*

The important thing which we obtain by this treaty is the great market for our products, including farm and manufacture. The Cuban market will, with prosperity, continue to increase. Conservative authorities estimate that the Cuban imports will amount to \$100,000,000 in a few years. If these estimates are nearly correct, if our manufacturers, our producers succeed in obtaining the Cuban market, the concessions in revenue on the part of the United States will be amply repaid.

From the investigation and examination of our situation with reference to Cuba, our trade relations, etc., which I have been able to make, I state without hesitation that this treaty is the most advantageous one to the United States which we could ask or expect, considering our small 20 per cent. concession.

Reciprocity with Cuba will not be a new experiment. In 1892, under the reciprocity section of the McKinley Act, we entered into a reciprocity treaty with Cuba which remained in force for three years. It resulted in the greatest benefit both to Cuba and the United States. After that treaty went into effect our exports to Cuba increased almost 70 per cent.

The subject of reciprocity with Cuba has been before Congress for three years or more. Earnestly supported by that great protectionist, the late President McKinley, it has been no less ardently advocated by his successor, President Roosevelt.

While it is true that the United States desire to and will expand our trade and increase our markets by the ratification of this treaty, yet, as has been submitted to us, when the acceptance of the Platt amendment was required from Cuba by the action of the Congress of the United States this Government thereby definitely committed itself to the policy of treating Cuba as occupying a unique position as regards this country.

No other nation in the world stands in the close relation to us that the Republic of Cuba does. She has consented to our imposing limitations upon some of her powers as an independent government. She has leased to us coaling stations on her island. Under these circumstances we can afford to and will treat Cuba as we treat no other nation in the world. If by the ratification of this treaty we give to Cuba permanent prosperity I am sure it will meet with the unanimous approval of the people of the United States. The treaty will not injure in the least the United States or any portion of our people, but on the contrary will help us, and at the same time it will prove of benefit to Cuba.

In the language of President Roosevelt:

We gave Cuba liberty; we are knit to her by the memories of the blood and the courage of our soldiers who fought for her in war; by the memories of the wisdom and integrity of our administrators who served her in peace and who started her so well on the difficult path of self-government. We must help her onward and upward, and in helping her we shall help ourselves. A failure to enact this legislation would come perilously near a repudiation of the pledged faith of the nation.

THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OVER EVERY OTHER COUNTRY IN THE WORLD."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. ALEX. S. CLAY of Georgia, in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 14, 1903.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I shall occupy only a few minutes of the time of the Senate in giving my reasons for voting in favor of this measure. * * There are certain things in the United States that we will be able to send into Cuba cheaper by 20 per cent. than any other countries in the world will be able to send the same articles into Cuba. Now, what will be the result? The result will be simply that the United States will have the advantage over every other country in the world in regard to the sale of those articles. There are certain things that we can get into Cuba at a reduction of 30 per cent. and certain things at a reduction of 40 per cent. Now, what will be the result? In my opinion the result will be simply this: Instead of the United States to-day selling to Cuba \$26,000,000 worth of its agricultural products and of its manufactured products we will sell then in all probability \$35,000,000 or \$40,000,000 worth per year.

I am frank to confess that I have not been able to understand why it is that Cuba only buys from us about \$26,000,000 per year, when she buys from other countries about \$37,000,000 per year.

But, Mr. President, it is something worthy of investigation, worthy of our attention, and I took the trouble to see what constitute the \$37,000,000 sold to Cuba by Germany, by France, by England, and other countries. What did I find? Let us see. These figures are partly taken from a speech made by Hon. W. G. BRANTLEY, a Member of Congress from my State, a painstaking and accurate Member, and a comparison with the Treasury Department will show them absolutely to be correct.

For the year 1901 Cuba's imports amounted to \$65,050,141. Now, let us see how much of this trade the United States received. She received \$28,078,702, leaving the balance of \$37,000,000 that went to other countries.

Now, let us see what constituted that \$37,000,000. I find that in 1901 Cuba bought \$6,000,000 of cotton goods. How much of it did she buy from the United States? Four and one-half per cent. of it.

Again, Mr. President, I find that Cuba bought nearly \$700,000 worth of woollen goods. How much did the United States supply? Only \$22,000. She bought \$2,000,000 of vegetables. How much did we supply? One hundred and seventy-one thousand dollars. She bought \$2,700,000 of wines, and we supplied her only \$329,000. She bought \$2,589,000 worth of oil, and we sold her only \$713,000, when we ought to have supplied her every gallon that she bought.

Again, Cuba bought \$1,053,000 worth of chemicals and drugs. How much did we sell her? We sold her \$422,000 worth. She bought \$8,000,000 worth of cattle, and we supplied her with only \$1,994,000 worth. She bought \$1,638,000 worth of manufactured leather, and we ought to have sold it all to her. Of this amount we sold her \$405,000 worth. She bought \$3,335,000 worth of rice, and we sold her \$3,000 worth. * * * I do not believe this legislation will in any way affect the sugar interests.

Now let us see. We know that the United States is the greatest sugar-consuming country except Great Britain in the world.

Mr. TELLER.. Per capita.

Mr. CLAY. I mean per capita. If I remember correctly, the United States consumes nearly one-third of all the sugar produced in the world.

Now, suppose every single pound of sugar produced in Cuba should come to the United States. We produce here, if I remember correctly, about 233,000 tons of beet sugar. We produced also this year, I understand, about 261,000 tons of cane sugar in the United States, leaving out Porto Rico and the Sandwich Islands. With those two combined, we produced about 900,000 tons of sugar, about one-third of what we consume in the United States. Bring all the sugar that Cuba produces here and then we will have to send to other countries and get 700,000 tons in order to meet the consumption of our own people.

Mr. President, now mark you it is estimated that it will take at least five or six years to enable Cuba to produce 2,000,000 tons of sugar, and by the time Cuba produces enough sugar to supply the demands of the United States this treaty will be at an end, the five years will have passed.

"THE CITRUS-FRUIT INDUSTRY."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEO. C. PERKINS, of California
in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 15, 1903.*

There is another point where the opponents of the treaty think that we may be injured by Cuban competition if our tariff is reduced. This point is the citrus-fruit industry. The objections to the treaty on this score might be met with a chapter like the famous one dealing with snakes in Ireland. At least, if there are oranges and lemons in Cuba, there are so few as to cut no figure whatever in a question of competition with California and Florida citrus fruits. Cuba never has raised enough oranges and lemons to develop an export trade, in spite of all the advantages of proximity to a vast market, a favorable climate, cheap land, and low freights.

Less than three-tenths of 1 per cent. of the soil under cultivation is devoted to citrus culture, and it is unlikely that under the most favorable conditions there would be an increase in production that would enable Cuba to become a rival of American growers. Citrus fruit growing is what may be called a scientific occupation, requiring for good results great intelligence, great care, botanical knowledge as far as relates to trees of this character, and great patience and industry. The ordinary native planters of Cuba possess none of these qualities, and in consequence turn to horticultural pursuits, in which nature does all the work required except that of the crudest kind, which is within the scope of native ability.

In consequence, although there is a vast market for citrus fruits in the United States, "the cultivation of oranges," as the Cuban census states, "has been generally abandoned since the development of oranges cultivated in Florida and California."

The value of the imports of Cuban oranges from 1898 to 1902 inclusive, were, by years, as follows: \$1,991, \$622, \$474, \$2,187, \$560. The value of lemons ranged from \$4 to \$545 per year. The duty on oranges is now 71 per cent. ad valorem, and a reduction of 20 per cent. would still leave a protection of 57 per cent. ad valorem for the American grower, and it is hard to see how this slight reduction, leaving as it does the Cuban grower at a great disadvantage, can stimulate his intellectual faculties and imbue him with the energy that will be necessary if he is to raise citrus fruits for the American markets. It is impossible for him to compete with the American grower now, for he has no oranges to sell, and it would be five or six years after the expiration of the life of this treaty before groves planted this year could be brought into bearing, and this fact, if there were nothing else, would act as a deterrent to planting citrus-fruit trees.

Quick returns are what the Cuban desires. He is constitutionally averse to waiting a year or two for things to grow. In consequence sugar and tobacco will receive his attention in the future as in the past, and the Florida and California growers will be left in possession of our citrus-fruit market.

If there is any doubt as to the effect of reciprocal reductions in tariff on the exports of the United States to Cuba, one has only to turn back to the time of James G. Blaine, whose theories of reciprocity were adopted by the Republican party and by it developed in practice. Reciprocity with Cuba under the terms of the tariff act of 1891 went into effect in September of that year, and it will be interesting and instructive to see what was the effect upon our export trade with Cuba. These exports from 1888 to 1890 averaged about \$11,000,000 per year. In 1891, which had only four months of reciprocity, they increased to over \$12,000,000. The year 1892, however, when reciprocity was in full swing, showed exports amounting to \$17,953,570, and the next year, 1893, to \$24,157,698. Our exports to Cuba doubled in two years.

In view of these figures and those of succeeding years which told another story, there is no wonder that the Republican national convention of 1896 condemned the repeal of the reciprocity measures by the Democratic party as a "national calamity." And in the platform which was then framed it demanded the renewal and extension of the reciprocity provisions of the tariff act which embodied Mr. Blaine's ideas on that subject. "Protection and reciprocity," said the platform, "are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both and both must be reestablished."

The Philippines and the **Pacific**

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"THE PROBLEM IN THE PHILIPPINES."

Extract from address of Secretary WM. H. TAFT, printed in daily Congressional Record, April 28, 1904.

[Address of Secretary of War W. H. Taft on the Philippines before the Chamber of Commerce of New York City, April 21, 1904.]

The people of the United States have under their guidance and control in the Philippines an archipelago of 3,000 islands, the population of which is about 7,600,000 souls. Of these, 7,000,000 are Christians and 600,000 are Moros or other pagan tribes. The problem of the government of the Moros is the same as that which England has had in the government of the Straits Settlements or India. The government of 7,000,000 Christian Filipinos is a very different problem, and one which it has fallen to the lot of the United States only to solve.

The attitude of the American people toward the Philippine island may be described as follows: There are those who think that the Declaration of Independence forbids our accepting or maintaining sovereignty over them; there are those who, without respect to the Declaration of Independence, believe that colonial possessions are likely to lead to expense and corruption and demoralization, have little faith in the solution of the problem by teaching the Filipino the art of self-government, and are anxious to get rid of the islands before they have done any harm to the United States.

Then there are those who hold that fate brought these islands under our control, and that thus a duty was imposed upon us of seeing to it that they were not injured by the transfer. *As a friend of the Filipinos it is my anxious desire to enlarge that class of Americans who have a real interest in the welfare of the islands, and who believe that the United States can have no higher duty or function than to assist the people of the islands to prosperity and a political development which shall enable them to secure to themselves the enjoyment of civil liberty.* [Applause.] * * *

In the Philippine Islands 90 per cent. of the inhabitants are still in a hopeless condition of ignorance and utterly unable intelligently to wield political control. They are subject, like the waves of the sea, to the influence of the moment, and any educated Filipino can carry them in one direction or the other, as the opportunity and the occasion shall permit. The 10 per cent. of the Filipinos who are educated have shown by what they have done and what they have aspired to and what they are that they may be taught the lesson of self-government and that their fellows by further education may be brought up to a condition of discriminating intelligence which shall enable them to make a forceful and useful public opinion. But that it will take more than one generation to accomplish this every one familiar with the facts must concede. * * *

My own idea of the mission of the United States in the Philippine Islands is that it ought to be maintained and encouraged by the people of the United States without regard to the question of its cost or its profitable results from a commercial or financial point of view. * * *

The islands themselves give every indication of furnishing revenue sufficient to carry out the plans which the United States may properly carry out in the material and intellectual development of the country and its people. * * *

The Philippine Archipelago is the only country in which can be produced what is known as "manilla hemp" or what is called in the Spanish language "abaca." This is a fiber of enormous strength, of from 6 to 15 feet in length, which is stripped from the stalk of a banana plant—not the ordinary banana plant, but a plant of the same family which does not produce fruit. Many parts of the islands are very rich in cocoanuts. The coconut grove is planted 200 to a hectare; that is, 200 to 2½ acres. It takes four or five years for coconut trees to bear. After that they will bear for 100 years, and a low price a tree for annual rent is \$40 gold a year an acre.

The sugar and tobacco industries in the islands are capable of a considerable increase. The island of Negros contains sugar land as rich as any in the world, and the provinces of Cagayan, Isabella and Union contain tobacco lands, which, next to Cuba, produce the best tobacco in the world, but the trouble is that the markets for such sugar and tobacco have been, by tariffs imposed in various countries, very much reduced. Should the markets of the United States be opened to the Philippines it is certain that both the sugar and the tobacco industry would become thriving, and although the total amount of the product in each would probably not affect the American market at all, so extensive is the demand here for both tobacco and sugar, it would mean the difference between poverty and prosperity in the islands.

I know that the reduction of the tariff for this purpose is much opposed by the interests which represent beet sugar and tobacco; but I believe that a great majority of the people of the United States are in favor of opening the markets to the Philippine Islands, conscious that it will not destroy either the beet-sugar or the tobacco industry of this country, and feeling that as long as we maintain the association which we now have with the Philippine Islands it is our duty to give them the benefit of the markets of the United States and bring them as close to our people and our trade as possible. * * *

There are 7,600,000 Filipinos. Of these, the 7,000,000 Christian Filipinos are imitative, anxious for new ideas, willing to accept them, willing to follow American styles, American sports, American dress, and American customs. A large amount of cotton goods is imported into the islands each year, but this is nearly all from England and Germany. There is no reason why these cotton goods should not come from America. * * *

The first requisite of prosperity in the Philippine Islands is tranquility, and this should be evidenced by a well-ordered government. The Filipinos must be taught the advantage of such a government, and they should learn from the government which is given them the disadvantages that arise to everybody in the country from political agitation for a change in the form of government in the immediate future. Hence it is that I have ventured to oppose with all the argument that I could bring to bear the petition to the two political conventions asking that independence be promised to the Filipinos. It is not that I am opposed to independence in the islands, should the people of the Philippines desire independence when they are fitted for it, but it is that the great present need in the islands is tranquility.

"OUR DUTY IN THE PHILIPPINES."—"HOLD ON TO THE ISLANDS AND ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR FUTURE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, June 9, 1900.

We can't turn back—Bishops Potter and Thoburn on our duty in the Philippines—conditions in the Islands exhaustively reviewed by one who has no political bias, and a convincing statement made of the reasons for the American people going forward with the work of establishing peace.

Mr. Speaker, there has been much criticism of the course of the present Administration in the Philippines. I desire to present statements by two eminent men whose standing with the people of the United States is such that no man will call into question their integrity, while the fact that they make their statements after a careful personal study of the country and the people affected will give equal assurance of their ability to reach accurate and just conclusions.

The two distinguished men to whom I refer are Bishop Potter and Bishop Thoburn, men well known to the public, and men whom two of our great religious organizations have given the highest honors and highest evidence of confidence.

BISHOP POTTER'S VIEWS.

Both these men speak after a personal study of the people of and situation in the Philippines; and Bishop Potter says frankly that he reaches his conclusion in the face of what was at first an adverse opinion on this subject. His first view was that the course of this Government in the Philippines was of doubtful wisdom, but after a visit to those islands and a study of the situation and people he returned to the United States, and in an interview said:

"There is but one thing for us to do now: that is to hold on to the islands and assume the responsibility for their future."

BISHOP THOBURN'S VIEWS.

Bishop J. M. Thoburn, of the Methodist Church, is also a man of high standing in this great religious organization, and if his name is less known to the people of the United States than that of Bishop Potter it is because of his long absence in the Orient, where he has been for years engaged in missionary work, and where he had especial opportunities to study the Philippines and the Filipino. He went to India as a missionary in 1859, and was chosen missionary bishop of India and Malaysia in 1888. He has visited the Philippines a number of times within the past fifteen years and has devoted much time to study of the Filipinos. His last visit was made just previous to his return to America.

Bishop Thoburn is a quiet, unobtrusive man, a keen observer and scholar, and broad in his religious views. The Thoburn family is proud of its loyalty to the flag. Col. Joseph Thoburn, a brother of the bishop, was killed in the civil war at the battle of Cedar Creek while leading a division. Bishop Thoburn, then, knows what he is talking about.

In reply to an inquiry the bishop said:

"To leave the people of the Philippine Islands to themselves would be to proclaim general anarchy for years and generations to come, and had such an attempt been made the confusion which would have resulted, with all its attendant bloodshed and misery, would have created such a spectacle that the whole civilized world would have execrated us.

"A great many extraordinary mistakes are made by writers and speakers when discussing this subject, owing to the very limited knowledge which the outside world possesses concerning the actual status of the people of the islands. It seems impossible for many intelligent persons to comprehend the fact that there are at least eighty different tribes or races of people inhabiting the Philippines. The islands as a whole have never been subjugated by Spain. Her title to many of the more southern islands has been only nominal.

"The class of persons known as the Filipinos belong almost exclusively to the island of Luzon. They are by no means popular among the other islands, nor has Aguinaldo or any other man ever succeeded in winning the confidence of the islanders generally.

"Like all Mohammedan Malays, the people inhabiting the southern portions of the archipelago are treacherous, warlike, and turbulent. In the more civilized islands, inhabited by the Visaya race, the Filipinos constitute a very small minority, and if the parties were left to themselves in a short time a bitter enmity would manifest itself even among the most civilized portions of the northern and central islands. At every hazard and every cost it becomes the solemn duty of the American people, a duty from which the civilized world will never absolve them, to put down all warlike opposition and give peace to the island of Luzon, and also provide for a good government throughout the whole archipelago.

"In any and every case there should be no mention of our retiring from the field. We did not seek this great responsibility, but it was thrust upon us. To retire now would be to shrink from a manifest duty, to make a confession of national timidity, and to call down upon us as a nation the ridicule and contempt, if not indeed the execration, of the civilized world.

"We have taken up our burden and we must carry it patiently and fulfill the task which the providence of God, as I verily believe, has thrust upon us. A few years hence the whole situation will wear a different aspect. Peace will be restored to these disturbed islands and a new career set before a people who have been carrying grievous burdens and suffering unspeakable wrongs for more than three hundred years."

"THE UNITED STATES WILL BECOME THE PREDOMINATING POWER IN THE PACIFIC."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. SHELBY M. CULLOM of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, April 27, 1904.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

The acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands was the first important achievement in the conduct of our foreign relations after William McKinley became President on the 4th of March, 1897.

For three-quarters of a century American statesmen had discussed and attempted to bring about the annexation of the islands to the United States, but without result. Daniel Webster, when Secretary of State, in 1853 said that it is obvious from the circumstances connected with their position that the interests of the United States require that no other power should colonize or possess the Sandwich Islands or exercise over their government an influence which would lead to a partial or exclusive control in matters of navigation or trade.

The Hawaiian Islands were finally annexed by joint resolution of Congress approved by President McKinley July 7, 1898. They were organized as a territory of the United States and are now enjoying the prosperity incident to our country generally.

The geographical position of the islands, situated as they are in the Pacific, between our own western coast and the countries of the Far East, the splendid harbor and coaling station on the island of Hawaii; our increasing interests and commerce with the Orient, make the islands of the greatest importance to the United States.

Half a century ago that great statesman, William H. Seward, said that—

The Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast region beyond will become the chief theater of events in the world's hereafter.

As we look back on the events which have transpired in the Far East in the past few years in the struggle among the great nations for supremacy in the Orient and on what is taking place there to-day, Secretary Seward's words seem to be almost prophetic.

It seems to be destined that the United States will one day become the predominating power in the Pacific.

The acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands was the first step which gave to the United States a foothold in the Pacific and was the beginning of our great expansion under the McKinley Administration. * * *

THE PHILIPPINES.

More than four years have passed since the flag of the United States was raised over the Philippine Islands.

When we assumed control of the islands, under the treaty of peace with Spain, the natives were in a state of revolution against the authority of the Spanish Government. That revolution continued for a time against the sovereignty of the United States, notwithstanding the Filipino people were assured that—

We come not as invaders and conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employment, and in their personal and religious rights.

But at last peace has been restored, a comparatively small army of some 15,000 soldiers remaining to secure order. We have provided the Philippines with a complete civil government and as large a measure of local self-government as they are capable of exercising.

While the acquisition and government of the Philippine Islands have caused the United States much trouble and expense, still our possession of those islands is advantageous in many respects. From a business standpoint the trade and commerce of the Philippines is not unimportant. Their imports for the year 1902 amounted to \$41,105,034 and their exports were \$27,157,087. As a result of returning prosperity under American rule the exports of the Philippine Islands have increased nearly \$12,000,000 during the year 1903. With prosperity and development, under American rule, it is difficult to estimate what the total trade of the Philippines will be in the years to come. The resources of the islands are boundless, and it is not unsafe to say that the total value of the trade, exports and imports, will eventually amount to several hundred millions annually.

From the standpoint of trade, of securing foreign markets for our own products, the acquisition of the Philippines will prove a profitable investment for the United States.

But this is not all. Their geographical position near China and Japan will prove an advantage to the United States in securing control of those rich markets. *It has been said that Manila in no far distant day will become the great commercial center of the Orient.*

In addition to all this, as Hawaii was the first step toward our becoming the predominating power in the Pacific, so the acquisition of the Philippines is another important advance in that direction.

THE FILIPINOS CAN NEVER HAVE A FREE COMMONWEALTH UNLESS WE STAY THERE AND TRAIN THEM FOR IT."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY A. COOPER of Wisconsin, in daily Congressional Record, May 6, 1904.

All of the disinterested, competent witnesses agree that the Filipinos are not now capable of maintaining a free representative government. I might cite much unimpeachable testimony on this point, but shall content myself by reading from the report of the Schurman Commission—President Schurman, of Cornell University; Admiral Dewey; General Otis; Hon. Charles Denby, and Professor Worcester—five men selected by President McKinley to examine and report as to conditions in the Philippines. This commission of distinguished men, after a thorough personal investigation, submitted to President McKinley a voluminous and exceptionally able report, covering every phase of the Philippine problem. In this report they say—I read from page 103:

First, it is impossible, even approximately, to fix a time for the withdrawal of American sovereignty over the archipelago, as no one can foresee when the diverse peoples of the Philippine Islands may be molded together into a nationality capable of exercising all the functions of independent self-government. They are certainly incapable of such a work to-day; whether in one or more generations they can be trained to it only the future can disclose. And, secondly, if American sovereignty over the archipelago should ever be relinquished, if all American authority over the people should ever cease and determine, then the United States should renounce all obligations to foreign nations for the good conduct of the Filipinos. Undoubtedly the raising of the American flag in the Philippine Islands has entailed great responsibilities upon us; but to guarantee external protection while renouncing internal dominion is no way of escaping from them; on the contrary, while you pull down the flag you only pile up difficulties.

Again say this commission, in their report, page 183:

Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn—

Fatality! Fatal to what? Fatal to whom? Not to the great Republic of the United States; not to Russia, who would like to possess these islands; not to Japan, who wants the islands; not to Germany, who wants the islands; not fatal to either of these nations, but fatal, sir—utterly fatal—to the Philippines in their hope of free representative government.

Here is the opinion of Schurman, Otis, Denby, Worcester and Admiral Dewey:

Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them.

Now follows a sentence pregnant with meaning:

Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable.

Mr. Speaker, the Filipinos can never have a free commonwealth unless we stay there and train them for it.

And the indispensable need, from the Filipino point of view, of maintaining American sovereignty over the archipelago is recognized by all intelligent Filipinos and even by those insurgents who desire an American protectorate. The latter, it is true, would take the revenues and leave us the responsibilities. Nevertheless they recognize the indisputable fact that the Filipinos can not stand alone. Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We can not, from any point of view, escape the responsibility of government which our sovereignty entails, and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove a greatest blessing to the people of the Philippine Islands.

In the great debate two years ago on the Philippine civil government bill gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber declared with much vehemence that that legislation was being enacted for the express purpose of exploiting the archipelago. Two years have elapsed, and now, sir, it is in order for any gentleman on that side of the Chamber to point out a single case of exploitation in the Philippine Islands. We were told that men from the United States were going there to seize the timber, mining, and agricultural lands by means of great franchises, and that the wealth of the islands was to be centered in a few greedy monopolists.

Will any gentleman here or elsewhere tell the House and the American people where there has been even one instance of exploitation in the Philippines? Not an instance. On the contrary, the complaint in the islands now is that the Congress of the United States saw fit in its wisdom to enact a franchise law which is too stringent, which too completely hinders the investment of capital, and thereby, to that extent, injures the real interests of the people of the Philippines.

"OUR FUTURE POINTS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE UPON THE PACIFIC."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. T. H. CARTER of Montana, in daily Congressional Record, June 6, 1900.

The farmers, finding a new market on the Pacific Ocean for their grain and produce, will begin to feel the benefits of a great Oriental trade. The farmers are not wanting in clearness of perception. They understand that the raising of a surplus in this country is of little avail unless a market can be procured for that surplus. It is known that the markets of Europe, overcrowded and the scene of keen competition from everywhere, can not but be depressed by great additions from our newly opened fields.

We must find a market in the Orient for the products of our farms or cease to grow agriculturally in this country. That market is available. Going about, through the Suez Canal, a distance of 11,000 miles we find the German Emperor endeavoring to get a lodgment in the Orient. And for what? For the sale of German products. We find the French Republic entering that great Asiatic field for the purpose of opening up new markets for its goods and the product of its industries. We find England, and even Italy, endeavoring to participate in this newly developed and developing field. Russia, with her mighty railway system extending across Siberia and up into China, is reaching out for that market.

It is the disposition of the people of the United States, in my humble judgment, to insist that this Government of ours shall not stand passively by and permit the opportunity of the hour to pass from them. The function of the Government in this particular is very clear to my mind. The people individually can not cope with all the governments in the world. We must send out a police force over the Pacific Ocean which will protect our commerce floating on all the seas and abiding in every port.

We must have it understood that where an American merchant or an American shipowner makes a contract that contract will be enforced with the strong arm of this Government, and that hereafter no American merchant or sailor will be humiliated by being compelled to pass the American consulate and go for protection in his right to the British, the German, the French, or some other consulate, as unfortunately has occurred in the past.

Mr. President we are upon the threshold of a century of mighty promise. We have unlimited resources in the United States. Our agricultural possibilities have scarcely been developed to the extent of a meager fraction. With millions of acres of land still unclaimed, and unreclaimed, with a people of superior intelligence, with a minimum of illiteracy compared with any other people on the globe, with our railroads constructed to such an extent that we reach every center of industry and every center where raw materials are available, we have the ability to push our marketable products to tidewater with the least possible delay.

What we need is transportation on the sea, and that transportation on the sea will avail us little unless we have the naval force to protect it and sustain our merchants in their just demands everywhere. We can not protect the naval force in turn unless we have the coaling stations and landing places where our naval and merchant vessels may be secure in coal, shelter, and repairs.

This calls, then, for the establishment of our merchant marine, for the development of our Navy, not to fight the nations of the earth, not to bully the weak nor to dare the strong, but to police the seas and protect American rights.

Our future points to the development of commerce upon the Pacific Ocean, and that, too, in a marvelous degree, during the next quarter of a century. The first year of the quarter of a century is at hand, and a trade is opening which will eclipse on the Pacific the commerce of any ocean on the globe—a commerce beside which the commerce of the Atlantic will pale into insignificance.

There are 250,000,000 people on the other side of the Atlantic. They largely produce the same kind of things we produce. We sell them only enough to fill up deficiencies here and there. On the West side of the Pacific, within 2,000 miles of Manila, more than half the population of the globe resides. China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and all the islands and smaller states connected, promise a trade which is visible to the eye of every enterprising nation in Europe and of every enterprising merchant in Europe as well. Our people are not blind to the opportunity. By all the rules the Oriental trade is chiefly ours.

"I AM A DEMOCRAT BUT NOT AN AUTOMATON."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. C. McLAURIN of South Carolina, in daily Congressional Record, February 28, 1900.

Our nation has grown by obeying the instinct of development. We are to-day "Greater America," but that greatness will be lost if we forget the political philosophy which has made us great—expansion of American thought, territory, mechanical skill, civilization, and the philosophy of development. *This is an auspicious moment for the creation and development of our export trade. The unexplored and undeveloped markets of Asia furnish the opportunity.* All other fields have been occupied, and to attempt to wrest them from other nations is a doubtful contest. In the Orient the commercial possibilities exceed the wildest dreams of the optimist. No wonder there is an irrepressible conflict between the great powers of the world, the outgrowth of commercial competition. Russia, Germany, England, France, and Italy have received rich territory under the guise of so-called "spheres of influence." The United States was thus confronted by Europe in the East when the battle of Manila occurred. The result of that battle has been the acquisition of the Philippine islands, which gives us a foothold from which, instead of supplicants begging for the "open door," we are upon a footing of equality with other nations. But it has been asserted that our trade in the East is a mere figment of the imagination and that conditions render it impossible to make it valuable.

The experience of the past decade contradicts this dogma. In 1893 our whole exports to China of cotton cloths were only 35,000,000 yards. In 1896 its volume increased to 72,000,000 yards. In 1897 it was 140,000,000 yards, and in 1898 it was 221,000,000 yards. In 1899 our Asiatic exports of flour were 1,725,388 barrels, against 1,240,563 in 1898, and while the total increase in our exports of flour to all countries between 1898 and 1899 was 20 per cent., the exports to Asiatic countries increased 39 per cent. There has been a gradually growing increase in all of our other exports. In the past our trade has been mainly along what might be called the lines of least resistance—that is, with nations speaking the English language.

As a consequence of this policy, the United States has only had 7.7 per cent of the commerce of the world, while England has had 18.3 per cent and Germany 10.8 per cent. The United States is the wealthiest and largest manufacturing nation. Since 1876 her exports have largely exceeded her imports. The value of the annual product of the manufacturing industries of Great Britain are 44 per cent, Germany 35 per cent, and France 30 per cent of that of the United States. With our factories running eight months in the year, we can supply our domestic market; hence there is a necessity for an outlet for our surplus products. They are suited to the climate and people of the East. We can supply the teeming millions of China with cheaper products than any other nation. Chinese ports in these days of steam and electricity are much nearer to us than California was to Washington in 1848. As a nation we must recognize changed conditions, and I believe that by properly utilizing our advantages in the Philippines our trade will continue to increase, until most of our surplus products find remunerative markets in the East.

I am a Democrat, loyal to the party and its principles; but I am not an automaton, nor a slave to be moved by the party lash. I am trying to represent what I believe is best for my people and my section, and am content to let the future speak for itself. The Constitution, as the handiwork of the fathers, has my love and reverence; but, Mr. President, there is something higher than the letter of the law. Whenever in our past history the Constitution has come into conflict with the national sense of right and duty, it has given way. Like the Sabbath, the Constitution was made for man, not man for the Constitution.

Under a destiny unforeseen and uncontrolled by us, the power and institutions of the United States have been planted in the East. I believe that if we do our duty, it means not only the elevation and uplifting of the peoples of that far-off land, but that it will add to the power and glory of our free institutions and the commercial supremacy of the nation.

"WHO WOULD HAUL DOWN THE FLAG?"

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. C. SIBLEY of Pennsylvania,
in daily Congressional Record, February 1, 1900.*

Shall we keep the Philippine Archipelago and Puerto Rico? Every foot! No nation on the globe has higher rights or better title to a rod of soil. We hold by a double claim—the right of conquest and the right of purchase. My belief is that where once our banner's shadow has fallen, there will survive a race of freemen.

And again I echo the President's query, "Who would haul down the flag?" Who planted it there? What Cabinet council? What warrior? What statesman? What Senator or Representative? What body of men framed any plan of conquest? The cries of suffering humanity, ground down beneath the iron heel of oppression, rang in our ears, and we stopped our ears. Their groans we heard, but we answered not. We saw them stripped and wounded on our way to Jericho, and like the priest and Levite passed by on the other side. Not unheard at the throne of heaven were those groans and prayers.

In order to awaken us from our torpor and almost criminal indifference the Almighty permitted the enemies of His wrath to hurtle their thunderbolts under the bows of the *Maine* lying peacefully at anchor in Habana Harbor. Nor keenest sighted statesmen nor most daring warrior had even contemplated the possibility of gain, growth, or greatness to us as a nation to come out of the war of which the blowing up of the *Maine* was the first declaration.

These lands and people, unworthily ruled, were, in the wisdom of the Almighty, to pass from the house of Saul to that of David. *God and the valor of American arms gave us this territory, not because we are a nation altogether free, altogether pure and blameless, but because, working through human instrumentalities, He has given it to the boldest, freest, most progressive, most enlightened, and most Christian of all the nations of the present age.*

Sir, I am an optimist. My belief is that on this continent God has willed to plant a people who shall carry the arts of peace and the story of the cross to the nations of the earth. You deprecate war not more than myself; but, sir, under certain conditions war is to the body politic what the plowshare in the mellowed mold is to the husbandman. Noxious growths and thorns and briars must be exterminated and uprooted, that the fairer fruitage may develop.

Within the bosom of our soil the Almighty has stored, through countless ages, the treasures of mineral. From her breast, clothed with forests and golden with ripening harvests He will house and feed a race which will hasten the dawn of that morning when through a thousand cycles war shall be banished, the swords beat into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks, and men, until time shall be no more, shall look into the eyes of each other and recognize the bonds of brotherhood. We go forth as a nation, not to teach the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, but to make men fit to survive.

Do gentlemen recognize the fact that in one hundred years from to-day this will be a nation of 400,000,000 souls? With such a soil, with such material resources, and with such a people, who would haul down the flag from enlarged boundaries? *Who would environ and stifle between two oceans the energies of such a civilization? Who would pent up its powers within the confines of a continent?*

"RESULTS OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN."

Extract from remarks of Hon. SHELBY M. CULLOM of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, April 27, 1904.

CUBA.

In order that no selfish motive might be imputed to the United States in entering upon the war with Spain, five days before the passage of the resolution declaring war against Spain a resolution was passed by Congress stating that—

The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island of Cuba, except for the pacification thereof and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

We have kept this pledge to the very letter. It has been well paid that—

There is no other instance in modern history where such a declaration of self-negation was first made and then completely fulfilled.

This bright record of disinterested and national faith will grow sweeter and sweeter in the memory of those who pride themselves as the sons of a great, free, and honorable nation.

We retained control of Cuba for a time until she was in a condition to establish her own government; we assisted her in establishing a republican government; we only asked that she should pledge not to enter into any compact with a foreign power which would tend to impair the independence of Cuba or permit a foreign power to obtain lodgment in or control over any portion of the island; not to assume or contract any public debt to repay which the ordinary revenues of the island would be inadequate, and giving the United States the right to intervene for the maintenance of her independence. These pledges which we exacted of Cuba are substantially the important provisions of the so-called "Platt amendment." They are in the interest of Cuba more perhaps than they are in the interest of the United States. With these exceptions, Cuba is as independent of the United States as she is of the rest of the world. Cuba has adopted the provisions of the so-called "Platt amendment" as a part of her fundamental law, and a treaty has been concluded and recently ratified by the Senate embodying these pledges in the form of an international compact.

We not only engaged in war to free Cuba from Spanish misrule, necessitating the expenditure of millions of money and the sacrifice of the lives of hundreds of American soldiers, but the Government of the United States, after establishing Cuba as an independent republic, under the constant urging of President Roosevelt, provided for reciprocal commercial relations with that island in order to give to Cuba material prosperity and to bring the island into closer commercial relations with the United States.

This reciprocity treaty has been ratified by the Senate and carried into effect by Congress, and provides in brief that Cuban products shall be admitted into our ports at a reduction of 20 per cent. below the Dingley tariff act, in return for which Cuba grants concessions to American products varying from 20 to 40 per cent., which will enable the United States to secure a large part of the Cuban market. To enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba and to protect her people, as well as for the defense of our own country, Cuba has leased to the United States two splendid naval stations, Guantanamo and Bahia Honda.

These stations are not only of value for the defense of our own country, but they are very important from a strategic standpoint in the defense of an isthmian canal, when it shall be constructed.

RESULTS OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

The termination of the war with Spain freed Cuba and gave to the United States Porto Rico and the Philippines. But there were more important results. That short, though momentous, conflict, small though it was in comparison with our own civil war, had almost as important an effect upon the subsequent history and policy of the United States.

Our war with Spain brought the nation to a self-consciousness no other event in our history has done. That conflict aroused us to a realization of the fact that more than a century of remarkable internal industrial development had rendered us an important factor in the world's system.

Under the Administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt the United States has obtained a position among the nations of the world which never occupied in any former period of our national life.

"CUBA, PORTO RICO, AND THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS SPEAK VOLUMES FOR THE CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY AND ABILITY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES B. LANDIS, of Indiana
in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 27, 1904.*

I contend now, Mr. Chairman, that the brightest page that has been written by the Republican party in the last seven years has been written with reference to those questions that followed our war with Spain. That war lasted only ninety days, but the problems that came with it are with us to-day and they will remain with us until our children are in their graves.

You remember, how after that war came to an end, our friends on the other side of the Chamber insisted that Cuba should immediately be given her freedom and independence. The man in the White House said no, they are not ready. You said, "You have lied to Cuba; you do not intend to give Cuba her independence." We said, "She is not ready for it; we want time to prepare her for her independence."

We brought a carload of school-teachers from Cuba and educated them. We sent scores of Americans down there to teach them the principles of self-government. We went down there and cleaned her cities and towns and put in sewerage systems, and on the 20th of May a year ago Columbia presented Cuba with a pure white parchment of human freedom, and she has been able to take care of that freedom and is happy and independent to-day. Had we done as you wanted us to do, yellow fever would be thriving in Cuba to-day. Revolution would follow revolution as in Central America, South America, Santo Domingo and other Spanish-American republics until we would have been involved with other nations of the world.

Take Porto Rico. Well-informed gentlemen from the island of Porto Rico state that prior to our occupation of that island small-pox had infested parts of it for three hundred years. One of the first things we did when we went there was to take 900,000 people and vaccinate every one of them, and for the last four years there has not been a single case of small-pox in all Porto Rico.

Over in the Philippine Islands when our soldiers went over there it was prophesied that it would take an army of 100,000 men twenty years to establish conditions in those islands so that there would be peace and order and good government.

Those islands have been pacified; law and order have been established, and the army has been reduced to 18,000 men. We have spent vast sums on their docks; we have spent millions on their roads; 15,000 people are working to-day on one road leading up into the mountains from Manila. We have established libraries; we sent a ship loaded with 1,000 school teachers over there to light the torch. Last month 100 Filipino boys came to this country to be educated. They will go back to educate their fellows.

We have started normal schools over there. We have organized trade schools, and we have reorganized their courts in accordance with the dictates of Anglo-Saxon justice. We have given them religious liberty. We have given the farmers of the Philippine primers, translated into their own language, so that they may intelligently cultivate the soil. They have homes now in place of huts over in the Philippine Islands. Those islands are blossoming as a rose. And every dollar expended comes from the revenues of those islands.

Have we done right? If we have not, then civilization is a fraud, enlightenment is a lie, and the Christian church is a whited sepulcher. Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands in their condition to-day speak volumes for the constructive policy and ability of the Republican party. We have given the nations of the earth new ideas relative to the control of colonial governments.

Where did the administration of Theodore Roosevelt begin and that of William McKinley end? No one could tell. One merged into the other naturally; the same policy has been carried out under Theodore Roosevelt that was followed under William McKinley. And that is the reason I am for Theodore Roosevelt as our next nominee for President of the United States.

"THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. SHELBY M. CULLOM of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, April 27, 1904.

The United States has stood for the open door in China, and as a result of the diplomacy and influence of Secretary Hay freedom of commerce has been secured and the division of China among the powers has been prevented. * * *

In September, 1899, Secretary Hay addressed communications to the Governments of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Japan, suggesting that as he understood it to be the settled policy and purpose of those countries not to use any privileges which may be granted them in China as a means of excluding any commercial rival and that freedom of trade for them in that ancient Empire means freedom of trade for all the world alike. He considered that the maintenance of this policy is alike urgently demanded by the commercial communities of these several nations and that it is the only one which will improve existing conditions and extend their further operations. He further suggested that it was the desire of this Government that the interests of its citizens should not be prejudiced through exclusive treatment by any of the controlling powers within their respective spheres of interest in China and that it hopes to retain there an open market for all the world's commerce, remove dangerous sources of international irritation, promote administrative reform, etc. He accordingly suggested a declaration by each of them in regard to the treatment of foreign trade and commerce in their spheres of interest.

Without inconsiderable delay the Governments of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Japan replied to Secretary Hay's circular note, giving cordial and full assurance of the principles suggested by our Government.

Thus was successfully begun the since famous open-door policy of the United States in China.

But this great triumph in the interest of freedom of commerce of the world in China was followed by the famous Boxer outbreak in 1900. * *

In the midst of the intense excitement throughout the world, when the downfall of the Empire of China seemed almost certain, Secretary Hay, with the foresight which so distinguishes his official acts, issued a circular note on July 3, 1900, to all the powers having interest in China, stating the position of the United States, that it would be our policy to find a solution which would bring permanent safety and peace to China, preserve its territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire. This note clearly stated the fixed policy of the United States, and during that exciting period gave notice to the world that the United States would not permit the dismemberment of China.

This had not been the policy of some of the European nations, yet it was so much in harmony with the principles of international justice that it met with the approval of the world.

After relieving the legations and the suppression of the Boxer troubles by the allied powers, there followed a long negotiation between the allied powers and China; and an enormous and exorbitant demand was made by the allies as an indemnity, which China would probably never be able to pay. The representatives of the United States in this negotiation constantly intervened to reduce the demands of the great powers of Europe. * * *

Since the signing of the final protocol we have negotiated with China the most liberal commercial treaty which China has with any other foreign government. * * *

Secretary Hay has very recently gained another diplomatic triumph in the interest of China. It had been apparent for some time that war between Russia and Japan was inevitable, and it was realized that that war might seriously impair the integrity of China and the benefits of the open-door policy.

Secretary Hay, on February 10, 1904, addressed to the Governments of Russia, Japan, and China, and to other powers interested in China, a note of the following tenor:

It is the earnest desire of the Government of the United States that in the military operations which have begun between Russia and Japan, the neutrality of China, and in all practicable ways her administrative entity, shall be protected by both parties, and that the area of hostilities shall be localized and limited as much as possible, so that undue excitement and disturbance of the Chinese people may be prevented and the least possible loss to the commerce and peaceful intercourse of the world may be occasioned.

This measure was recognized as so wise and was so generally commended by the nations of the world that not only has it been accepted by the neutral nations, but it has been accepted by Russia and Japan themselves.

These measures of our Government respecting China are of the greatest significance and importance, because they not only tend to the peace of the world, but to preserve the extensive territory and enormous population of that Empire to the free and untrammelled trade and commerce of all countries.

Too much credit can not be given to the Administration of President Roosevelt for the splendid manner in which this delicate and complicated Chinese and Eastern question has been managed by the admirable statesmanship and diplomacy of his great Secretary of State.

"COMMERCIAL BENEFITS OF COLONIZATION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio, in the Congressional Record, June 9, 1900.

The commercial benefits of colonization are indicated in some degree by tables, which show the exports of the United Kingdom to the colonies in recent years.

The United Kingdom in 1897 exported to her colonies goods valued at \$423,212,102 out of a total exportation of \$1,431,598,345; thus 29 per cent of her total exports were sent to the colonies. The total imports of her colonies in the year were \$1,216,284,637, and the amount which they took from Great Britain, \$423,212,102, formed 34.8 per cent of their total imports. To the non-British world the United Kingdom sold in the same year goods valued at \$1,008,386,244 and this amounted to only 13 per cent of the imports of the non-British world in that year. Or, to put it in other words, Great Britain was, through her relations with her colonies, able to supply them with 34.8 per cent of their imports, while to the non-British world she was only able to supply 13 per cent of its imports. Even in the case of the United States, from which her purchases are enormous, whose people speak the same language and have extremely close business relations with her, she only supplied in 1899, 17 per cent of its total imports; while supplying 34.8 per cent of the imports of her colonies.

The imports of the British colonies, as already indicated, amounted to \$1,216,284,637, and had Great Britain supplied to them only the proportion—13 per cent—of the imports she was able to supply to the non-British world it would have amounted to but \$158,106,000 instead of the \$423,212,102 which she actually did send to them.

Thus in the year in question, upon this estimate, she made a market in her colonies for \$265,000,000 worth of goods in excess of what she would have sold them had they held the same relation to her that does the non-British world generally. Even had she been able to supply them as large a proportion of their imports as she supplies of the imports of the United States her sales to them under such extremely favorable circumstances would have fallen \$218,000,000 below those actually made.

It is apparent from this study of the commercial relations of Great Britain and her colonies and of the non-British world, respectively, that her sales to her colonies were more than twice as large as they would have been had the colonies not held this relation to her. Now, let us apply this general fact to Great Britain's commerce with her colonies during a term of years. The exports of the United Kingdom to her colonies from 1868 to 1898, a term of thirty years, have amounted to \$11,580,000,000, and applying to this vast sum the estimate already made that she sells to her colonies more than double the amount which they would buy did not the colonial relationship exist, it will be apparent that she has by her colonial enterprise made for her manufacturers and producers a market during the last thirty years for more than \$6,000,000,000 in clear excess of what they would have had with this same territory had not the colonial relationship existed.

Now, to take the other side of the case: All manufacturing countries and countries of the temperate zone now find it necessary to import large quantities of tropical products, partially for manufacturing and partly for consumption of their people—coffee, sugar, cocoa, spices, hemp, jute, rubber, etc. By making these purchases in the colonies the mother country benefits those of her own citizens whose capital is invested in great producing enterprises in the colonies, and at the same time obtains a permanent and regular supply of the articles which she must have for her factories and breakfast tables. Of the total imports of the United Kingdom in the last thirty years, more than \$12,000,000,000 worth, or 23 per cent, has been taken from her colonies, while of her exports in the decade 1869 to 1878, 25 per cent went to the colonies, and in the following decade 29 per cent, while in 1898 more than 30 per cent went to the colonies.

Thus in the past thirty years the United Kingdom has, through her colonial enterprises, made a market for fully six thousand millions of dollars' worth of goods in excess of what she would have sold to the same territory had not the colonial relationship existed, while she has expended among the people of those countries \$12,000,000,000 in the purchase of articles required by her population for food or manufacturing, and thus benefited to a great extent both the people of the colonies and those of her own people having business relations in the colonies.

ROOSEVELT.—“ABOUT EXPANSION AND THE PHILIPPINES.”

Extracts from public addresses and works of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

The inevitable march of events gave us the control of the Philippine Islands at a time so opportune that it may without irreverence be called providential. Unless we show ourselves weak, unless we show ourselves degenerate sons of the sires from whose loins we sprang, we must go on with the work we have undertaken. I most earnestly hope that this work will ever be of a peaceful character. (Speech at San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

If we are wise, if we care for our reputation abroad, if we are sensitive of our honor at home, we will allow no question of partisan politics ever to enter into the administration of the great islands which came under our flag as a result of the war with Spain. (Speech at Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1902.)

If we do our duty aright in the Philippines, we will add to that national renown which is the highest and finest part of national life, we will greatly benefit the people of the Philippine Islands, and, above all, we will play our part well in the great work of uplifting mankind. (Strenuous Life, p. 20.)

Fundamentally the cause of expansion is the cause of peace. (“Expansion and peace,” Strenuous Life, p. 34.)

The guns that thundered off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory. But they also left us a legacy of duty. If we drove out a mediæval tyranny only to make room for savage anarchy, we had better not have begun the task at all. It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform and can leave to their fates the islands we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work. (Strenuous Life, p. 11.)

Our greatest statesmen have always been those who *believed in the nation*—who had faith in the power of our people to spread until they should become the mightiest among the peoples of the world. (“Manhood and Statehood,” Strenuous Life, p. 205.)

In the Philippines let us remember that the spirit and not the mere form of government is the essential matter. The Tagalogs have a hundredfold the freedom under us that they would have if we had abandoned the islands. We are not trying to subjugate a people; we are trying to develop them and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and we hope ultimately a self-governing people. In short, in the work we have done we are but carrying out the true principles of our democracy. We work in a spirit of self-respect for ourselves and of good will toward others, in a spirit of love for and of infinite faith in mankind. We do not blindly refuse to face the evils that exist or the shortcomings inherent in humanity; but across blundering and shirking, across selfishness and meanness of motive, across shortsightedness and cowardice we gaze steadfastly toward the far horizon of golden triumph. (“National duties,” Strenuous Life, p. 243.)

Our warfare in the Philippines has been carried on with singular humanity. For every act of cruelty by our men there have been innumerable acts of forbearance, magnanimity, and generous kindness. These are the qualities which have characterized the war as a whole. (Memorial Day address at Arlington, May 30, 1902.)

The progress of the American arms means the abolition of cruelty, the bringing of peace, and the rule of law and order under the civil government. Other nations have conquered to create irresponsible military rule. We conquer to bring just and responsible civil government to the conquered. (Memorial Day address at Arlington, May 30, 1902.)

Taking the work of the army and the civil authorities together, it may be questioned whether anywhere else in modern times the world has seen a better example of real conservative statesmanship than our people have given in the Philippine Islands. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

No policy ever entered into by the American people has vindicated itself in more signal manner than the policy of holding the Philippines. The triumph of our arms, above all, the triumph of our laws and principles, has come sooner than we had any right to expect. Too much praise can not be given to the army for what it has done in the Philippines both in warfare and from an administrative standpoint in preparing the way for civil government; and similar credit belongs to the civil authorities for the way in which they have planted the seeds of self-government in the ground thus made ready for them. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

In dealing with the Philippine people we must show both patience and strength, forbearance and steadfast resolution. Our aim is high. We do not desire to do for the islanders merely what has elsewhere been done for tropic peoples by even the best foreign governments. We hope to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations. (Annual message, first session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

I have felt that the events of the last five or six years have been steadily hastening the day when the Pacific will loom in the world's commerce as the Atlantic now looms, and I have wished greatly to see these marvelous communities growing up on the Pacific slope. (Barstow, Cal., May 7, 1903.)

Our place as a nation is and must be with the nations that have left indelibly their impress on the centuries. Men will tell you that the great expanding nations of antiquity have passed away. So they have; and so have all others. (San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

The insurrection among the Filipinos has been absolutely quelled. The war has been brought to an end sooner than even the most sanguine of us dared to hope. The world has not in recent years seen any military task done with more soldierly energy and ability; and done, moreover, in a spirit of great humanity. (Philadelphia, Pa., November 22, 1902.)

There is no question as to our not having gone far enough and fast enough in granting self-government to the Filipinos; the only possible danger has been lest we should go faster and further than was in the interest of the Filipinos themselves. (Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1902.)

"THE SACRED MISSION WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS CALLED UPON TO PERFORM."

*Extracts from speech of Hon. HENRY A. COOPER of Wisconsin
in House of Representatives, June 19, 1902.*

A SACRED MISSION.

We are in the Philippines to discharge a duty, a duty which we owe to ourselves, to the people of the archipelago, and to the cause of civil liberty everywhere throughout the earth. We are in the islands, and, despite all harsh utterances to the contrary—there have been many of these of late—we are there for no other purpose than to set wider the bounds of freedom, to secure liberty and opportunity and all the benefits of the best of modern civilizations for a down-trodden race to whom, through hopeless centuries, these blessings have been denied, and in the place of an ancient, decrepit monarchy and the divine right of kings to establish the invincible young republic and the inalienable rights of man.

This is the high, the sacred mission, which, in the course of human events and under the providence of God, the United States is called upon to perform. On distant shores, in the immediate presence—at the very door—of oriental despotism, and under circumstances so conspicuous and commanding that our work and its results shall forever be seen of men, this Republic is laying the foundation for a new order of things. No other event, sir, since the nation-saving civil war, so brings to mind and justifies the prophetic saying of the great Scotchman: "The world is all so changed; so much that seemed vigorous has sunk decrepit, so much that was not is beginning to be! What sounds are these, new in centuries? Behold democracy announcing that she is born and will envelop the whole world!"

* * * * *

Whether we succeed or fail in these islands, we are engaged in a business the results of which will profoundly and forever affect the prestige and influence of this Republic, and so, in its ultimate consequences, the welfare of the whole human race. We should remember what we are. The United States of America is to-day at the highest point in its career. Never before has it stood forth in the presence of the world in such majestic plenitude of power—76,000,000 of people without a master, occupying the sublimest position among the nations of the earth—free and invincible. Like a city that is set upon a hill, our work cannot be hidden. If we fail in the Philippines, our failure will be seen of all the world, and seen forever.

But we shall not fail. The nation, which in the awful days of 1860 to 1865, wrought and fought through a gloom and disaster to enduring success, will not fail now to carry to a triumphant consummation its lesser task in the Philippine Archipelago. *We will fill the land with school-houses. We will sever church from state, and each shall be the stronger and the better for the separation. We will establish justice and make its administration pure. We will plant firmly the principles of free government and fix forever all of the priceless guaranties of civil and religious liberty. We will emancipate a race from the thralldom of centuries and lead them in the pathway of the world's highest civilization. And then, when in after years the current of transforming, vitalizing influences has made the Philippine Islands the home of contentment, the abode of industry, and of all the arts of peace, we who are permitted to participate in this initial legislation, will look back, with hearts filled with grateful, honorable pride, to this hour, and say, "Thank God, we—we also—have a part in the glorious work of a people's redemption."*

"BILL OF RIGHTS FOR THE PHILIPPINES."

Extract from Philippine Civil Government Law, passed by Congress

Sec. 10. That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws.

That no money shall be paid out of the treasury except in pursuance of an appropriation by law.

That in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to have a speedy and public trial, to meet the witnesses face to face, and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf.

That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offense without due process of law; and no person for the same offense shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

That all persons shall, before conviction, be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses, when the proof is evident or the presumption great.

That no law impairing the obligation of contracts shall be enacted by the legislature.

That the rule of taxation in said islands shall be uniform.

That no person shall be imprisoned for debt arising out of or founded on contract, express or implied.

That the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

That no ex post facto law or bill of attainder shall be enacted.

That no private or local bill which may be enacted into law shall embrace more than one subject, and that subject shall be expressed in the title of the bill.

That no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized.

That all money collected on any tax levied or assessed for a special purpose shall be treated as a special fund in the treasury and paid out for such purpose only.

That no law granting a title of nobility shall be enacted, and that no person holding any office of profit or trust in said islands shall, without the consent of the Congress of the United States, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, queen, prince, or foreign State.

That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

That the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

That neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in said islands.

That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

That no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed.

"THE OPEN DOOR POLICY IN CHINA."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. R. BARTHOLDT of Missouri,
daily Congressional Record, February 23, 1900.*

Since the birth of the human race the restless spirit of migration and the desire to expand beyond the narrow confines of the home have moved it. Man started from the Himalaya, in middle Asia, in a westerly direction, and after thousands of years is still wandering. Persia, Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, Phoenicia, Greece, and Rome in rotation became his home; then northern and western Europe until, in search of a waterway to India, he discovered America. Nearly a thousand years had then elapsed since England had been settled by the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes, and other Teutonic tribes, but after the safety valve was once found it began sending forth streams of warm human blood across the Atlantic Ocean and is doing so to the present day. It required but four centuries to settle and civilize this vast continent, extending from ocean to ocean and from Polar region to the Tropics. Nor will the star of empire in its incessant course stop on the Western Hemisphere. As the teeming millions of Europe found an exit across the one ocean to America, so will the masses of America, gradually thickening, find an exit across the other ocean to Asia.

The sun of Western civilization and modern enterprise is rapidly melting the ice surrounding the barbarian countries of the Orient. The Chinese wall has already crumbled to dust; England and Germany have broken into the Celestial Empire and the United States has taken the Philippines, and soon man will again find himself in the country of the Paradise, whence he had started thousands of years ago. Having once "swung around the circle," he will take a new start; his second migration will again take many centuries, but his mission of carrying the blessings of culture and civilization into every vacant spot can be stopped, his purpose of finding room and eking out an existence for himself and the unborn millions of the future can be frustrated neither by mountains nor oceans, nor even by the learned arguments of constitutional lawyers.

The material welfare of the American people depends, like that of every other nation, upon commerce and trade, and in this international struggle, as much as the philosopher and philanthropist may deprecate it, political systems and forms of government are questions of no consideration. The Russian absolutist has precisely the same chance as the American democrat, the French republican the same as the German monarchist, and he alone has the advantage who by the right of sovereignty, can control great markets to the exclusion of the other. It is, indeed, a question of customs laws, the same as is presented in the pending bill. Give us the right to shape the customs laws of a country and we can snap our fingers at every competitor.

Look at what has happened in this respect. We can hardly realize what great strides we have made in a ridiculously small space of time. We have not only retained, under a wise system of protection, the largest home market of any one country in the world, but we also have it in our power to regulate at will the customs system of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba. And more than that, by a diplomatic master stroke we have secured the consent of the commercial nations of the world to an open-door policy in China. The question may well be asked here whether that consent would have been so readily given if we had not, by the fortunes of war, become the close neighbors of the Chinese Empire. *By this diplomatic triumph the present Administration has arrested the dismemberment of that vast empire, because a guaranty of equal trade advantage to all nations renders the right of sovereignty or ownership not only superfluous, but robs it of all charm.*

If there ever was a European conspiracy or merely a hidden desire having for its object the parceling out of the domain of China among the powers, it has been frustrated. The danger of America ever being shut out from the Chinese markets has been forever removed, and the American people have secured to themselves those great advantages which the Administration refused to secure by a participation in land grabbing performances which would have been beneath our national dignity.

THE PACIFIC HENCEFORTH TO BE AN AMERICAN SEA."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. G. A. GROW of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, December 19, 1899.

I have never had any fears for the future of the Republic by reason of the expansion of its territory and the extension of its free institutions. Pending the repeal of the Missouri compromise in Congress 1854, I then said relative to expansion:

"Who believes that the territorial expansion of the Republic will not continue until it covers the whole continent? It is one of the incidents of our position, resulting from the habits of our people and the character of surrounding nationalities. While the pioneer spirit presses on into the wilderness, snatching new areas from the wild east and bequeathing them a legacy to civilized man, it is in vain to attempt to stay his progress by meridian lines or legislative enactments.

"The habits of his life and the promptings of his nature are stronger than the river or mountain barriers of nations. When he has covered the whole continent with the abodes of civilized life, seizing the standard of the Republic, he will bear it, with the spirit and genius of free institutions, across the mighty deep to regenerate old dynasties and breathe new life into decaying empires. This, no matter what may be the views of statesmen or the policy of legislation, is our mission, our manifest destiny. For energy, intelligence, and superior enterprise are destiny, and whoever attempts to stay it may be borne down by the tide, but he can not change the current."

These words, uttered in no spirit of prophecy, and which at the time were only a plain statement of the characteristics of the American people and the surrounding conditions of national existence to-day, are, by the fortunes of war, prophecy fulfilled. But what prophetic ken can pierce the veil of the now overhanging future? The Atlantic Ocean, rolling between two mighty hemispheres, is a German, French, and English sea. But the Pacific Ocean, with almost twice the area of waters washing the shores of nationalities containing two-thirds the population of the globe, is henceforth to be an American sea covered with American ships laden with the products of American industry. The commerce of half the world, realizing the dream of Columbus, will go westward to find the Indies. England, facing eastward, carrying her Magna Charta of personal rights and all her great institutions of civil and religious liberty, and the United States of America, first born of these institutions, facing westward, carrying the same institutions, with the practical experience of over a hundred years in self-government, will some day meet in the far-off Orient, having belted the globe with institutions of civil and religious liberty and constitutional free government for all mankind.

The white man can never lay down his burden so long as oppression and national injustice and wrong exist among the children of men. Nations, like individuals, owe something to a common humanity, for they are the trustees of civilization. It is ordained in the retributions of that overruling Providence which controls in the affairs of men that nations can not shirk their responsibilities to liberty and humanity when cast upon them, in the course of human events, without bitter retributions soon or late in national disasters.

The ships will part the unknown sea,
The march of thought will reach the strand;
The onward wave of destiny
Will change the features of the land.

"THE PHILIPPINES.- THIS IS OUR POLICY. TO GO AHEAD WITH AN HONEST PURPOSE."

Extract from speech of SENATOR SPOONER of Wisconsin, in the United States Senate, May 31, 1902.

REPUBLICAN POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Senators demand that we tell them what our policy is in the Philippines. Here it is in this bill. We propose to make no foolish promises to the Filipinos, at this juncture, or any other. They have had enough from Spain. We do not intend to furnish there an element of distraction. We do not intend to put there anything to promote agitation. We want the mind of the Filipino to be on progress, to be on the upbuilding of government, to be on the education of his children, to be on the excellence of our institutions, and upon the earnestness of our purpose to safeguard liberty in that land.

That is our policy. To go ahead; to feel our way, of course, but to go ahead with an honest purpose and with all the wisdom we can command. And we want your help, Senators of the minority. We are entitled to it. We will do better if we get it. If we cannot get it, we are going along without you, and it will not be the first time.

I hope and pray that the time will come when we can truthfully say: We took, reluctantly, because by the fortunes of war we were there, the title to the Philippine Archipelago. We subdued resistance to our authority. We filled the islands with schools and with homes owned by the people. We established a school for government in which were taught the lessons of liberty restrained by law. We separated the church from the State. We lifted the dead hand of ecclesiastical ownership. We gave them our bill of rights and an independent judiciary to enforce its guarantees. We emancipated the peasant from feudalism. We drove from the archipelago the scourge of ladronism. We encountered obstacles, but we surmounted them. We made mistakes, but we corrected them. We educated the inhabitants for self-government, and although occupying a territory of our own, we extended to them the principles of the Declaration of Independence, consulted, when they were free, their wishes as to government, and aided them in the erection of a "Republic in Asia." We threw the shield of our protecting power around them. In the end we left our flag floating there among a grateful, friendly, and independent people—a sign of welcome, safety, and rest to the mariners of our Republic who sail the far Pacific and a reminder to the Filipinos and their children of the rich fulfillment of McKinley's prophecy that it would not lose "its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

"IMPERIALISM."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. C. SPOONER, of Wisconsin, in daily Congressional Record, May 9, 1900.

From the time that treaty was ratified, which has been declared or characterized as a declaration of war, we have had an agitation in this country. Mr. Bryan, to whom I refer respectfully, came here and labored for the ratification of that treaty. If it was a declaration of war he must take his share of the responsibility for it. If it in itself involved imperialism he was a promoter of imperialism.

Before the treaty was ratified, January 9, he published in the New York Journal an elaborate article upon the subject, urging the ratification of the treaty, and a declaration of future policy as to the Philippines, strongly I thought, and think, foreshadowing, in the event of failure to make such a declaration, an aggressive issue against imperialism or colonialism, and from that time in all the speeches he has made, which I have read, he has made anti-imperialism the paramount feature of his political creed. Without impeaching the sincerity of his view against imperialism, as I understand it, or colonialism, when the time comes to decide that question, I have thought, and do think, that it was an attempt to make an issue where there is no issue, apparently born out of the necessity to obscure in some respects the issues of 1896.

For I insist, Mr. President, that there is not in this day, nor has there been, any legitimate foundation for an issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism. Mr. Bryan is the most conspicuous and powerful leader of the Democratic party at this time, and he has done more, in the way of public speeches and writings, in attack upon what he calls imperialism than any other man in the country, and that is manifestly what he seeks and has sought to make the principal issue in the campaign upon which we are shortly to enter.

Where is the issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism? Upon what foundation of fact does it or can it rest now? Who has proposed imperialism in the Philippine Archipelago? Who could speak under the Constitution upon that subject? The President has had but one policy and that is the policy of an executive. It is the policy to carry forward into execution the law. We ratified the treaty. We might have rejected it. We take our share of the responsibility for laying that foundation. We have passed the military bill. We had placed these soldiers at his command, knowing and intending, Mr. President, that he should use them, that he would use them to assert and maintain the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippine Archipelago.

Who can dispose of it? The President? No. The President has made no speech in which, as I recollect it, he did not assert that the power of disposition is in Congress. He says in his last annual message that the whole power of government there is in Congress. The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States." The President can not do it. It is for Congress to do it. It is for Congress to say whether we will withdraw our army from the Philippines or not, whether we will cede the Philippines or not, how we will govern the Philippines if we retain them, or how long we shall retain them. It is not for the President to say, nor has he arrogated to himself that function.

In the years to come, Mr. President, if there shall be a time when the Philippine people, having under our tutelage and guidance been uplifted, having by years of participation in local government become familiar in a way with that science; when education shall have been more largely diffused in the islands; when they have come to know, as they will come to know, that we are their friends, not their enemies; when, in the opinion of the intelligent, patriotic people of the United States, the Philippine people are capable of self-government, capable of maintaining a government which will discharge the duties of a government, which will protect life and liberty and property, which, if you please, can discharge the obligations between nations, then, Mr. President, if they want independence, and there shall be a party in this country which says "yes," and a party in this country which says "no, we will govern them forever as a territory or colony," that will be an issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism. It can not come until then, and can not be settled unless and until it shall have come. It is not here now.

"JEFFERSON WAS THE PIONEER IMPERIALIST."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. M. STEWART of Nevada, in daily Congressional Record, February 16, 1900.

Why should not the present generation enjoy opportunities similar those furnished our fathers by the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California? Why should not the wealth, power, and enterprise of the American people be increased and encouraged? May not the acquisition of the islands of the Atlantic and the Pacific wrested from Spain place the United States in the near future foremost as a manufacturing, commercial, naval, and political power?

The suggestion that the acquisition of territory is imperialism refuted by the fact that neither Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, nor any of their associates are regarded as imperialists. The imperialism they advocated made homes for patriotic, liberty-loving, self-respecting citizens, whose loyalty to the Government of the United States is unsurpassed by the people of any of the thirteen original States.

If to assist the people of the Philippines to establish local self-government after the plan adopted by Jefferson is imperialism, then Jefferson was the pioneer imperialist of the United States. The Philippines will never be dependent colonies. They will be allowed to conduct their own affairs with the assistance of such officers as it may be necessary to appoint to aid them in establishing local self-government. They will not have a voice in the legislative councils of the nation until Congress shall ascertain and determine that their admission as States would be desirable. Notwithstanding the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo promised to make States of the territories acquired from Mexico, New Mexico is still a Territory. The suggestion that we must not trust the future, that those who will come after us will admit the Philippines as States, whether qualified or not, is an assumption that our system of republican government is in failure and that patriotism will become extinct when the seats in the Chamber are filled by our successors.

No person occupies a seat here to-day but myself, who was a member of the Senate in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first and Forty-second Congresses. I was impressed during that time with the anxiety of many Senators for the future and their forebodings of calamities which they contended would necessarily follow if the opponents of the Union in the Civil War were again allowed to participate in the government of the country. They assumed in their arguments that future Congresses could not be trusted and that the Government was in danger of being utterly subverted. How they misjudged the future! Let the heroic patriotism and valor of the soldiers from every State in the Union in the late war with Spain and in the far-off Philippines bear witness. The patriotism and fidelity to the interests of the whole country exhibited in both Houses of Congress by members from the South as well as from the North prove that a reunited people now enjoy a more perfect union than ever before. I have faith in my country and in the American people that they can extend a helping hand to the Filipinos and enable them to peacefully assemble and perfect in due time local self-government where life and property will be as secure as it now is in any State of this Union. I have seen order grow out of confusion in that vast territory acquired from Mexico until the governments of the far West are as efficient in protecting life, liberty, and property as the best governed State of the East.

No one pretends that the Filipinos are now fit for statehood, but I repudiate the suggestion that they are not fit for just such government as Jefferson extended to the Louisiana purchase and Monroe to the acquisition of Florida. There may not be enough Americans in that country to organize a State government without Congressional or Executive action, as in the case of California; but if the same Congressional and Executive care that were extended to all other acquisitions of territory except California are extended to the Philippines, they will progress—it may be slowly, but they will progress in working out good government for themselves and security for life and property, which will bring prosperity and progress to them and great commercial and political advantages to us.

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"THE RESTORATION OF THE AMERICAN FLAG COMMERCIALLY ON THE OCEAN."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. H. DOUGLAS of New York, in debate, Congressional Record, April 26, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER: It gives me great pleasure to record myself strong in favor of and in sympathy with the passage of the present resolution appoint a conference committee to carefully consider and report at our next session what means can likely best be adopted to lead to the restoration of the American flag commercially on the ocean.

With a commerce already in excess of fifteen hundred millions in exports, and a thousand millions in imports, practically all of which is carried by alien vessels, it is well to call a halt and admit that we have now reached a point of national degradation which should go no further, or we will practically have no ships whatever engaged in the deep-sea water trade. We have to-day probably not more than one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand gross tons so employed against the necessary tonnage of at least 10,000,000 gross tons to carry even 60 per cent. of our vast and growing necessities. England alone possesses a merchant fleet of 12,000,000 gross tons.

So much has been written and spoken on the question that it would be fruitless, and is, in fact, almost useless at this late date to go into an elaborate argument as to the conditions which have led to the decline of our supremacy. It is, however, admitted by those who are not absolutely prejudiced that the chief causes of the decline have been the antiquated navigation laws which we have allowed to stand for so long a period of our statute books, and the precluding of American citizens from buying or building abroad and securing United States register.

A potent factor also was the civil war and the natural loss to shipping caused thereby, but probably above all reasons, and the most destructive to our glory on the sea, was the passing away of the wooden clipper and the building of iron and steel steamers and sailers. We are as yet in no position to compete in this industry on a parity with others, although I trust we shall be within a few years, and it is well-known that the cost of sailing an American ship, by reason of the high wages that must be paid and better provisions for the crew called for rightly by our laws, also counts largely against us. Had it not been for our fortunate and wise provisions protecting the coastal trade, the condition of that branch of our carrying business and national prosperity, of which we are to-day so proud would also be in as bad a shape as is our foreign trade.

The Republican party is in power, and they should no longer compel the nation to further suffer in pocket and pride and lay ourselves open to the grave chances which would confront us in case of war between two of the great European nations. If we were called upon to face emergencies of this kind, while we might secure some shipping, there would not be sufficient tonnage available for our prompt needs and requirements, and in any case the greatly increased price that we would have to pay for the hire would be a heavy drawback on our export business, and we would probably lose as much if not more in six months or a year than we would have to expend on any judicious system of relief in twenty-five years.

It is absurd to deny or claim that all the great world nations of to-day are not safeguarding and protecting their shipping interests in every possible manner. It is stated by some that England does not protect her tramp steamers by subsidy, which is, in a measure, correct; but we must not forget that in many indirect ways she does help her merchant vessels. We should not shut our eyes to the fact that she is naturally a maritime nation and her fleets secure the preference through community of interests in trading between her home ports and her extended possessions in various parts of the world, enabling them to obtain outward and home cargoes. She therefore has a decided advantage over others, and the German nation and the French nation are following in her footsteps.

Many claim that the French have not made a success of their protective policy in shipping; but this is hardly true, as they have succeeded in keeping on the ocean the French flag and to-day have a splendid deep-sea tonnage and many steamers specially built for the Government requirements in case of war that can be called upon at a moment's notice; and we must further recollect that the French nation is not in as advantageous a position as England or ourselves to accomplish results. While England, therefore, it is true grants no direct measure of relief, she is most liberal in her payments to the permanently established lines under the plea of mail subsidy or payment for carrying the mails.

IF WE DO OUR OWN CARRYING WE MUST BUILD OUR OWN SHIPS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. E. HUMPHREY of Washington, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

CAUSE OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF OUR SHIPPING

Why does the United States, with all its wealth, with all its great foreign trade, with all its energy, fail to carry her part of the commerce of the seas? It is simply a question of wages and subsidy. It costs one-fourth more to build a ship in this country than it does in Europe. Why? Because of higher wages. It costs one-third more to operate an American than a foreign vessel, so far as labor is concerned. Why? Because of higher wages. I need not stop to cite illustrations, examples, or statistics to prove this assertion, for evidence would have no weight with those who would deny the statement. Add to the price of labor the subsidies and you have the causes that have driven American ships from the ocean. One-half of all the ships that sail the sea are running under heavy subsidies. *We must overcome this disadvantage of wages, this disadvantage of subsidies by national aid and that quickly, or our shipyards will become desolate places and our flag will entirely disappear from the sea.*

FREE SHIPS.

The world's history shows that those who have built ships have navigated them. If we do our own carrying, we must build our own ships. Why is the shipbuilding industry in this country to-day languishing? Because capital can not be profitably invested therein. As long as the world remains as it is men will not engage in an undertaking in which there is no hope of reward. The remedy for this condition advocated by the gentlemen on the other side of the House is registry for all ships bought by American citizens wherever built, or, in other words, their remedy is "free ships." No more is there reason why we should employ foreigners to build our ships than that we should employ foreigners to build our houses.

If we were to make it possible for cheap labor from Europe to come here and construct our buildings, the entire country would protest, and justly so, against the outrage. American labor would rise, as it should, and sweep into eternal oblivion any party that would for a moment advocate such a policy. But the advocate of free ships does more. If the foreigner should come into this country to do our work, we would at least get a part of his wages for supporting him while he was doing it; but when he builds our ships we do not feed him or clothe him or shelter him. We receive the finished product of his toil, wrought in other lands. Of all competition that cheapens American labor, that destroys American prosperity, this is the most dangerous, the most deadly, the most excusable.

The doctrine of free ships is the infamous doctrine of free trade on the land applied to the commerce on the seas. Fortunately for this country, fortunately for the wage-earners of this nation, the record of ruin wrought by the last Democratic Administration has made this doctrine "a hiss and a byword" so odious to the American that no man anywhere within the confines of this great Republic has the assurance to stand up and defend this doctrine of disaster and death. For its advocates to disguise it by another name does not make it smell more sweet. [Applause.]

OUR ONLY UNPROTECTED INDUSTRY.

Situated as we are between two great oceans, with our extensive coast line, with our vast interests, it is our duty to assert our rights on the sea as much as it is to protect our interests in our immense domain on the land. This nation has given protection to every industry on land and sea except only our foreign commerce. We have built canals. We are undertaking a great system of irrigation. We are going to unite the waters of two great oceans. We have subsidized our rivers and harbors. Each year as surely as the rivers run to the sea, so certain does there flow millions from the National Treasury into rivers and harbors. We have protected our manufacturing, and we are the greatest manufacturing nation of the earth. The manufactured product of this country is vastly more than that of any other two nations, and the labor engaged therein is the best-paid labor of its class in all the world. *We have protected every industry except the foreign merchant marine, and every other industry has prospered and flourished beyond those of any other nation in all the world's history.*

"OUR MERCHANT MARINE IN THE FOREIGN TRADE IS LANGUISHING."

Extracts from speech of Hon. E. de V. MORRELL of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, April 30, 1904.

This bill provides for a "Merchant Marine Commission" composed of five Senators and five Representatives, at least four of whom—two Senators and two Representatives—shall belong to the minority party. These members are to be appointed by the presiding officers of each House. The commission is not to legislate, but to "investigate and report what legislation is desirable for the development of the American merchant marine and American commerce." It is required in carrying on its investigation to give to all whose interests are involved a reasonable time for hearing just as committees of Congress are accustomed to do; and it may appoint "subcommissions to make investigation in any part of the United States."

The amount appropriated by the bill for the expenses of the commission is limited to \$20,000. The question presented here is whether the condition of the merchant marine shall be properly investigated with a view to its speedy rehabilitation. As one of the witnesses before the committee put it, "It is an investigation now, gentlemen—investigation to-day or in quest to-morrow."

It is admitted on all sides that our merchant marine in the foreign trade is languishing. *It is admitted that unless some remedy for present conditions is devised before long it will practically be swept from the seas.*

The majority of the committee realized this situation and have reported in favor of the bill, but the minority favor supine inaction. They say:

The opponents of subsidy should rally against this bill. * * * Such a bill passed the Senate, and its irrepressible promoters and beneficiaries are pushing this bill.

Mr. Speaker, who are the beneficiaries of this bill? It is a bill for collecting and reporting information, and surely nobody could or would receive greater benefit from the passage of such a bill than those who are opposed to legislation for the revival of our shipping interests, because they do not understand the subject. *Compulsory education may not always be the most agreeable thing in the world, but it is often the most necessary thing. Nor was there ever an instance in which it was more necessary than the present. The minority are as illogical as they are obstinate.*

The ultimate object of the investigation proposed by this bill is to enable Congress to discover some plan for rehabilitating the foreign commerce of the country and that portion of our merchant marine which is engaged in the foreign trade. Its proximate object is, as I have already said, to provide a method for ascertaining what is the best means of attaining that end.

Four of the members of the proposed commission would be Democrats and would have full opportunity to develop Democratic theories as to the merchant marine. The commission is not to be merely the mouthpiece of those who are already committed to any one plan over another. They are to investigate all plans. The end in view is perfectly clear to all of us. But the best means of reaching that end is not clear. The great majority of us, I presume, have not at present sufficient knowledge of the subject in all its ramifications to feel perfectly sure of arriving, without further light, at the very best conclusion in regard to it.

In 1828 our foreign commerce carried in American bottoms amounted to 757,908 tons, being 88.9 per cent. of our total foreign trade. Then came the Democratic "free freighting act," enacted in the interest of foreign shipowners—an act which is even now in force. That act and the treaties following it destroyed entirely the advantages which American shipowners enjoyed under the protection of discriminating duties. But it gave us no compensating advantages whatever.

Between 1828 and 1902 this proportion gradually diminished. In 1896 it was only 12 per cent., as against 88.9 per cent. in 1828, and it is now still less. I am told that it is not to-day more than 5 per cent. In 1902 it was 1.75 per cent. of our exports and 3.25 per cent. of our imports. After seventy-five years of unprotected carrying under the free-freighting act and Democratic reciprocity treaties only 5 per cent. of our immense exports and imports were carried in American bottoms.

But the effect and the expediency of discriminating duties, as well as of the subsidy plan and all other systems of developing our shipping industry and its related industries, would be thoroughly investigated and expounded by the merchant-marine commission. Our doubts as to the wisdom of the protective scheme, which was crippled and eventually destroyed by the free-freighting act of 1828, passed by a Democratic Congress and carried into effect by Democratic Presidents, might be thereby removed.

But however this may be, we all need the information contemplated by this bill. We need enlightenment on this subject.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT AN AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE FOR OUR FOREIGN CARRYING."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. S. GREENE of Massachusetts, in daily Congressional Record, April 28, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, this question of American shipping is a very simple one. Strangely enough, however, there is thrown over and around it a degree of mystery and misrepresentation that so confuses and complicates the question that many people give up its solution in despair. The shipping question is entirely a labor question. * * *

The American people want an American merchant marine for our foreign carrying. * * * *What they need to see is American shipyards busy building the ships needed for our ocean carrying.* They know that we have an abundance of shipbuilding material equal to every possible need; that our soil is full of iron ore and coal—the two chief ingredients of modern shipbuilding.

They would like to see our great railroad and water transportation agencies and the American labor they employ engaged in carrying the raw materials required in shipbuilding to the mills and factories, and after they have been fashioned into the proper shapes at the mills and the factories by American labor they would like to see them again carried to our shipyards, there to engage American labor in assembling the different parts into the finished ships. * * * The Democrats would have us buy our ships abroad, officer and man them with aliens, in order to solve the problem of an American (?) mercantile marine. The difference would be that the net earnings of the ships, after all of their expenses had been paid—say 5 per cent.—would come into the United States; foreigners would have the remaining 95 per cent. of the gross earnings of the ships under the Democratic plan for the rehabilitation of the American mercantile marine. What real benefit, therefore, would it be to the American people, and to the United States as a nation, to have our ships built abroad, officered and manned by aliens? The capitalist only would be benefited by this Democratic free-ship policy; American labor would be benefited nothing whatsoever.

labor's concern with shipping—a plea for protection for American deep-sea shipping in order that 30,000 workingmen may be given employment in American shipyards.

By John McNeil, president of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron-ship Builders of America.]

I am the president of an organization of American workingmen all of whom are dependent upon shipbuilding for their livelihood. We have a membership of 30,000, scattered over the country among 500 different lodges. We are mostly concerned in securing work at our trade. There were never so many of our members seeking employment at their trade as there are to-day.

We find ourselves in a country where the wages are far higher than they are in any other country. We do not desire any reduction in the average rates of American wages. * * * Considering the wages paid to our men in the shipyards, the prices of materials, and other expenses connected with shipbuilding, it is impossible to produce a ship in this country as cheaply as it can be produced in other countries. If we were steadily employed, like locomotive and bridge builders, year in and year out, through a great widespread demand for our product, we should, without doubt, be able to build ships as cheaply, if not more cheaply, than foreigners do, just as our locomotives and bridges are constructed as cheaply or more cheaply than foreign locomotives and bridges are constructed. * *

Great and permanent demand for ships for the deep-sea trade is what is wanted. The problem is how to get it. Just such a situation existed in this country fourteen years ago with respect to the tin-plate industry. We knew how to make tin plate, we had all the facilities with which to make it, the skill, the materials, and the demand for tin plate. The price was the obstacle. Americans could not make it as cheaply as foreigners could. So Congress laid a high duty on imported tin plate, and we all know that in the fourteen years that have passed since that duty was laid we not only made all of the tin plate we need for ourselves, but we also export large quantities.

If the high protective duty were withdrawn doubtless we should soon lose the manufacture of tin plate. It was through the action of Congress that made worth the while of American capital to invest in the tin-plate making in this country. The wages of men employed at tin-plate manufacture were not reduced to the foreign level, but the cost of the foreign product was so increased as to enable Americans to make it and still pay the going rates of wages in the United States to the workingmen employed in tin-plate manufacturing.

We ask Congress to do for the shipbuilding industry precisely what it did for the tin-plate industry. *First, to realize that ships will not be built here for the foreign price, and, secondly, to make it profitable for American capital to invest in American-built ships.* And we ask Congress to do this for our ships employed in the deep-sea trade just as it has done it for the tin-plate industry—through protection. We have tried free trade in ocean transportation so long that the results of the trial are manifest to everybody. We have now 800,000 tons of ocean shipping where a generation and more ago we had 2,500,000 tons. * * *

The denial of protection to American ships in the deep-sea trade amounts to a denial of employment for men of our craft at our trade in the United States; that the injury falls upon American labor, and not upon American capital. It is idle to tell us that we can prosper by accepting the foreign rates of wages; we could not if we would, and we would not if we could. We want to be as good as other American workingmen in every respect; we want to earn as good wages, to enjoy as many of the necessities, the comforts, and the luxuries of life as the rest of our fellow-workingmen do, and since acts of Congress have created and long maintained a high standard of wages for American workingmen in all other trades than ours, we still cling to the hope—long deferred, to be sure—that Congress will yet see, and then rectify, the injustice it does to American workingmen employed in building ships through its persistent refusal to protect American ships that compete with foreign ships in our over-sea trade.

"THIS NATION HAS GIVEN PROTECTION TO EVERY INDUSTRY EXCEPT OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. WM. E. HUMPHREY of Washington, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

Situated as we are between two great oceans, with our extensive coast line, with our vast interests, it is our duty to assert our right on the sea as much as it is to protect our interests in our immense domain on the land. *This nation has given protection to every industry on land and sea except only our foreign commerce.* We have built canals. We are undertaking a great system of irrigation. We are going to unite the waters of two great oceans. We have subsidized our rivers and harbors. Each year as surely as the rivers run to the sea, so certain does there flow millions from the National Treasury into rivers and harbors. We have protected our manufacturing, and we are the greatest manufacturing nation of the earth. The manufactured product of this country is vastly more than that of any other two nations, and the labor engaged therein is the best-paid labor of its class in all the world.

We protect farming, and we are the greatest agricultural nation on earth. The products of this industry last year was more than \$4,000,000,000, and the labor engaged therein is the best-paid labor of its class in all the world. We protect mining, and this industry produced last year more than \$1,000,000,000, and the labor engaged therein is the best-paid labor of its class in all the world. We have subsidized railroads by money and by land grants of more than 200,000,000 acres, and we have the greatest railway system and the cheapest rates on earth, and the labor engaged in this industry is the best-paid labor of its class in all the world. We have protected our coastwise and lake shipping, and it is the cheapest transportation on earth, and the labor engaged in this industry is the best-paid labor of its class in all the world.

We have protected every industry except the foreign merchant marine, and every other industry has prospered and flourished beyond those of any other nation in all the world's history. *While forty years ago we carried three times as much foreign commerce as we carry to-day, yet to-day we have four times as much commerce as we had forty years ago.* This, our only unprotected industry, is the only one in which American labor and American capital has practically no part. It is the only one in which foreign labor and foreign capital has driven out American labor and American capital. It is the only unprotected industry, and it is the industry that charges the highest rates, gives the poorest return on the investment, and pays the lowest wages of all American industries.

THE BENEFIT OF LABOR.

The workmen of this country are more deeply interested in this question than any other class. Thousands of foreigners are to-day performing labor that should be done at home. It is the workman who is losing most by having our commerce carried by others. It is the workman whose work and wages are taken from him. This loss of work and this loss of wages affect the laboring class more directly than any other. If we were to pay \$50,000,000 annually in subsidies and that payment would cause us to build our own ships and in them carry our own trade, the sum would return to us more than threefold each year in wages alone.

To build our own ships and do our own carrying would give investment to more than \$700,000,000, and would give employment to 500,000 men, who would earn more than a million dollars in wages each day. Even this is not the limit that would be given to the employment of labor. Labor must fell the trees in the forest; labor must move the timber and operate the mills to manufacture the lumber; labor must dig from mines the coal and the iron for the furnaces and forges; labor must transport these products from mine and mill to the shipyards. The farmer must furnish bread and clothing for all these countless toilers. This question touches every interest, every class, and every section.

This is a question that directly interests all who by the sweat of their face eat bread. It is a question that enters into every family that comes to every fireside in America. It is one of the highest purposes, one of the most sacred duties of the Government, to give its work and its wages to its own. Yet each day's sun sees this nation take from American labor a million dollars in work and a million dollars in wages and give them to those of another land owing allegiance to another flag.

IT IS ADVISABLE TO BUILD PART OF OUR SHIPS ON THE PACIFIC COAST."

Extract from debate, in daily Congressional Record, February 25, 1904.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, this is a fair sample of the degeneration of reason and the disease of imagination that comes from a system of protectionism. Here is a proposition now deliberately to pay out of the public Treasury 4 per cent. more to people in a certain section of the United States for doing certain work than is paid to other people in other sections for doing exactly the same work. Where is it going to stop? After a while when the Post-Office Department wants to get certain material, when the War Department wants it, when the Interior Department wants certain work done, are we to say that we must pay 4 per cent. more if it is done on the Pacific slope than if it is done in Mississippi, or 3 per cent. more if it is done in Pennsylvania than if it is done in New Jersey?

The protection of the United States against the balance of the world has been partially dignified by the adherence of a great many men of intelligence, but protection of one part of the United States against another is mere disease of the imagination in economics, and this is as good a time to strike it down as any other time that can possibly present itself.

Mr. CUSHMAN. Mr. Chairman, in rising to support the amendment offered by my colleague [Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington] I address myself first to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], who is opposing this amendment. I am not at all surprised that, belonging to the political party that he does and entertaining the views that he does on the subject of protection generally, he has made an onslaught on the proposed amendment to this bill, which amendment embodies a feature of the protective law.

It is somewhat surprising, however, to think that the gentleman from Mississippi, who was so earnestly in favor of a million-dollar appropriation being made at this same session of Congress to protect the cotton industry of Texas from the ravages of the devastating cotton worm, can work himself up into such a tremendous spasm of virtue over this provision. That was a provision to appropriate money to protect an agricultural industry of the South. *This is a provision to appropriate money to protect a manufacturing industry of the West. He was in favor of that. He is against this. I always admire the somersaulting proclivities of a political acrobat whenever I am privileged to witness them.*

Now, then, it is to the interest of this Government for numerous reasons to have part of the battle ships for our Navy built on the Pacific coast.

First, it is advisable to build part of our battle ships on the Pacific coast because experience has taught this nation that the very best specimens of naval architecture, not of this nation alone, but of the world, have been turned out of the Pacific coast yards. Second, it is advisable that part of our battle ships be built on the Pacific coast in order to maintain and stimulate a healthy competition in this gigantic and necessary work.

As I have heretofore stated, if there is no competition the Government is powerless to control the price in any degree. Any competition, in order to be of any benefit to the Government, must be real competition. All the large steel plates and all the heavy material that go into a battle ship are produced on or near the Atlantic coast, and from there they must be transported to whatever place the battle ship is to be built. And if a battle ship is to be built on the Pacific coast at all, the Pacific coast contractor must ship all this heavy material, hundreds and thousands of tons, across the continent and pay 75 cents per hundred freight charges on it.

And for these reasons we have to-day offered and are supporting this amendment to the naval appropriation bill, which amendment in substance provides that the Secretary of the Navy shall give a 4 per cent. preferential to Pacific-coast bidders.

"FREE TRADE! FREE SILVER! FREE SHIPS! THE DEMOCRATIC TRINITY OF DARKNESS!"

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. E. HUMPHREY of Washington, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

The whole country has awakened to the imperative necessity of aid for our merchant marine. Even in the Middle West, where a few years ago there was much opposition to national aid being given, they have become aroused to its need, and our committee has been receiving communications from many of the commercial bodies of that great section urging us to enact some law that will bring relief. That something should be done is no longer a question. The only question to-day is, How shall we do it? What method should be adopted? To ascertain a remedy is the principal object of this bill. *I am in favor of anything that will give us American ships to carry American trade, provided it be not done at the expense of some other American interests. If discriminating duties will accomplish this result, then I am in favor of discriminating duties. If subsidies will produce this result, then I am in favor of subsidies. If the two combined will produce this result, then I am in favor of the combination.* As the gentlemen on the other side of the House have expressed themselves as opposed to certain measures, so I, too, am opposed to some proposed remedies. I am opposed to buying ships built in other countries—to free ships. *I am opposed to any system that gives another nation work that can be done at home; that gives investment to foreign capital that should be given to American capital.* I am opposed to any plan that will send our money abroad. I am not in favor of any scheme that would remove the tariff upon articles the like of which are produced in our country.

I am not in favor of trying the delusion of free trade either on land or sea. I oppose any plan that will reduce American wages. I am eternally and everlastingly opposed to any scheme—in any shape, in any form—that will not give the investment to American capital and the employment to American labor. [Applause.]

Free trade! Free silver! Free ships! The Democratic trinity of darkness! No longer dare its worshipers bow down to the first two except in secret; and when we have an opportunity to tear off the mask of the third and expose it in all its hideous deformity we will compel them to recant as to it as vehemently as they are to-day denying free trade and free silver. [Applause.]

THE RESULT.

To build up a merchant marine sufficient to carry our own trade is a question that interests the entire country. It would increase our exports. It would widen our foreign markets. It would reduce freight. It would increase the price of what we sell. It would decrease the price of what we buy. It would build up our shipyards. It would increase the demand for labor. It would increase the wages of those who work. *It would keep at home more than a half million dollars every twenty-four hours that now goes to Europe. It would give to American labor more than a million dollars each day.*

It would benefit all trades, all classes, all sections. It would return to the nation manyfold every dollar given it. It would make us independent of every other nation on earth. It would make our flag more revered at home and more respected abroad. It would give us an auxiliary that will make our Navy really great. It would protect us in war and add to our wealth in peace. It would make the great Republic truly a world power—the mightiest nation ever builded by the children of men. [Applause.]

ALL BENEFICIAL LAWS REPUBLICAN.

Every law that has been written upon our statute books in forty years that added to the prosperity, the greatness, or the glory of our country has been made and written by the Republican party in opposition to the Democratic party. By laws written by the Republican party in opposition to the Democratic party we have become the greatest manufacturing, the greatest mining, the greatest farming, the greatest selling, and the wealthiest nation in all the world's history. In all industries upon land we stand supreme, and the Republican party, in spite of Democratic opposition, is going to write a law upon our statute books that will restore the ancient prestige and greatness of our merchant marine, that will cause our own ships to plow every sea and our flag to fly in every port of the world. [Applause on the Republican side.]

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE FOR THE TIN-PLATE MANUFACTURERS IN THE UNITED STATES CAN BE DONE FOR AMERICAN SHIPBUILDERS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. S. GREENE of Massachusetts, in daily Congressional Record, April 28, 1904.

In 1890 the United States was confronted with the necessity for establishing the tin-plate industry in the United States. At that time aliens supplied practically all of the tin plate that we consumed, and the reason why aliens supplied it was because alien labor produced tin plate more cheaply than American labor could or would produce it. That was a condition of affairs that was entirely satisfactory to our Democratic friends, and they did not wish it disturbed any more than they now wish to have the foreign monopoly of our ocean transportation disturbed. But the Republicans were dissatisfied, and so they determined to build up tin-plate manufacture in the United States.

Our Democratic friends came along and told us that it would ruin the American consumers of tin plate if they were compelled to buy American-made tin plate, costing so much more than foreign tin plate cost, because the American labor employed in its manufacture would insist upon receiving the American wage standard, a standard far above that received by the foreign tin-plate wage-earner. Nevertheless, Congress went forward under the leadership of the lamented McKinley and placed a high protective duty on imported tin plate. There had been no duty on imported tin plate. There had been no duty on imported tin plate up to that time. From one end of the country to the other our Democratic friends, who are our free-trade friends as well, insisted that we could not manufacture tin plate. They also insisted that our people could not afford to consume American-made tin plate. The people were fooled into believing the Democrats for a short time—long enough to take William McKinley temporarily out of public life—but the tin-plate manufactories were established, American labor received the American standard of wages in the making of tin plate, the American consumption of tin plate increased.

Everything the Democrats said we could not do we did; everything they said the people would not do the people did. We have the tin-plate industry now firmly established in this country. We manufacture practically all of the tin plate that we consume. Indeed, we export large quantities of American manufactured tin plate. And all of this has been accomplished because the Republicans gave protection to tin-plate manufacturing in the United States. American materials, American demand, American skill, and American labor have done all the rest. We make our own tin plate; we employ our own labor in making it. *The millions we formerly sent to aliens in alien lands to pay them for making tin plate for us we now pay to our own countrymen in the United States; we have the tin plate and we have the money expended for tin plate besides. In the case of shipping it is different; we have the ships, but aliens built them, aliens run them, and aliens own the larger part of them.*

What has been done for the tin-plate manufacturers in the United States can be done for American shipbuilders and American shipowners. A way will be found, and there will be neither degradation of American labor nor a reduction in the wages paid to those who produce the materials out of which the ships are built or of those who build the ships or of those who operate them when built. * * *

And what do the Republicans propose? Their concern is not so great for the capitalist as it is for the workingman. First of all, they insist that when we build up American shipping upon the seas, it must be composed of vessels constructed by American labor out of American materials. That is the first demand of the Republicans. They will have nothing but that. Then they will require that the ships be officered by American citizens, that the crews shall be composed of American citizens so far as possible, and that the food scale shall be ample and generous, as befits good American citizens. That provided for, then the extra expense of the construction and the operation during the time that our ships are securing the carrying trade will be met by some protective system, just the same as the extra cost of American labor in other fields of industry is now provided for by our protective system. * * * It is estimated that every year \$200,000,000 is paid out by the American people to foreign shipowners for the transportation of American foreign commerce. *Think of it; every five years a billion dollars! During the past forty years probably all of \$5,000,000,000 has been paid to foreigners for carrying the imports and exports of the United States! During the next quarter of a century, if things remain as they are, the people of the United States will pay out to foreign shipowners in freight charges another \$5,000,000,000. The United States will be just that much poorer in wealth, in resources.*

“AMERICAN SHIPS, FLYING THE AMERICAN FLAG SHALL CARRY AMERICAN COMMERCE.”

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. E. HUMPHREY of Washington, in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

The total number of steamships engaged in our foreign trade last year was 1,368, and of all that number only 133 bore the Stars and Stripes. But to-day, while we are the greatest manufacturing nation on earth, while we are the greatest agricultural nation on earth, while we are the greatest exporting nation of the earth, while the balance of trade in our favor last year was \$400,000,000, while our foreign trade carried in ships for 1903 was \$2,240,797,420, yet *this mighty nation of ours, bounded by two great oceans, with its great coast line, with its magnificent ports, with its inexhaustible resources, its immeasurable wealth, its tremendous energy, carries but about 5 per cent of this trade. We paid to the foreigner for carrying the remainder the enormous sum of \$200,000,000.*

It is a well-known fact, stated by the highest authority, that during the Spanish war, even had we possessed another naval fleet we had not the officers and men to equip it. It is equally well known that our Government was compelled by foreign nations to pay exorbitant prices for inferior crafts during this war, and we all know that there can not exist a navy truly great without a merchant marine, yet this necessary auxiliary to our Navy is almost entirely neglected, while we contribute to build up the auxiliaries of foreign navies \$200,000,000 annually. What do these figures mean?

They mean that we actually pay for the benefit of the foreigner a sum ten times greater than the interest on the national debt; a sum equal to all the customs duties we collect; a sum more than twice what we are spending to build up and maintain our Navy; a sum twice as great as we spend to maintain our Army; it is half as great as the entire cost of our war with Spain; it is a sum far greater than all the pensions we are paying to all our soldiers for all our wars; *it means that more than a half million dollars each day is paid to foreign labor; that more than a half million dollars each day is taken from American labor and given to the foreigner; it means that a half million dollars in wages leaves this country each day that could remain at home.* Not only are we paying this vast sum to foreign labor, but we are training foreign sailors, building foreign vessels that may be used against us at any time in event of war. It means that each year we are placing ourselves more and more at the mercy of other nations.

It means that we are constructing for possible enemies their mightiest weapon, that may at any time be used to our destruction. It means that a tribute is to-day levied upon the American farmer, the American merchant, the American mechanic, the American workman to build up the nations and navies of Europe. These figures demonstrate that we are utterly unable to cope with any of the great powers of the world. These figures tell an alarming story of our national weakness, of our national danger, national neglect, national humiliation, and national disgrace. What a lie these figures give to our boasted assertion that we are a world power. No patriotic American can contemplate these figures without feeling his cheeks reddened with the blush of shame. *I hope and believe that the future policy of this nation, steadfast and unswerving, will be that American ships, built by American capital in American yards, by American labor paid American wages, manned by American seamen, flying the American flag, shall carry American commerce.* [Applause.]

The following table of tonnage for deep-sea commerce strikingly shows the humiliating conditions of our shipbuilding at the present time as compared with some of the other nations:

	Tons
United States	873,000
Italy	1,180,000
France	1,480,000
Norway	1,660,000
Germany	2,960,000
British Empire	14,800,000

This table shows that the United States actually has to-day 108,000 less tons engaged in foreign commerce than she had ninety-four years ago.

The Navy

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"WE MUST MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP OUR NAVAL STRENGTH."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. ADOLPH MEYER of Louisiana in daily Congressional Record, February 19, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, it seems that some sentiment is sought to be created against the steady growth of the Navy, it being urged that we already have too many ships, too many men, too many guns, that the Navy is top-heavy, and that the money needed to enlarge it or to maintain it should be devoted to the improvement of our rivers and harbors, public buildings, etc. Sir, as a representative of one of the States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, interested in the improvement of its waterways and seashore, I would not sacrifice the great commercial interests of that section for mere pride of power or the glory of possessing a great navy. I regard such work of improvement as second to none in its benefits to the people, to the farmers and producing classes, and to our commercial interests.

Commerce is the great adjunct of civilization, industry, and progress, and our lakes, rivers, and harbors, provided by nature for its facilities, are arteries that may not be neglected in scientific improvements to meet the expanding needs of navigation; but all these and other requisites can be provided without encroaching upon the means for national defense.

The great Mississippi Valley can not permit the mouth of the Mississippi River, its natural outlet for commerce, to be blocked by a hostile fleet any more than by those natural obstructions to commerce which science is now removing.

The denizens of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts are keenly alive to the protection of their cities and the development of trade to Australia, South America, the Orient, and, in truth, to all the world.

With a rapidly growing nation and a developing commerce with all the world, we need the "open door" for our trade, as far as it is possible to have it, and we need also the ability to protect our commerce and our markets. How can we do this, or even attempt to do it, without a strong and efficient navy?

This is not all. Let us remember, sir, that we have a line of seacoast on the Atlantic, the Gulf, and the Pacific to defend which can not be less than six or eight thousand miles; it is far greater than that of any European nation. In addition to this we have Alaska to defend, both by sea and by land. Alaska does not represent the new-fledged policy of greed and foreign conquest. We bought her from Russia many years ago, and she proves to have great resources. Then there is Hawaii, which we secured by agencies which some regard as more questionable, but it is an important outpost on the Pacific, and that people have certainly been greatly blessed by our rule. I did not favor its annexation, but I do favor its defense, if necessary.

We have made Cuba free and independent, and we can not and will not permit any European government to establish dominion there. In order to make good our position there and properly guard our interests in respect to Cuba, we must maintain and develop our naval strength. The same is true in respect to Porto Rico.

I think the truth of these observations can not be denied by any intelligent man; but there is another and a fixed policy of the United States handed down to us by our ancestors to which we have to look. I refer to the well-known Monroe doctrine.

In this cursory and imperfect review I have said nothing of the proposed isthmian canal. At an early day the construction of such a canal by the American Government will be commenced to be paid for out of our own Treasury, to be under American sovereignty and to be operated, managed, and guarded by us. It is proposed to expend \$200,000,000 and more on this canal, which could be destroyed in forty-eight hours by any country having a superior fleet to our own. I favor the canal, but I favor also a navy capable of defending it. [Applause.]

I do not wish to see the commerce of this country or the shores of this country lying at the mercy of any one of the half a dozen nations which may be superior to us in naval power. I think that with an adequate naval force proportioned to our wealth, commerce, foreign trade, and domestic resources we are far more apt to preserve peace with foreign nations than if by neglect or shortsightedness we suffer ourselves to fall behind in naval power.

"THE VERY ESSENCE OF DEFENSE OF OUR COMMERCE IS THE NAVY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. A. G. DAYTON of West Virginia, in daily Congressional Record, February 20, 1904.

Not until about fourteen years ago have we gone to work systematically and earnestly to get ourselves a fleet on the sea that would be an honor and a credit to our country and to our flag. As a result of it, of course, these expenditures have increased; but we have been able to stand it; we have been able to bear it without the country ever feeling it, and the remarkable state of affairs exists to-day that the strongest sentiment for the United States Navy is in those sections away from the sea—in the great Northwest, in mountain countries like my State—while about the only protest that comes is from a gentleman representing the State of New York. Now, as to the cost of it, the Secretary of the Navy, in his annual report has taken occasion to give us some figures touching what this naval expenditure has amounted to.

Mr. Chairman, by your leave, I will ask the Clerk to read for me the passage which I have marked from this report, including the table given by him, in order that members of the committee may see, after all, that while it is a \$100,000,000 appropriation bill, it is substantially for the purpose of defending our honor, our country, and our flag and maintaining our peace. I hope gentlemen will listen to the table, so that they may see how small the actual insurance rate is compared with the wealth and the value of this country.

The Clerk read as follows:

The cost of military protection has frequently been compared with that of insurance upon property. The comparison is not inapt, and has a special significance in considering naval expenditures. I have caused a comparison to be made between the national valuation and naval expenditures. The valuation of the total property of the United States was obtained by taking the figures of Mulhall up to the census of 1850 and then the figures of the census. This gives only the valuation of every tenth year, beginning with 1800. The valuation of the intermediate years is approximately obtained by adding to each year an equal proportion of decennial increase. The average valuation for each decennial period is thus readily obtained. The naval expenditures can be obtained with absolute accuracy. The expenditures given do not include the cost of the executive establishment. The following table, computed in this manner, shows the percentage of the total property of the United States devoted to the support of the Navy by ten-year periods in the last century. The whole period shows an average annual expenditure of \$0.00123 for each dollar of the valuation.

Years.	Average valuation (computed).	Average naval expenditure.	Percentage.
1801-1810.....	\$1,321,245,000	\$1,636,732	.00123
1811-1820.....	1,732,470,000	4,675,502	.00269
1821-1830.....	2,335,930,000	3,295,086	.00141
1831-1840.....	3,301,915,000	5,041,751	.00152
1841-1850.....	5,637,199,000	7,237,696	.00129
1851-1860.....	12,198,889,800	11,996,977	.00098
1861-1870.....	23,718,414,100	46,848,730	.00197
1871-1880.....	36,983,933,100	19,658,796	.00053
1881-1890.....	54,959,300,050	16,867,629	.00030
1890-1900.....	81,131,690,950	38,635,164	.00047

General average, \$0.00123.

The expenditures for the fiscal year 1903 were \$82,618,034. By reasonable approximation the valuation for that year was \$106,239,266,872. Thus there was expended for this year for each dollar of the national valuation \$0.00077. If the average of the last century had been reached, the expenditures would have been \$130,674,298.25.

Mr. DAYTON. Now, Mr. Chairman, absolutely for the common defense and the peace of this country we pay less than one-thousandth of 1 per cent. upon the actual property valuation of this country. Suppose we take it from the commercial standpoint of view. There is not a single man in this House but what knows that the very essence of defense of our commerce is the Navy of the United States; that it is a hopeless thing to attempt to extend commerce and protect it unless we do it by the strong arm of the Government, exercised through its war ships. Let us look at it from the point of view as an insurance premium upon the commerce of the country. Regarding it as such, the naval expenditures would only be twenty-two thousandths of a cent, and when consideration is taken of the cost of insuring the industrial enterprises of our country the members of the committee can see how small, how insignificant, is this rate.

"WE BELIEVE IN PEACE BACKED UP BY PREPARATION FOR WAR."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEORGE E. FOSS of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, February 25, 1904.

We started to build up the American Navy in 1883, more than twenty years ago. How many battle ships have we to-day? Eleven battle ships built. How many under construction? Thirteen battle ships. How many in all? Twenty-four battle ships—a little more, just a little more, than one battle ship a year. How many has England to-day? She has fifty built. How many has she under construction? Nine. How much does that make in all? Fifty-nine battle ships. We will have twenty-four, she will have fifty-nine, nearly sixty.

Now, my friends, there are other things to be taken into consideration. The gentleman has called attention to the fact that we are expending here upon our Navy, or maintenance of the Navy, in this appropriation bill \$96,000,000. He calls attention to the fact that England's naval appropriation this year amounts to \$170,000,000, although I saw in a morning paper that she has put in estimates to the amount of \$184,000,000. France, Russia, and Germany have large estimates also. We are all for peace, but we believe in peace backed up by preparation for war. We believe in that peace which comes from being prepared. The father of our country said that one of the most effectual means of preserving peace is to prepare for war.

That is why the debate on this battle ship is so important. We are all for peace—peace among the nations of the globe, peace between other nations and ourselves; but we do not believe in striking down that ship that stands for the largest armament, for the largest ordnance, for the largest guns; that ship that is the fighting arm of the United States Navy. That is what makes the significance of this debate so great.

I am well aware that the Czar of Russia called the representatives of the foreign countries together at that great peace celebration at The Hague, and those representatives in solemn convention resolved upon the disarmament of the military establishments; but I am also reminded of the fact that no sooner was that resolution passed by the representatives of all the countries than the nations themselves began to build their military establishments with greater vigor than ever before. And I say here to you to-day that we must continue this policy of building the American Navy.

Why, you remember when the Spanish fleet, in the Spanish-American war, started from the other side and we knew not its destination there was a shudder that went down the whole New England coast, and many of those estimable gentlemen who live along there and preach in times of peace about the cost of war and the necessity of cutting down the military establishment would not go to their summer resorts on the shore, but, on the contrary, went to their safety-deposit vaults, and took their boxes and heels into the interior. [Laughter.] Now, I tell you, in time of war we see the necessity for a navy.

If we are to turn our backs upon the Philippines; if we are to give them up and our islands of the sea; if we are to refuse all protection to American commerce wherever that commerce goes; if we are to say, "Oh, yes, there is nothing but peace; there will never be any war," why, then, I say let us stop building battle ships, stop building all kinds of ships, dismantle the guns along the coasts, and refuse to put a single dollar into fortifications.

Why deepen the rivers and harbors? What is the use of creating a foreign commerce unless you can protect it? Why not go back into some corner of the world and there hide away in solitude and isolation? Yes, why not take down from the masthead of our battle ships that old flag of glory, placed in the sky by the united work of the Army and the Navy in every great national struggle, placed there by the bravery of our soldiers and our sailors, all the way from Washington to Chaffee, all the way from Essek Hopkins and old Jack Barry to Dewey.

Why not take down that flag and run up to the masthead the white flag of peace; that kind of peace that means surrender of national duty, of national obligation, of national responsibility? And then take ourselves away into some remote corner of the earth and pray God may we carry Old Glory along with us as a sweet and gentle reminder that we were once a nation and once a people. Go back, I say, into some isolated corner and sit down and write the word "Nation" so small that no people on the face of the globe can see it, and we ourselves ashamed to look at it, and there, with humiliation and grief, mourn over the better and more glorious days of the Republic. [Loud applause.]

"THE FUTURE OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE IS IN THE CUSTODY OF OUR NAVY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW of New York, in daily Congressional Record, March 8, 1904.

I am not at this time going into a discussion of the reasons why we will find stronger arguments every year for establishing closer relations with the Philippines, but I will say that I believe no one now living will see those relations weakened. I believe that the extraordinary progress which has been made by those people, as testified to by Governor Taft, in education, in civilization, and in the industries, will continue with accelerated speed as the schools become more numerous, the education more general, and the communication between the United States and the Philippine Islands more constant and rapid. I do not think we yet fully understand two things. First, how much the Philippine Islands are to be advantageous to us in their own development; what they are to grow to when they have absorbed the spirit and are putting in practice the principles of American liberty, American law, and American enterprise. And the other, that we can not yet comprehend until the war clouds in the Far East are over and years have passed by the increasing importance to the United States, on its commercial and industrial side, of the possession of those territories, with their harbors and their depots so near to that market for which all the world is contending. * *

But, sir, we are and have become within a few years, in being a world power, subject to perils and conditions which never existed before. We have obligations to the island of Cuba, where we have said to the world we will protect her against assault or invasion, against any attack upon her independence or the integrity of her territory or her institutions. We have Porto Rico, which can be defended only from the sea, as Cuba can be defended only from the sea. We have Tutuila, Guam, Hawaii, and the Philippines, far from the United States, all of which must be protected from the sea.

But we have assumed another obligation which is much greater, and that is the isthmian canal. We have the longest line of sea-coast of any power in the world except one—7,000 miles, and in addition to that Alaska. Alaska is growing in wealth and in population to an extent which is enlisting attention everywhere, and has to be defended from the sea.

But, sir, the isthmian canal has opened a new era for America and the world. Already the treaty has been signed, the negotiations have ended, the Commission has been appointed. We are to establish soon a government upon the tract ceded to us and assume the responsibility for order and law. The spade is on its way. The steam drill and the dredge will be heard within a few months. One of the most inspiring lines of literature is Emerson's, "Here once the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world," and the sound of the dredge and the drill on the Isthmus will be heard around the world, because it is to alter the paths of commerce and to change the relations of nations.

*The future of the Monroe doctrine is in the custody of our Navy. Its peaceful recognition will be the tribute which other nations pay not to the doctrine, but to our sea power. * * **

Now, when through the isthmian canal all products of the industrial energies of this country can reach that market just as quickly and cheaply as can the manufacturers of the Old World, then, sir, will come a competition which will be most acute because of the skill of our artisans and business talent of our people. There will be no difference between it and competition between individuals. We all know what competition means between men, firms, or corporations, and in the progress of civilization all great nations have become business concerns, each looking in a materialistic and business way for the production of manufacturing and agricultural products which shall give employment to and support its people and a market for the surplus of those products.

Now, sir, we can not protect that commerce by an army or treaties alone. We can not protect our commerce and expand our trade by arbitration at The Hague alone. We can only maintain our commerce by having a sea power adequate for its protection, for the security of our islands, and to prevent a hostile fleet from destroying in a week the isthmian canal after it has cost us two to four hundred million dollars and ten years to build—a sea power, sir, which will not be aggressive, but will stand for and keep peace.

"THE BIGGEST GUNS, THE FINEST SHIPS, ARE THE HERALDS OF PEACE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, February 24, 1904.

I have no confidence, Mr. Chairman, no belief, in the doctrine that a great Navy is an invitation to war. That is the argument of my colleague, that it is a sort of invitation, stating to the world, "Here is our great Navy, and, therefore, we invite you to come and test the question." Now, I think you may start at the smallest boy who gets into a fight with his smaller neighbor and carry your investigation clear up through the growth to manhood, the aggregation into States, and the aggregation into an administration with a great navy, and from the smallest boy up to the great navy the question involved in a dispute, nine times out of ten, is whether the other fellow can lick you or not. That is human nature, and human nature controls the action of men and the action of nations.

Now, we are told that if we build a great navy and go on to perpetuate the naval question, the foundation of which was laid by the approval of the Administration in which Mr. Chandler was Secretary of the Navy, and which was taken up and enlarged with great intelligence and great patriotism by the first Cleveland Administration, with the lamented Whitney at the head of the Navy Department—that if we do all this we are doing it with a danger threatening us that somebody will want to go to war with us. Does anybody suppose that when President Cleveland figuratively shook his fist at Great Britain when he believed they were imposing upon Venezuela that if we had been a small nation with small power Great Britain would have settled the matter in the manner that she did? Great Britain is no better nor no worse than other nations, but she is particularly careful to see to it that the estimate of guns and men and material shall enter largely into her national diplomacy.

I want to call the attention of the House, for this is a very important question that we are debating, to the condition that we were in six years ago. Some of us wanted to go to war very badly; some of us were not so anxious to go to war. What was the condition of the country then? We are told that for every cannon mounted or in use, every effective gun that we had in all the world at that time, we had four loads of ammunition, and no more. We had just about small arms enough to arm 25,000 men, and no more, and ammunition enough for forty rounds for each one of those men, and no more.

Now, it happened that we went to war with an inferior nation; yet we learned enough to know that if that demonstration of power and belligerency that we put forth to that inferior nation had been made to one of the great nations of Europe—well, I think there would have been several States that would have called out its militia to protect its seacoast.

Very soon after that declaration of war there would have been a condition that none of us would have liked. As it happened, we prepared ourselves at a rate of progress never heard of before. But what did it cost us? I should like to have the gentleman from Ohio, when he admits the possibility of a war with a naval power, take the figures of our purchases in ships in 1898—bought at the best price at which we could buy them—indispensably necessary to the outfit of our small naval force, and then take the figures at which those vessels were sold, and see what it costs this Government to supply itself with an indispensable naval equipment. Take also our furnishing of our soldiers—the accoutrements, the equipments, the camp and garrison equipage, and everything that went to fit out the soldiers in the field. *The purchases, upon a basis of the true standard of value, turned out to have cost us five times more than the property was worth; and all of this because we were carrying that flag of peace that my colleague has spoken about to the front.*

So that it will be seen that after all the argument that disarmament tends to peace is met and overthrown by the learning, the wisdom, the experience, and the human nature of mankind, which recognizes that if you want to have "peace on earth and good will to men" you must have the biggest guns, the finest ships, and the most of them. They are the heralds of peace; they are the missionaries of good will; they are the harbingers of equal rights and fair dealing between the nations of the earth. *It does not follow that because the United States becomes a great naval power—because she goes "world-powering"—that she shall abuse anybody; provoke anybody.*

THERE IS NO BETTER INSURANCE POLICY THAN A NAVY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York, in daily Congressional Record, March 8, 1904.

I have no doubt, in addition to the tariff walls which have been put up all over Europe against us, and which prevent further expansion of our trade on the Continent of Europe, that Mr. Chamberlain will succeed in England. I think he will be defeated in the next general election, but the sentiment will grow, and there will be a short life for the party which comes into power on the old free-trade programme. Mr. Chamberlain will find himself in five or six years, with an increased majority behind him, coming into power on an entire reversal of the traditional policy of Great Britain.

The example of the United States, the tremendous development of our resources and industries by reason of the protective tariff, our enormous growth in wealth, because we have made America for Americans, have already made Germany, France, Russia, Italy, and Austria adopt the protective system.

Their tariff walls are raised against us because the enterprise of our manufacturers and the skill of our artisans and cheap transportation are making our competition dangerous. When England reverses her policy, when she ceases to be a dumping ground for our surplus, when her ports are no longer open to our cereals, our fabrics in cotton and wool, our manufactures in wood and steel, when she enacts a tariff which will keep her factories going and her own workmen employed at living wages against foreign producers, then we will find that the American business man, the American factory, the American farm, and the American workman will demand that we enter those markets of the East, which will not be opened and kept open for us except by an adequate Navy. * *

No matter how large our Navy, wherever it is it will stand not for war but for peace. No matter how great our Navy, it will stand not for aggressiveness, but for defense. I do not believe that the admiral of the fleet in the Eastern waters was seeking for trouble or would have involved us in a war with any nation out there or into taking sides with either of the combatants even if he had not been ordered away. We have twenty-four great ships now in those Eastern waters in the neighborhood of the hostilities; and we can absolutely trust their commanders, while preserving the honor, the rights, the trade, and the territories of the United States, not to invite trouble with anybody.

There is no better insurance policy than a navy. I am a believer in insurance. A large navy, adequate to the needs of the country, which is strong enough both to protect and defend it, is a minister of peace. * *

Now, as to our ability. We are a nation of 80,000,000 people. According to Mulhall we have one hundred and twenty-seven thousand million dollars of wealth. Great Britain has 42,000,000 people and \$65,000,000,000 of wealth. France has 39,000,000 people and \$54,000,000,000 of wealth. Germany has 56,000,000 people and 45,000,000,000 of wealth.

The commerce exports and imports of the United States last year were \$2,606,000,000; of Great Britain, \$4,000,000,000; of France, \$1,669,000,000 and of Germany, \$2,453,000,000. Germany is under us by \$150,000,000, and France is under us by nearly one-half.

And yet the cost of the navies now on the sea and in course of construction are \$629,000,000 for Great Britain, with one-half of our population and less than one-half of our accumulated wealth; \$327,000,000 for France, with less than one-half of our population and less than one-half of our accumulated wealth, and \$182,000,000 for Germany, with less than three-quarters of our population and less than one-half of our accumulated wealth.

The actual cost of the vessels in commission and those that will be when the present construction is carried out for the United States, against the figures for these other countries, will be \$182,000,000. The United States now occupies the fifth place, with 294,405 tons, as against 387,874 for Germany, 416,158 for Russia, 576,108 for France, and 1,516,040 for Great Britain.

"LET US ECONOMIZE ANYWHERE RATHER THAN IN OUR NAVY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. E. B. VREELAND of New York, in daily Congressional Record, March 10, 1904.

Why do we need a navy? I suppose, Mr. Chairman, we could get along without one. If we disagree with other nations, if the rights of American citizens of the United States are infringed, I suppose we can surrender. It is always easy to surrender. I suppose we can pay money for damages to placate the possible foe. I suppose we might turn over a slice of our territory to save ourselves from the wrath of those who have not ceased to build navies and to maintain armies. But, Mr. Chairman, none of us believes that the American people will consent to do these things. We all know that the American people are a proud people, a high-spirited people. We know there is no nation on earth which will quicker resent an insult to its flag; we know that there is no people on earth which will more strenuously stand for its rights when it is convinced that its rights are being infringed. We know, Mr. Chairman, that no lack of preparation which might exist would prevent the American people from resenting injuries to their interests or insults to their flag, or that would prevent them from rushing into war should they consider that there was necessity for it.

Our Democratic friends have dwelt for a day or two upon the statement that the Democratic party are a peace party. But, Mr. Chairman, while they no doubt are a peace party, while the American people are a peace-loving people, while they will not willingly take up the gage of battle if any other honorable course can be found, yet I believe that even the Democratic party could not prevent the American people from rushing into war if they believed that their interests demanded it. I say that, because I remember that when the Spanish-American war was imminent, our friends upon the other side were not seeking to hold back the United States from engaging in battle, but I remember that no other citizens of the United States were more urgent and strenuous in their demand that the United States should interfere in that conflict than were our friends upon the other side. I remember that they were so eager for war that they were unwilling to wait until he who then sat in the Presidential chair was able to prepare the forces of the United States for the conflict. And so, Mr. Chairman, I am afraid that we could not depend upon the Democratic party to keep us out of battle in time of need.

* * * for the purposes of maintaining the Monroe doctrine or the foreign policies and interests of the United States our 80,000,000 of people with wealth and energy and resources sufficient to build and equip a thousand battle ships, would stand helpless upon our shores while the honor and interests of the United States would depend upon our war ships which were built and equipped and ready to engage the enemy. It seems probable that in future wars the command of the sea, and all the tremendous advantage which goes with it, will be determined in the first thirty days of conflict. The wars of the future will not wait three or four years for us to build and equip battle ships.

Mr. Chairman, what is there in our history which leads gentlemen to say that the possession of a navy is likely to tempt us into unnecessary war? Do they mean that we must keep our forces so weak that we shall not dare assert our rights and protect our interests? Never in our history perhaps with the exception of the Mexican war, have our people entered upon a war of conquest or aggression, and that was a war brought on by the slave power to furnish room for the extension of slavery to offset the growing forces of freedom. * * * *Let us economize anywhere rather than in our Navy, which represents the power of our country in its intercourse with foreign nations.*

Some slighting remarks have been made during this debate about the United States as a world power. The able leader of the minority has talked about the United States going up and down the world "a world-powering." Some gentlemen seem to long to return to the condition we were in seventy-five or a hundred years ago, when the energies of our people were entirely absorbed in developing our own country and we had little interest in the affairs of other countries. *But the gentlemen might as well wish that they could be children again. The United States has simply grown to manhood. It stands a Colossus, with ever-widening influence among the nations of the earth. It is first in agriculture and first in mining. In the value of its manufactured products it exceeds any other three nations. The value of the products of its mills and factories and farms exported to all parts of the earth exceed those of any other nation. We have grown beyond the point where the energies of our citizens can be confined to the development of our own country, and supplying the needs of our own citizens.*

"THE POWER AND DIGNITY OF THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTED BY A POWERFUL NAVY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOSEPH V. GRAFF, of Illinois,
in daily Congressional Record, February 25, 1904.

The United States of America has more money invested in manufacturing enterprises than the Kingdom of Great Britain. The United States produces 32 per cent. of all the food products of the entire world. It will always remain true. In view of the increased productive power, as a resultant from these great factories already built, from American invention, and from the steady employment of American workmen, a large surplus is being produced, and will continue to be produced unless there is retrenchment in the production in the United States, unless the American workman ceases to be employed so generally, or ceases to be employed all the time throughout the year. So that the pressing problem before the United States, whether the Democratic party wins at the next election or whether the Republican party wins at the next election, is, How are we going to provide for the consumption and sale of the surplus of our farms and our factories?

In what direction are we looking for that? Shall we presume that European nations will continue to furnish an outlet for the most of the surplus of our factories and farms? Ah, no. Already a public sentiment has been sufficiently aroused in England, entrenched as she is by past experience and by prejudice in the principles of free trade, to protect herself against the invasion of her markets by the products of American factories. The direction in which we must look is toward the Orient and if this Congress should go before the people of the United States at the coming election and confess that they thought that an isthmian canal was so necessary that it warranted us in expending two hundred millions of the people's money and then provided no navy commensurate with this great enterprise for protecting our interests with relation to our foreign trade, present and prospective, we would meet with condemnation at the hands of the intelligent citizens of the United States. The people of the United States have an interest in regard to the open ports in China.

Who believes that we could have succeeded in obtaining those open ports if it were not that the power and dignity of the United States was partially represented by a powerful navy, willing to back up its just demands? Any intelligent student of the present time knows that there is a conflict going on. You may talk of peace, but there is a conflict, not of arms, but of commerce; a conflict between the railroad land transportation of Russia and the transportation by water by the balance of the European powers and the United States. It was in view of these facts that the people of the United States unanimously demanded the opening of the Isthmus of Panama by a canal. The South recognized the demands and the necessities of the hour for better facilities for the sale of her surplus cotton in oriental markets. Ah, but you say that the present trade with China is insignificant. Fifty years ago Japan would not permit one of her citizens to go beyond her borders nor permit a foreign citizen to enter into her gates under penalty of death, so exclusive was she.

We have discovered, in studying the characteristics of the Chinese and the Japanese, in the last year, that the Chinaman contains as many of the faculties for development for receiving the impress of western civilization as the Jap. Already railroads are being opened up in China. Already there is a large and increasing demand in China by her citizens for the products of the nations of the West.

We can reasonably look for a change in China industrially similar to that now so evident in Japan. If the per capita consumption in China of American products were to increase to the present per capita consumption in Japan, China would be to-day a very large customer.

No! Naval stations in the Philippines, fortifications there, and like improvements in the Hawaiian Islands, and the increase of our Navy are necessary to preserve our commercial interests abroad, in which every citizen of the United States is vitally interested.

"WE HAVE INTERESTS WHICH NECESSITATE A GOOD-SIZED NAVY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. GEORGE E. FOSS of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, February 19, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, it has been said in some quarters that we ought to stop building up the American Navy, that the Navy is large enough, that we have too many ships already. That voice has come to us, but I do not believe that it is the voice of the American people. It has been said that we ought to spend more money on internal improvements, that we ought to deepen our rivers and harbors, that we ought to erect post-office buildings, that we ought to promote expositions; that that was a wiser expenditure of public money; but, Mr. Chairman, I do not agree with that position. There is no necessity for ever drawing the issue between building up the American Navy and providing proper and needful expenditures for internal improvements. I recall the fact that during the last six or seven years, as every Member of this House will recall the fact, that we have been building up the American Navy faster than ever before, but at the same time we have also been expending more money upon internal improvements than ever before.

Why, since the Government began we have expended \$450,000,000 for the deepening of our rivers and harbors, and yet since the 4th of March, 1897—and I take that simply as a convenient time—we have appropriated \$150,000,000 of that \$450,000,000. Not only that, but we have made greater appropriations for building post-offices during that period than ever before, we have promoted more expositions than ever before, and yet I say during all this time we have been making greater progress in the construction of the American Navy than ever before. There is no necessity of drawing the line between the Navy and internal improvements. This country is rich enough and great enough to make proper appropriations for necessary needs at home and abroad, but, sir, if the issue shall be drawn between building up the American Navy as it stands to-day and putting our money into deepening rivers and harbors and building post-offices and promoting expositions—I say if that issue should ever be drawn, though there is no necessity for it, I have no question as to where the American people will stand. *Foremost and above all must stand considerations of national defense, the maintenance of our foreign policy, and the protection of American citizens all over the globe.*

Take it on the basis of expenditures. Our expenditures for all the different Departments of the Government will amount, in round numbers, to \$700,000,000; perhaps, to be a little more accurate, \$660,000,000. Placing it on the basis of spending \$100,000,000 on the Navy, that would be about 14 per cent. of our total expenditures. This is not as large a proportion as we expended on the Navy in 1800. In that year the naval expenditures were 29 per cent. of the total expenditure, according to a statement prepared for me. In 1820 we expended 20 per cent. of the total expenditures on the Navy. In 1840, 21 per cent. In 1870 only 7 per cent. That was when our Navy had been allowed to go to pieces after the civil war.

To-day, even if we should increase this bill to one hundred millions, the percentage would be about 14 per cent. of our total expenditures, less than our forefathers appropriated, in percentage, one hundred years ago.

Now, take it, for instance, on a larger and broader scale—on the wealth of the country. Treat, if you please, the American Navy as the insurer of American wealth, and where do we stand? It has been estimated that the total wealth of this country is more than \$100,000,000,000. If we should appropriate in this bill \$100,000,000 for the American Navy, what percentage would that be of the total wealth of our country? One-tenth of 1 per cent. The Secretary of the Navy in a very able report has set forth how cheaply we have insured ourselves during the past century with the American Navy.

We have interests which necessitate a good-sized navy. We have a great coast line to protect. You may say that we are isolated on this hemisphere and do not need a navy. That was the argument of years ago, but it is not an argument of to-day. It is an obsolete argument, because science is annihilating space every day. The crossing of the Atlantic or the Pacific is no longer a question of weeks, but it is a question of days. The ships are moving faster and faster across the bosom of the ocean. Not only that, but foreign nations have established coaling stations near our coast. So the old argument that we are isolated on this hemisphere and therefore need only a small navy is fast being relegated to the rear.

And then, too, we are building here upon this hemisphere the Panama Canal—a mighty work which will bring two great oceans into everlasting fellowship—and we will need a defense for that canal.

"OUR FOREIGN TRADE IS ENTIRELY AT THE MERCY OF FOREIGN NATIONS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. WM. E. HUMPHREY of Washington. in daily Congressional Record, April 23, 1904.

Our foreign trade, our foreign markets, our country's prosperity, is entirely at the mercy of foreign nations. During the little Boer war England withdrew sufficient vessels from our trade to increase freight rates on many products more than 150 per cent. It affected the entire trade of the country and was felt by every industry. On the Pacific coast it reduced the price of wheat 25 per cent. During our ninety days' war with decrepit old Spain we had to rely on British vessels, to a great extent, to carry our troops and supplies. Even to-day, in time of peace, we are compelled to send our supplies to our little army in foreign ships. What American is not ashamed and humiliated by this fact? What, then, would be our condition in case of war between England and Germany, or between either of them or any other great power?

Our foreign trade would be banished from the seas, our foreign markets would be blotted out, our products would rot in field and factory, labor would be forced into idleness, there would be beggary and want, panic and disaster beyond description and beyond comprehension. Industrially we would suffer all the devastations and horrors of war. That such awful disaster may come upon us at any time is entirely within the range of probability. What, then, would be our condition if we were to become engaged in a mighty struggle with some great nation? Were our condition fully understood, the statement of this question alone *would be sufficient to arouse the self-interest, the pride, the loyalty of every patriotic American to such an extent that he would demand the immediate construction and control of our merchant marine regardless of the cost.* The very statement of this question to-day is sufficient to appall every lover of his country. Let us hope that a lesson so terrible shall not be necessary to compel us to perform our duty.

SUBSIDIES PAID BY OTHER NATIONS.

One-half of the ships that travel the seas to-day are sailing under heavy subsidies. For forty years England has paid as subsidies an average of \$5,000,000 annually. Last year she paid \$6,000,000. This year she will pay more. In addition, she is going to build a great line of fast steamers to be run between this country and England and make it a gift to a company to operate. Germany pays to her ships as subsidies about \$3,000,000 annually, France over \$7,000,000, Austria-Hungary over \$1,724,000, Spain \$1,629,000, Japan, that little country of the Orient that only a few years ago emerged from mediæval darkness, is paying annual subsidies of more than \$2,500,000, and as a result she has a magnificent fleet of steamers and is carrying a large part of our commerce on the Pacific. Shall we not profit by the example of others? Shall their experience be no light to us? Shall their success teach us no lesson?

Why are these vast subsidies paid? They call it for carrying the mail, but in reality it is paid to put their products in the markets of the world and to build up an auxiliary to their navies.

Millions are to-day being expended to drive our flag from the ocean. *Can it be possible that it is worth more to foreign nations to keep our flag from the seas than it is worth to us to keep it on the seas?* Shall we, then, hesitate to spend millions if need be to keep it there?

The present condition of our merchant marine is deplorable, humiliating, and discreditable. Last year from New York there sailed for Europe 265 steamships. Of these, only 6 bore the American flag. There sailed from New York to Australia 8, and on not one did our flag appear. From New York to Africa there were 12, and not one American. From New York to China, Japan, and the Far East, 17, and not one American. From New York to South America, 50, and not an American. From New York to Cuba, West Indies, and Mexico, 71; American, 22. From Baltimore to foreign ports, 73; American 3. From Boston and Charlestown to foreign ports, 74; American, 9. From Newport News to foreign ports, 18; American, none. From Portland, Me., to foreign ports, 6, all British. From Passamaquoddy, Me., to foreign ports, 4; American, 2. From Galveston to foreign ports, 249, and not one American. From Mobile, Ala., to foreign ports, 43; American, none. From New Orleans to foreign ports, 127; American, 5. From Pensacola to foreign ports, 44; American, none. From Alaska to foreign ports, 39; American, 31. From Tampa, Fla., 3; all American. From Hawaiian ports, 15; American, 6. From Port Townsend, Wash., 88; American, 16. From San Francisco, 61; American, 26. From Porto Rico, 37; American, 2. From Philadelphia, 64, and not one American.

"WE NEED A NAVY TO LOOK AFTER OUR COMMERCE AND OUR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS IN FOREIGN WATERS."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. KNUTE NELSON of Minnesota, in daily Congressional Record, March 5, 1904.

We have got to look abroad. In Europe we have almost exhausted ourselves; we have almost got to "the end of our rope." Owing to the hostile tariff legislation which some of the European countries have enacted, and more that is threatened, and, as the Senator from New York [Mr. DEREW] intimated to-day, such as the changed policy that is likely to take place in England, and owing to the commercial jealousies which exist in the countries of the old world we are subject to great competition and have great difficulties. The great field for American commerce and for the extension of our trade lies in the Orient.

In 1892 our total commerce with oriental countries was \$102,583,634, and in 1903, eleven years later, it was \$213,701,048, more than double in eleven years; and, mind you, that increase occurred while the Boxer rebellion was on in China, which prevented the full measure of trade that we should otherwise have had with those countries.

Look at the territory in the Orient, China proper consisting of eighteen or nineteen provinces, with 1,353,350 square miles and a population of 383,000,000; there is Manchuria, with an area of 362,000 square miles and a population of between seven and eight million; there is Korea, with an area of 82,000 square miles, as big as the State of Minnesota, which I have the honor in part to represent here, and with a population of over 10,000,000. Then there is little Japan, progressive, the Yankee of the Orient—little Japan, with an area of 162,000 square miles and 50,000,000 people.

Right here in the midst of this beehive of humanity, right at its very doors, are our own possessions—the Philippine Islands. With those islands in our possession we are placed in a position to dominate the trade of the Orient. *Manila and the Philippine Islands being in our possession, they will become the jobbing and distributing center of the oriental countries; and we need a navy, not for the purpose of keeping peace in the Philippine Islands—for peace reigns there to-day—but we need a navy, as all countries do, to look after our commerce and our commercial interests in foreign waters.*

Mr. President, there is no part of the globe where we can hope to make such commercial conquests and acquisitions for the next twenty-five years as in the Orient and with the Panama Canal constructed, as we are now about constructing it, it will place the cities of the Atlantic seaboard—Boston, New York, Baltimore, New Orleans and the other cities on the Gulf—as close to the large commercial centers of the Orient, Yokohama and Shanghai, as London and Bremen and the other great cities of Europe are by way of the Suez Canal. *Can we afford to fritter away this commerce? When we acquired those islands from Spain, we were confronted by a great moral problem, which was this: Could we as a civilized nation dare to turn those Filipinos back to the Spaniards? That would have been cruelty of the grossest and most oppressive kind. Could we afford to turn them over to themselves in their condition? They knew nothing about government. They were practically, as you might say, a mob. To turn them over to themselves would have been a matter of political suicide and destruction. To abandon them would have been to make them the spoil of the contention and plunder of the great nations of Europe. Manifestly we could not do that. There was only one honorable, upright, and manly thing for the great American people to do, and that was just what we did—take the country, occupy it, civilize the people, give them a good government, and establish law and order there. That is exactly what we have done.*

With that country in our possession and under our rule, Mr. President, we have got such a footing in the Orient that we can dominate and control that trade. Having that possession, we need a fleet, not to take care of the Philippine Islands, to keep them in our possession and to preserve peace and order there, but *we need a fleet in eastern waters to look after our commercial interests, to subserve them, and take care of them.*

There is no country that has greater interests in the Orient than we have, and it is necessary that the American nation should exercise a moral influence, and a moral influence comes from the fact not only that we are a great and strong nation, but from the fact that we have a good, aggressive navy. *I think every American citizen who believes in the progress and prosperity and growth of the country, who wants to build up our country, East and West, North and South, and to promote its interests in all quarters of the globe, ought to do his utmost to build up our Navy. We can never have it any too large.*

"THE NAVY A GUARANTY OF PEACE."

Extracts from public addresses and works of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

We need to keep in a condition of preparedness, especially as regards our Navy, not because we want war, but because we desire to stand with those whose plea for peace is listened to with respectful attention. (New York, November 11, 1902.)

Unreadiness for war is merely rendered more disastrous by readiness to bluster; to talk defiance and advocate a vigorous policy in words, while refusing to back up these words by deeds is cause for humiliation. It has always been true, and in this age it is more than ever true, that it is too late to prepare for war when the time for peace has passed. The shortsightedness of many people, the good-humored indifference to facts of others, the sheer ignorance of a vast number, and the selfish reluctance to insure against future danger by present sacrifice among yet others—these are the chief obstacles to building up a proper navy and carrying out a proper foreign policy. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 274.)

A nation should never fight unless forced to; but it should always be ready to fight. The mere fact that it is ready will generally spare it the necessity of fighting. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 284.)

The American people must either build and maintain an adequate navy or else make up their minds definitely to accept a secondary position in international affairs, not merely in political, but in commercial matters. It has been well said that there is no surer way of courting national disaster than to be "opulent, aggressive, and unarmed." (Annual message, first session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

There never is and never has been on our part a desire to use a weapon because of its being well tempered. There is not the least danger that the possession of a good navy will render this country overbearing toward its neighbors. The direct contrary is the truth. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 284.)

We ask for a great navy, we ask for an armament fit for the nation's needs, not primarily to fight, but to avert fighting. Preparedness deters the foe and maintains right by the show of ready might without the use of violence. Peace, like freedom, is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards or of those too feeble or too shortsighted to deserve it, and we ask to be given the means to insure that honorable peace which alone is worth having. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 288.)

If in the first decade of the present century the American people and their rulers had possessed the wisdom to provide an efficient fleet of powerful battle ships, there would probably have been no war of 1812; and even if war had come, the immense loss to and destruction of trade and commerce by the blockade would have been prevented. Merely from the monetary standpoint the saving would have been incalculable; and yet this would have been the smallest part of the gain. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 278.)

In public as in private life, a bold front tends to insure peace and not strife. If we possess a formidable navy, small is the chance indeed that we shall ever be dragged into a war to uphold the Monroe doctrine. If we do not possess such a navy, war may be forced on us at any time. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 281.)

In all our history there has never been a time when preparedness for war was any menace to peace. On the contrary, again and again we have owed peace to the fact that we were prepared for war, and in the only contest which we have had with a European power since the Revolution—the war of 1812—the struggle and all its attendant disasters were due solely to the fact that we were not prepared to face, and were not ready instantly to resent, an attack upon our honor and interest, while the glorious triumphs at sea which redeemed that war were due to the few preparations which we had actually made. We are a great, peaceful nation—a nation of merchants and manufacturers, of farmers and mechanics; a nation of workingmen who labor incessantly with head or hand. It is idle to talk of such a nation ever being led into a course of wanton aggression or conflict with military powers by the possession of a sufficient navy. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 266.)

"THE TRUE END OF A GREAT AND FREE PEOPLE SHOULD BE SELF-RESPECTING PEACE."

Extracts from public addresses of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

As civilization grows warfare becomes less and less the normal condition of foreign relations. The last century has seen a marked diminution of wars between civilized powers; wars with uncivilized powers are largely mere matters of international police duty, essential for the welfare of the world. Wherever possible arbitration or some similar method should be employed in lieu of war to settle difficulties between civilized nations, although as yet the world has not progressed sufficiently to render it possible, or necessarily desirable, to invoke arbitration in every case. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session.)

The true end of every great and free people should be self-respecting peace, and this nation most earnestly desires sincere and cordial friendship with all others. Over the entire world of recent years wars between the great civilized powers have become less and less frequent. Wars with barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples come in an entirely different category, being merely a most regrettable but necessary international police duty which must be performed for the sake of the welfare of mankind.

Peace can only be kept with certainty where both sides wish to keep it; but more and more the civilized peoples are realizing the wicked folly of war and are attaining that condition of just and intelligent regard for the rights of others which will in the end, as we hope and believe, make world-wide peace possible. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

There seems good ground for the belief that there has been a real growth among the civilized nations of a sentiment which will permit a gradual substitution of other methods than the method of war in the settlement of disputes. It is not pretended that as yet we are near a position in which it will be possible wholly to prevent war, or that a just regard for national interest and honor will in all cases permit of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; but by a mixture of prudence and firmness with wisdom we think it is possible to do away with much of the provocation and excuse for war, and at least in many cases to substitute some other and more rational method for the settlement of disputes. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

We want friendship; we want peace. We wish well to the nations of mankind. We look with joy at any prosperity of theirs; we wish them success, not failure. We rejoice as mankind moves forward over the whole earth. Each nation has its own difficulties. We have difficulties enough at home. Let us improve ourselves, lifting what needs to be lifted here, and let others do their own work; let us attend to our own business; keep our own hearthstone swept and in order. Do not shirk any duty; do not shirk any difficulty that is forced upon us, but do not invite it by foolish language. Do not assume a quarrelsome and unpleasant attitude toward other people. Let the friendly expressions of foreign powers be accepted as tokens of their sincere good will and reflecting their real sentiments, and let us avoid any language on our part which might tend to turn their good will into ill will. (Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

Boasting and blustering are as objectionable among nations as among individuals, and the public men of a great nation owe it to their sense of national self-respect to speak courteously of foreign powers, just as a brave and self-respecting man treats all around him courteously. (Washington D. C., November 13, 1902.)

I would like to impress upon every public man, upon every writer in the press, the fact that strength should go hand in hand with courtesy, with scrupulous regard in word and deed, not only for the rights, but for the feelings, of other nations. (Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

It is a good lesson for nations and individuals to learn never to hit if it can be helped, and then never to hit softly. I think it is getting to be fairly understood that that is our foreign policy. (San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

The duties of peace are with us always; those of war are but occasional; and with a nation as with a man, the worthiness of life depends upon the way in which the everyday duties are done. The home duties are the vital duties. (Sherman statue unveiling, October 15, 1903.)

The period of war is but a fractional part of the life of our Republic, and I earnestly hope and believe that it will be an even smaller part in the future than it has been in the past. (Chattanooga, Tenn., September 8, 1902.)

We all of us earnestly hope that the occasion for war may not arise, but if it has to come then this nation must win. (Annapolis, Md., May 2, 1902.)

The American flag stands for orderly liberty, and it stands for it abroad as it stands for it at home. (Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1902.)

Of course, the very first thing that any nation has to do is to keep in order the affairs of its own household; to do that which is best for its own life. (New York, May 20, 1902.)

The army never has been and, I am sure, it never will be or can be a menace to anybody save America's foes, or aught but a source of pride to every good and far-sighted American. (The Presidency, p. 10.)

Again and again in a nation's history the time may, and, indeed, sometimes must, come when the nation's highest duty is war. But peace must be the normal condition, or the nation will come to a bloody doom. Twice in great crises, in 1776 and 1861, and twice in lesser crises, in 1812 and 1898, the nation was called to arms in the name of all that makes the words "honor," "freedom," and "justice" other than empty sounds. On each occasion the net result of the war was greatly for the benefit of mankind. But on each occasion this net result was of benefit only because after the war came peace, came justice and order and liberty. (Speech at Galena, Ill., on Grant's birthday, April 27, 1900.)

The Colored Voter

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"HOW RIDICULOUS AND CENSURABLE IS A SUPERIORITY FOUNDED ON COMPLEXION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. F. H. GILLETT of Massachusetts, in daily Congressional Record, March 28, 1904.

And if we ridicule and censure an imaginary superiority founded on wealth, how much more ridiculous and censurable is a superiority founded on complexion. It sometimes leads to grotesque absurdities. I was traveling in the South not long ago when the men in the smoking department were discussing social conditions in a way so narrow and unintelligent that I occasionally suggested a few questions, and in a short time was engaged in a good-tempered argument, which resulted in their sage conclusion that I must be from Massachusetts and of course could not comprehend their point of view—a very easy and comfortable way for them to dispose of my troublesome questions. One of the most loud and extreme of the party, who stated that his occupation was what we in New England would call a "rum-seller," and who was clean neither in his language nor his linen, asked me if I considered a negro my social equal. I responded that whether a man was equal to me socially depended on his qualifications and not his complexion. Whereupon he loudly exclaimed that he considered every white man his equal, but that he was superior to every negro.

I felt like admitting the first part of his statement, but the preposterousness of the last part impressed me, and yet I suppose it is the view which has been so carefully cultivated in the South that it has become general. Here was this rum-seller, inferior to Booker Washington, for instance, in every quality you can think of—inferior in physique, in cleanliness, in intelligence, in knowledge, in cultivation, in morality—incapable of comprehending the aspirations which govern that negro's conduct, and yet, in the ignorant self-satisfaction of race pride, loudly asserting his superiority.

If one man is superior to another socially in this country, it is because he has greater refinement and courtesy, and for no other reason. It matters not whether he lives in a palace or a hovel, whether he has the skin of a Caucasian or a Hottentot or a Chinese, if he has developed those qualities which humanity the world over recognizes as making a gentleman he is entitled to a gentleman's treatment. You are not obliged to associate with him—every one can choose his own friends—but to pretend that you are socially his superior is to proclaim your ignorance or your insincerity.

You gentlemen from the South in this House are not ignorant. You are not ignorant of the facts. *You know that in a country where there are no titles of nobility, where there is no legal aristocracy, equality can have but one standard—merit; and yet, knowing these things, you are afraid or unwilling to admit them. You have not the courage to state what you know. How, then, can you be surprised if there comes to us, who note this occasionally, the suspicion that this whole attitude upon the negro question is artificial and insincere, and is encouraged and cultivated and maintained as an easy way to continue political supremacy and solidity, and to preserve that useful asset—a solid South.*

"THE RIGHT OF THE NEGRO TO VOTE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. EDWARD de V. MORRELL of Pennsylvania, in daily Congressional Record, April 8, 1904.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: On the 27th of January the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. HARDWICK), taking for his text two resolutions that had been adopted by the Union League Club, of New York City, delivered a somewhat unprovoked address in this House on what is commonly called "the negro question," a question touching the right of the negro to vote, which seems to be the legitimate bequest of the slavery discussion. * * *

Notwithstanding the immense majority in Congress and of States by which these amendments were ratified, the gentleman from Georgia has the assurance to say:

The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were adopted, if adopted at all, against the will of a majority of all the people in the Union, by trickery and treachery in the North and by force and violence in the South.

He announces that awful things will happen if the United States shall have the temerity to attempt to enforce these amendments. It will cause a cyclone, a hurricane, possibly an earthquake. The fourteenth amendment provides that when the right to vote for President, Representatives in Congress, or State officers is denied to citizens of the United States "except for participation in rebellion or other crimes, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens bears to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in said State."

And here the gentleman from Georgia raises his voice and exclaims:

If Congress should be unwise enough to elect to exercise the discretionary power vested in it by section 5 of Article XIV, it will not only be the most serious strain of the present cordial relations so happily existing between the sections, but it will require a readjustment of the basis of representation that will not start at the Potomac and at Rio Grande, but will stretch from Hatteras to the Golden Gate, from Maine to Florida, and will embrace in its majestic sweep every State and Territory in the Union and even our new islands of the sea.

By this comprehensive menace the gentleman from Georgia means that under section 2, Article XIV, it is prescribed that when the right to vote "is denied to any of the male inhabitants" of any State who are "21 years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or for other crimes," the basis of representation in that State shall be reduced accordingly.

I admit the contention. That is what it means.

Of the 9,000,000 so-called negroes in the United States, 8,000,000 are in fifteen Southern States. Of males 21 years of age the negroes number about 2,000,000 in this nation. The gentleman from Georgia alleges that "of the more than a million and a half negro males of voting age" in the eleven States that once constituted the Southern Confederacy "three-fourths of a million can neither read nor write."

I would ask him if he is proud of this record; if he experiences self-satisfaction in the reflection and the declaration that a majority of the negroes of the South can neither read nor write. He says that the illiteracy of the southern negro has been rapidly reduced since he was made free; that negro illiteracy in those States was 77 per cent in 1880, 63 per cent in 1890, and 49 per cent. in 1900—in other words, that more than one-half of the negroes of the South can now read and write, and that the number who can read and write to-day is 50 per cent. greater than it was when Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation.

This would seem to be a marvelously good showing, but it is argued otherwise. It is insisted that while the southern negro is more intelligent, he is more wicked and pernicious. Or, in the language of the gentleman, "During this same period his criminality increased in more rapid ratio than his illiteracy decreased."

Even if, as it is assumed, crime has increased among the negroes, why should education be blamed for this? Surely this is an unfair conclusion. I think everyone will admit that education has been of benefit to a great many negroes. If, on the other hand, some have not profited by the education that they have received, is it fair that we should say that the education of the negro is a mistake and deprive all negroes of education?

On the 12th of last February, at a meeting in New York, the question of negro industrial education and its bearing on the race problem was discussed. Andrew Carnegie presided. President Eliot, of Harvard, was among the speakers.

Booker T. Washington, whom the gentleman from Georgia would disfranchise because of his color, was the leading speaker at this convocation of great men. I quote from his speech a paragraph which was not, but might have been, spoken in reply to the gentleman from Georgia:

After making careful inquiry I can not find a half dozen cases of a man or woman who has completed a full course of education in any of our reputable institutions like Hampton, Tuskegee, Fiske, or Atlanta, who are imprisoned. The records of the South show that 90 per cent. of the colored people imprisoned are without knowledge of trades and 61 per cent are illiterate.

"THE NEGROES IN MISSISSIPPI NOT TO BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN STATE OR COUNTY GOVERNMENTS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. THOMAS SPIGHT of Mississippi in daily Congressional Record, March 16, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak a little while upon a subject which is attracting attention all over the country, not in a spirit of retaliation, nor for the purpose of indulging in harsh criticism but to show by comparison the injustice sometimes done one section of the country and incidentally to vindicate the people of that section against the general charge of brutality and barbarism, and at the same time to show that those people have clearer conceptions of the remedy for existing evils in their own communities than have those who are more remote.

What is called the "negro problem" has become a question of national interest and demands attention wherever, North and South, the negro appears in any considerable numbers. *Practically all of the Southern States, in which the negro forms such a percentage of the population as to make him a political factor to be reckoned with, have by constitutional provision deprived him of his power for harm in the administration of our domestic affairs, and we have done it because it was absolutely necessary to protect our people from financial ruin and to preserve our civilization. For a time we were compelled to employ methods that were extremely distasteful and very demoralizing, but now we are accomplishing the same and even better results by strictly constitutional and legal procedure.*

For more than ten years the negroes of Mississippi have understood that they were not to be allowed to participate in State or county governments, and as a result we have had but little trouble with them, and they have been better satisfied and more prosperous than at any time since their emancipation. We recognize that the negro is a producer of wealth, especially in our cotton fields, and this fact, coupled with the naturally kind feelings entertained for him by the white people with whom he has lived all his life, gives him an opportunity for honest, productive labor not enjoyed by his race anywhere else. We deny him the right to vote, under certain conditions, and to hold office, but have never denied him the right to work for an honest living, as has been repeatedly done in some of the Northern States. We sometimes kill them for outrageous crimes, but never because they want to work. [Applause.]

Much has been said of race prejudice in the South. We have enough of this prejudice, if you wish to call it so, to forever *debar the negro from active participation in our State governments, to exclude him from our dining rooms except as a waiter, and to shut the door tight and fast to any approach to social equality.* * * * Since the practical disfranchisement of the negro he has been better contented and more prosperous than ever before, and this would continue to be true if he is "let alone;" but dangerous influences are at work fraught with untold evil to both the white and colored races. One of the first of these was the surprising practical illustration of social equality given by the President of the United States when he took a negro into his dining room at the White House and sat down to dinner with him as graciously as if he had been the governor of the State of New York. I have always been sorry that Booker Washington didn't have more sense and self-respect than to accept the invitation. It would have been infinitely to his credit if he had declined. This one incident has done more to inflame the passions of the negro and give him a perverted idea of his importance and his near approach to social equality than anything that has been done during the last ten years. * * *

Now, Mr. Chairman, I haven't made these remarks for the purpose of arousing any unkind feeling, but to show how unjust has been the wholesale denunciation of the South by the Northern press and people, and that we are all of the same flesh and blood, and that upon similar provocation we all are prone to indulge the same passion for vengeance. I have endeavored to show, too, the overshadowing danger of teaching the utterly false doctrine of political and social equality of the black and white races. All the Roosevelts that live now, ever did, or ever will live can never induce the proud-spirited, pure-blooded Anglo-Saxons of the South to accept such a damnable heresy.

"THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT." — "ITS EFFECT HAS BEEN TO PROVOKE SWIFT RETRIBUTION AND BLOODY VIOLENCE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. R. PATTERSON of Tennessee, in daily Congressional Record, March 14, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, taking advantage of the latitude permitted for discussion, I want to say something on the political conditions as they formerly existed and now exist in the Southern States.

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution was conceived in an hour of passion and designed as an act of vengeance.

It was a cruel penalty inflicted by an inflamed foe upon a fallen and beaten adversary. It chained the South to a corpse.

It created and held prominent false and meretricious issues before the country.

It was a gift which the negro did not know how to intelligently use, and its only effect has been to breed false notions of social equality and to provoke swift retribution and bloody violence.

Who does not now believe that his life, liberty and property, which every good man wishes him to enjoy, would have been more secure without than with political equality?

With all the black men, in the majority in some States and in many particular localities, led by unscrupulous adventurers, intent on public plunder and using the negro as a tool, what was more reasonable or necessary for self-preservation than for all Southern men to ally themselves with another party?

Before the war the South was the storm center of political activity, where issues were discussed upon a high plane, so necessary in a republican government and for the development of a high order of statesmanship.

It has been suggested why not attempt to divide the negroes politically; but this would have been a hopeless and ruinous task. Had they been open to reason, which they were not, still the South could not yield the vital principle for which it always stood, nor did it dare by encouraging political to invite ultimate social equality, for it is apparent that if the white people of the South were divided politically and the negroes were likewise divided the negro vote would decide nearly all the political contests; and thus brought in close communion the inevitable end would have been the utter ruin and confusion of both the races.

No matter what the political opinions of Southern white men might have been on national questions, or however much they may have divided under different conditions, their votes went massed for the white man and civilization against the black man and ruin.

The unspeakable dread and horror of the time when political equality would obliterate the lines which mark the boundaries of the races has nerved and sustained the Southern man through every vicissitude of fortune and carried him safely through every ordeal which vexed the temper and tried the souls of men.

At Appomattox the Confederate soldier surrendered his arms and renewed his vows to the Union. He returned to a desolated land and found his old slaves his political masters.

Without aid or bounty, in proud and incorruptible poverty, true to himself and false to none, he has lived and will die. He is now hurrying to the silence of the shadows which lay thick and heavy across the river, and soon will join the comrades who have gone before at the ghostly camp fires of the bivouac of the dead. * * *

That the South was justified in adopting the only alternative presented for self-preservation is being understood and admitted by the intelligence of the entire country.

"MR. CLEVELAND PRACTICED SOCIAL EQUALITY AT THE WHITE HOUSE AND CONDONED MISCEGENATION."

Extract from debate in daily Congressional Record, April 12, 1904.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, as a text for some of the remarks which I wish to offer I shall ask the Clerk to read an article from the Atlanta News of March 7, 1904, over the signature of Tom E. Watson.

The Clerk read as follows:

[From the Atlanta News, March 7, 1904.]

Mr. Cleveland should be the most distasteful candidate who could be offered to the South.

His second Administration was an orgy of the corruptest class legislation. He went into office pledged to reform, and he violated every pledge. He allowed GORMAN, of Maryland, to mutilate the tariff bill of William L. Wilson with amendments in favor of the sugar trust, and every other trust, until it was a most sickening surrender of the rights of the public to the rapacity of the corporations.

He allowed the Wall street gamblers to pull gold out of the Treasury with the endless-chain racket, which they worked with the silver notes, until he had erected a mountain of bonds to weigh down the taxpayers of the land.

He practiced social equality at the White House and condoned miscegenation by the fulsome attentions he showered upon Fred Douglass and his white wife. He refused to put into operation the law for the experimental free delivery of mail to country people at a time when he was signing bills which provided for the delivery of mails to the capitalists of the big cities every half hour during the day.

He appointed a negro man of the well-known type—"Democratic nigger"—to be minister to one of the white republics of South Africa.

Any impartial citizen who will reflect a moment will see that it is really better for the South that we should have an honest Republican President, such as Roosevelt, rather than a pretended Democrat like Cleveland. The reason is plain. When Roosevelt signs a bad law, or goes too far with the negro, we can at least "cuss him out" and arouse a storm of public criticism, which makes him more cautious and conservative. But when Cleveland did things of exactly the same sort the Democratic papers were silent and the South had to submit without a murmur. Thus the negroes were enabled to make greater advances toward social equality under Cleveland than they have done under Roosevelt.

TOM E. WATSON.

Mr. SCOTT. I wish to be entirely fair to Mr. Cleveland, and I will therefore ask the Clerk to read the following letter, which I clipped from a recent copy of a Washington paper.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

PRINCETON, N. J., March 27.

W. E. ABERNETHY, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: My attention has been several times called to the statements of Mr. Tom E. Watson, to the effect that Fred Douglass was invited to my wedding reception, and, further, that while governor I signed a bill providing for mixed schools. I have already written two or three letters denying these allegations, and do not propose to spend any more time denying statements so absurd and emanating from so impossible a source.

Each and every one of Mr. Watson's charges (if they can be so called), as they have been presented to me, is false. They are about as far from the truth as they can be, and they were made, I have no doubt, without the least reason to believe them to be true, and entirely in a spirit of which even Mr. Watson ought to be ashamed.

Yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I have no disposition to intrude. I find in the Augusta Chronicle, of Monday, April 11, signed by Tom E. Watson, in which he takes occasion to say that the Washington Post gave an elaborate account of the wedding reception which President Cleveland gave to his bride in its issue of June 16, 1886, and adds that the names of Fred Douglass and his wife appeared in that account as guests at that reception.

Mr. Cleveland denies, with great emphasis also, not only in a letter which has just been read, but in another letter which was published in the Post this morning, the statement that he, while governor of New York, signed a bill providing for mixed schools. Again disclaiming any wish to impeach the veracity of Mr. Cleveland, I will ask the Clerk to read Chapter 248 of the laws of New York, one hundred and seventh session, 1884.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

CHAP. 248—An act in relation to public education in the City of New York. Passed May 5, 1884; three-fifths being present.

The people of the State of New York, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. The colored schools in the City of New York, now existing and in operation, shall hereafter be classed and known and be continued as ward schools and primaries, with their present teachers, unless such teachers are removed in the manner provided by law, and such schools shall be under the control and management of the school officers of the respective wards in which they are located in the same manner and to the same extent as other ward schools, and shall be open for the education of pupils for whom admission is sought, without regard to race or color.

2. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

3. This act shall take effect immediately.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Do I understand the gentleman from Kansas to make the statement that Mr. Cleveland ever indorsed mixed schools for the two races?

Mr. SCOTT. I simply had read from the Clerk's desk one of the laws of the State of New York which was passed and became a law during Mr. Cleveland's governorship of New York, a law providing for mixed schools.

"MR. CLEVELAND APPOINTED A NEGRO MINISTER TO ONE OF THE WHITE REPUBLICS."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES F. SCOTT of Kansas,
in daily Congressional Record, April 12, 1904.*

Mr. Watson says further that during his term as President Mr. Cleveland appointed a negro minister to one of the white Republics of South Africa, while Mr. Cleveland in his letter, which was read, denies that statement. In view of that denial I shall ask the Clerk to read the following letter.

The Clerk read as follows :

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 2, 1904.

Hon. CHARLES F. SCOTT,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with your oral request, I have to inform you that the records of this bureau show that Charles H. J. Taylor was nominated as minister to Bolivia on September 11, 1893. No action appears to have been taken upon this nomination during the session which closed November 3, 1893, and Thomas Moonlight was nominated for the office on January 19, 1894.

Very respectfully, yours,

ROBERT BRENT MOSHER,
Chief Bureau of Appointments.

I offer this letter from the State Department merely to show that Mr. Cleveland had either forgotten something which transpired ten years ago, or that he was denying simply the letter and not the spirit of Mr. Watson's statement. Mr. Watson, it is true, said that Mr. Cleveland had appointed a negro minister to a "South African" republic. Obviously he meant a "South American" republic, and the proof of that appointment has been read at the Clerk's desk.

Now, how can there be a more pronounced recognition, Mr. Chairman, of any man's social status than to send him abroad as the official representative of this whole nation? For it must be remembered that our ministers represent us socially as well as politically and commercially. Will anyone contend that such an appointment is less a recognition of social equality than a mere accidental and informal courtesy tendered in a wholly private way? I think no such contention will be made, and yet I am sure the records of this House will not show any Democratic protest against this "disgrace and degradation and humiliation." You insist that there is no partisan politics in your assault upon President Roosevelt, but in view of your continued allegiance to Mr. Cleveland, and in view of your canonization of Thomas Jefferson as the patron saint of your party, notwithstanding the fact that both of these committed much more flagrant offenses in the same direction, from your own standpoint, are we not warranted in the conjecture that the head and front of President Roosevelt's offending lies, after all, in the fact that he is a Republican and not a Democrat? [Applause.]

I know that gentlemen upon the other side resent with great emphasis the suggestion that they are "playing politics" on this race question. I want to give them credit for entire candor in this matter, and yet I confess that there are certain things that are hard for me to explain on this hypothesis. If it is not the wish to make an issue of this question, what has been the purpose of the numerous speeches on the subject that have come up from the other side of the Chamber? Are there any measures pending here calling for a discussion of the race problem? I know of none. And yet during the past few weeks we have heard not less than five set speeches by gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber, devoted wholly or almost wholly to this subject. Were they called out by anything that had been said on this side of the aisle? Most assuredly not. During the three years I have been a Member of this House I have never heard this subject even remotely alluded to by any Republican except in direct reply to something that had first been said on the other side of the Chamber. If gentlemen do not wish to make an issue of the question, why do you initiate the discussion of it?

Are these speeches made to influence sentiment in the North? You will hardly contend that they are. Are they made to influence the action of this House on measures pending here? I have already said there are no such measures pending here. What conclusion remains, then, except that they are made to influence sentiment in the South; that they are made to persuade the people in that section that the race question is still a political issue?

"PRESIDENT CLEVELAND ENTERTAINED A NEGRO."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES F. SCOTT of Kansas,
in daily Congressional Record, April 12, 1904.*

Mr. Chairman, in an address which he made upon the floor of this House on the 1st day of March, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. GILBERT] took occasion to animadvert rather severely upon President Roosevelt for what has been commonly alluded to as "the Booker Washington incident." At the close of his remarks I stated that in this matter President Roosevelt had but followed Democratic example, inasmuch as President Cleveland while in the White House had entertained in the same way C. H. J. Taylor, a negro from my own State. Two or three days later the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] read to this House a letter from the Hon. Grover Cleveland, in which he emphatically denied the statement I had made. It seemed to me at the time, and I confess it still seems to me, that the ex-President in his letter betrayed a degree of irritation entirely out of proportion to the magnitude of the unintentional offense I had committed.

I felt as I heard that letter read a great deal as I imagine a man would who by accident had trodden upon the corns of his neighbor, and had been haled before a criminal court on the charge of assault with intent to kill. It struck me that there was a remarkable discrepancy, also, between what the ex-President himself said of Mr. Taylor and his indignation on account of what I said. He himself said that Mr. Taylor was a man of high character and great intelligence who had served his country well; and yet he declared that the simple statement that he had shown this same man some courtesy and hospitality was an evidence of my "evil propensities." He admitted that he had appointed him to a position which compelled a large number of white men and women not only to associate with him daily but to take orders from him, and yet he was fierce in his denial of the simple statement that he himself had shown this man some social attention.

In spite of the inconsistency, as it seemed to me, of these statements, I made no comment upon the letter at the time further than to give its writer full credit for his denial, following that simply by a statement that my own remarks had been based upon common and widespread rumor which I supposed to be true.

I should not have again recurred to the matter, Mr. Chairman, but for the fact that when it was last before the House certain questions were asked me which seem to carry the implication that I had acted in bad faith throughout and had never really seen or heard anything which would warrant the statement which I made. In view of those questions I feel justified at this time in presenting to the House a few brief extracts from a few of the many letters I have received, which will, I trust, make it clear that the statement I made was not a fabrication of my own.

I read first from a letter addressed to me from Rochester, N. Y. by an entire stranger, who says:

I was much interested in your statement as to the hospitality extended by President Cleveland to the Kansas negro politician. I had previously seen the same statement and had never seen it denied.

A Kansas man writes as follows:

It was a common boast of Taylor, according to my information, that he had lunched or dined with President Cleveland. Whatever Mr. Cleveland may have done or said about it, Mr. Taylor certainly made no secret of the intimate personal relations existing between them.

You were certainly right in your statement that Kansas newspapers published a report that C. H. J. Taylor had been entertained by President Cleveland at luncheon or dinner at the White House. I saw such statements myself and distinctly remember the talk about the incident at that time. It was well understood in Kansas at the time that Taylor was to turn the whole negro vote of the State over to the Democratic party, and we all supposed that the entertainment at the White House and his appointment as recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia were President Cleveland's contributions to this object.

Still another Kansas man, well known all over the State, writes this:

I wish to say that I distinctly remember reading in Kansas papers the story about C. H. J. Taylor having been invited to lunch at the White House by President Cleveland, to which you alluded recently on the floor. The matter was common talk in Kansas at the time, and I had never heard it denied until President Cleveland's letter was read in the House. You may make whatever use you like of this letter.

WE STUFFED BALLOT BOXES; WE SHOT THEM; WE ARE NOT ASHAMED OF IT."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN of South Carolina, in daily Congressional Record, February 26, 1900.

I have exhumed the bloody shirt for a brief moment and am waving it like a red flag to a bull and the latter will not fight or budge, and I will call the attention of my friends from the North—I have a great many on that side, I am proud to say—to the fact that they do not know yet, and never will know until they come South and live with us, just what we have had to contend against and just what we have to contend against even now. They do not realize it; they can not realize it; and it is for the purpose of trying to have them study this question of race a little more and analyze it that I have attempted, in my feeble way, to intrude on this body for the brief remarks I have made on this subject.

I will tell you, while I am talking about negro suffrage, why they are so dangerous as voters. In any State where the whites divide—and they have divided in every Southern State except mine and Mississippi—into Populists and Democrats the negro has been the balance of power, through which one side or the other has controlled the elections by means of bribery, for the negro voter was a purchasable one.

Therefore we have been confronted by the condition of a large, ignorant, debased vote, thrust upon us by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Other States, not so peculiarly situated as mine, have retained that negro vote. They have taken no steps looking to its elimination by educational qualifications or any other system. That vote to-day stands as a menace to the freedom, to the purity of the ballot-box, to the purity and honesty of elections, to the decency of government, and it is there forever until there is a constitutional provision made here which will relieve us from it.

I should be glad to see an education qualification throughout the North. I believe no man is fit to be an elector unless he is able to read and write and understand something about government and its great principles. But who hopes to see that? No party at the North will dare to undertake to limit suffrage in that way, because it would mean at the first election that the vote which they dread would go to the other party and they would be beaten, and the demagogues in both parties would plead that you must have equality of manhood without regard to patriotism or intelligence or decency or ability or any other qualification which makes a man fit to vote. * * *

Let me tell you how we were situated in our State. We had a hundred and twenty-five thousand negroes of voting age and we had a hundred thousand whites. Now, can you lift yourselves over the fence with your boot straps and beat that by honest methods? Yet you stood up here and insisted that we must give these people a "free vote and a fair count." They had it for eight years, as long as the bayonets stood there, and in 1876 they sent more bayonets, because we had got the devil in us by that time and we did not care whether we had any government. We preferred to have a United States Army officer rather than a government by carpetbaggers and thieves and scallywags and scoundrels, who had stolen everything in sight and had mortgaged posterity; who had run their felonious paws into the pockets of posterity by issuing bonds.

When that happened, we took the government away. We stuffed the ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it.

With that system—force, tissue ballots, etc.—we got tired ourselves. So we called a constitutional convention, and we eliminated, as I said, all of the colored people whom we could under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

"WE TOOK POSSESSION OF OUR STATE, AND DEFIED YOU TO PREVENT IT."

*Extract from speech of SENATOR TILLMAN of South
Carolina, in the United States Senate, May 7, 1902.*

MR. TILLMAN. "I have in view right now that after we had seen our ex-slaves—poor, ignorant creatures—given the ballot, after we had seen the election held under the bayonet and with a numerical majority of 30,000 negroes inducted into the control of the State of South Carolina, and there being to-day 235,000 more negroes in my State than there are whites, and 300,000 more negroes in Mississippi than there are whites—you declared that a man 21 years of age, without regard to any other qualification, was fit to vote, and that the right to vote carried with it the right to govern where they were in the majority.

"I could go back, and I have done so during the debate with my friend from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], some two or three years ago, in which I came out boldly and, like a brave and true man, told you when we found we could not overcome this numerical majority by any fair and lawful means, that we simply asserted our manhood as Anglo-Saxons, and asserted it by whatever means we thought necessary, and we took possession of our State and defied you to protest against it or prevent it.

"Grant had sent a regiment of ten companies of Union troops into my own county of Edgefield; sent there to repress the 'rebels'; sent there to subject us to the government of those negroes and their carpetbag leaders. They were ordered to preserve order, to prevent us from terrorizing the negroes, to keep them from being kept from the polls and to let them vote.

"They obeyed their orders as well as they could, but the result of the election was that, with a numerical majority of 2,000 more negroes who were 21 years of age, and who under the dispensation of my friend from Maryland [Mr. McCOMAS], were entitled to vote, and ought to be allowed to vote now—with ten companies of troops and 10,000,000 more back here to go down there if it was thought they were needed to keep us down, how did they come out in the struggle against white manhood and white brains? We only beat them 3,900 votes. But we could have beaten them 6,900, or 9,900, or 99,000 if it had been necessary."

MR. McCOMAS. "If the Senator will allow me, I am amazed at their moderation—only 3,900!"

MR. TILLMAN. "Well, that was all we needed. * * *

MR. TILLMAN. "We have not had any water cures in the South on the negroes but one Senator said the other day something about the sand cure.

"I say, from my knowledge of the situation, that when we get ready to put a negro's head in the sand, we put his body there too."

Post Office Investigation

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"THE INVESTIGATION OF THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT SEARCHING AND UNRELENTING."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOHN C. SPOONER of Wisconsin, in daily Congressional Record, April 18, 1904.

The investigation of the Post-Office Department had its genesis in an appropriation of \$5,000 obtained by the Postmaster-General after consultation with Mr. Loud and Mr. Bromwell, the undisclosed purpose of which was to inaugurate investigation and carry it forward after the Congress should have adjourned. This fact is corroborated by letters from Mr. Loud and Mr. Bromwell, and also stated by the President in his memorandum upon the Bristow report. The President also says in his memorandum:

Some time in January information was laid before me by Mr. Seckendorff tending to show improper conduct by Beavers, general superintendent of the division of salaries and allowances, and Machen, general superintendent of the free-delivery system; and by Mr. William Allen White tending to show corruption by or under Tyner, Assistant Attorney-General for the Post-Office Department. First Assistant Postmaster-General Wynne also informed me that he had become suspicious of the integrity of both Machen and Beavers. After full consultation with Mr. Payne it was decided that Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Bristow should make thorough and exhaustive investigation of the charges in question and of all matters that might be developed in connection with them.

And thus under the direction of the President, with the cordial and constant cooperation of the Postmaster-General, there proceeded in those three divisions, at least, of the Post-Office Department *as searching and unrelenting an investigation as ever was conducted, and one which for thoroughness could not be approximated by any Congressional investigation.*

Neither carping nor innuendo, from whatever source or wherever uttered can blind the people to the searching and vigorous character of that investigation, and *the unwavering determination of the President, the Postmaster-General, and the other officials charged with the duty that it should be exhaustive, and should take no note of party affiliations, political or personal friendships.* The people know that as it went on it involved not only officials in the Departments, but private citizens of different degrees of prominence, and that no consideration of friendship or influence was allowed to modify its thoroughness and energy, exposure, and prosecution.

Mr. Payne was criticised early in the investigation for not suspending Machen sooner than he did. He informs me that he told Mr. Bristow that he would suspend Machen the moment he reported to him that his investigation would justify it or that the public interest required it, and the moment Mr. Bristow so reported Machen was promptly suspended.

Mr. Bristow bears testimony to the earnestness with which Mr. Payne cooperated with him throughout the investigation, and to the value of that cooperation.

And on conviction of Machen and his associates the President took occasion to address to Mr. Payne a letter, testifying his appreciation of his work and fidelity, as follows:

WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, February 27, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. POSTMASTER GENERAL: While all the work of the Post-Office Department and the Department of Justice in connection with the postal frauds is not yet over, there is already to the credit of the Departments, and therefore primarily to your credit, such an amount of substantive achievement that I take this opportunity to congratulate you personally upon it. It is impossible to expect that corruption will not occasionally occur in any government. The vital point is the energy, the fearlessness, and the efficiency with which such corruption is cut out and the corruptionists punished.

The success of the prosecutions in this case, as compared with previous experiences in prosecuting Government officials who have been guilty of malfeasance or misfeasance, is as noteworthy as it is gratifying, and must be a source of encouragement to all men who believe in decency and honesty in public life. *What has been accomplished by you, by those who have worked under you in your Department, and by the Department of Justice redounds to the credit of our whole people, and is a signal triumph for the cause of popular government.* If corruption goes unpunished in popular government, then government by the people will ultimately fail; and they are the best friends of the people who make it evident that whoever in public office, or in connection with public office, sins against the fundamental laws of civic and social well-being will be punished with unsparring rigor.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. H. C. PAYNE,
Postmaster-General.

That tribute from his chief was due to this Cabinet officer.

"THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL HAS PUSHED THE INVESTIGATION IN EVERY DIRECTION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts, in daily Congressional Record, Dec. 8, 1903.

Congress has twice investigated that portion of the postal service which was found to be most in fault. A committee of the House of Representatives investigated it and gave them a clean bill of health. A committee of the Senate investigated it; the acute eyes of the Senator's friends of the opposition were there looking for what they could discover, and they gave a clean bill of health. The two committees of Congress, with the best intentions in the world, found nothing wrong. There is no clumsier machinery of investigation anywhere than a committee of Congress. Both Houses tried to discover what there was wrong in the Post-Office Department and they failed.

This investigation was ordered by the President and conducted by the Postmaster-General through the proper officer, the Fourth Assistant, who is the head of the inspection and detective service. He had at his command a great detective force. The Postmaster-General has pushed the investigation in every direction and in every part of the country; and with that detective force at his command, a force which this Congress can not command, he brought together a great mass of testimony and evidence, which is now lying at the Post-Office Department waiting to be printed under the order of Congress.

What we failed to find in our investigation they have found; and before Congress undertakes to go to work to hold a useless committee hearing the proper thing for us to do is to see what has been accomplished. We only know in a general way. My belief is that ten times as much has been done as any committee of Congress could possibly do in the way of investigation. We want to have that testimony brought here and examined, and until it is brought here and examined I, for one, do not propose to have the Senate or the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, of which I happen to be a member, committed and compelled to an investigation. Let us look into the testimony already gathered, let us know something about the facts in detail, and then we can tell what further investigation, if any, is needed.

Mr. President, I do not know whether the Senator from Maryland in some of the intimations he made as to higher officers referred to the officers who conducted this investigation. If he did, I can tell him that the Postmaster-General and the Fourth Assistant have pushed the investigation with all the machinery at their command—and it is very thorough—and with the utmost force in every possible direction. There is only one sensible thing to do. It is to have the testimony that they have gathered printed; to have all their evidence made a public document. Then we shall be in a position to know what to do next. To begin now to hold a public hearing, with our clumsy methods, going over what they have been months in going over, is simply a waste of the Senate's time.

This old cry about stifling investigation is something which has no meaning to me. The investigation has been made. It has been made under the authority of the President of the United States. It has been made by the Post-Office Department and by the Postmaster-General, and has succeeded where Congress failed. I think we had better see what their investigation is before we compel a committee of Congress to give up its winter in trying to do over again what has been a thousand times better done. Let everything that has been gathered be spread before the public. I want it printed.

"POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT INVESTIGATION."

Extract from debate in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 6, 1904.

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT INVESTIGATION.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. CARMACK December 16, 1903, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, in view of the charges of corruption, extravagance, and violations of law in the administration of the affairs of the Post-Office Department, is hereby instructed to direct the Postmaster-General to send to the committee all papers connected with the recent investigation of his Department, and said committee shall make further inquiry into the administration and expenditures of the said Department, and make report thereon to the Senate upon completion of said investigation on or before the 1st day of May, 1904.

Resolved, That said committee shall have power to send for persons, books and papers, examine witnesses under oath, and sit, by subcommittees or otherwise, during the sessions of the Senate at such times and places as the committee may determine.

Mr. LODGE. I move to refer the resolution to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads. I do not think it is good practice to enter upon sweeping investigations simply on the request of one Senator and without any committee having examined into the subject and decided whether an investigation should be entered upon or not. That is the reason why I made the motion, and I hope it will prevail. * * *

Mr. President I do not want to be misunderstood in what I said in regard to Congressional investigations. I of course did not refer to investigations relating to legislation or the subjects of legislation. With those I think Congressional investigations are not only necessary, but, as a rule, are extremely important and valuable. I was referring to investigations for the purpose of discovering crimes and misdemeanors in the service, and I say those investigations as a rule, so far as my observation goes, are pretty worthless.

A committee of the House investigated Mr. Machen. A committee of the Senate investigated Mr. Machen, and they both cleared him at the very time when he was engaged in the precise practices for which he is now under indictment, those practices having been discovered by the departmental investigation. * *

Mr. SPOONER. That there has been inefficiency of administration nobody will dispute. It began under Mr. Cleveland's Administration. He was an honest man in administration. It began while Mr. Bissell was Postmaster-General. He is dead now. He was an honest man. It does not follow in every instance, although greatly to be deplored, that you can charge the Postmaster-General with inefficiency because there happens to be in an army of employees some man who can not resist temptation or some man who is inherently vicious.

Mr. LODGE. My objection was to having an incomplete investigation, if one was entered on. It has taken eight months for trained inspectors to investigate one branch. If you are going to investigate it at all, and a committee are to do it, you must not tie their hands and make them come in with a partial report. All they may have done up to that time will be public; but you can not bind them in the way you propose, because it shows you do not mean a thorough investigation, that all you are after is a little campaign capital.

Now, there is nothing in this that I have the least objection to having investigated and torn open as much as possible. It has all been done in one branch under the present administration. *All the facts we have and that have been read here to-day have come from a Republican Assistant Postmaster-General under an investigation directed by a Republican Postmaster-General. It is we who have probed it to the bottom and carried it back through more than one Administration, even to the last Administration of Democratic reform, where we find Mr. Machen originated.*

Mr. President, let us have all the daylight there is. There is not a document that I am not willing to have from any Department at any time; but I do say, and I say without hesitation, that what we shall ask for and the way we shall ask for it is in the hands of the responsible majority of this Chamber, and we do not propose, at least I for one do not propose, to submit to having that responsibility taken out of our hands. If there is any inquiry to be made and questions to be asked, they shall be asked in a way which the majority approves and not in a way dictated by the leader of the minority.

"IN THE POST-OFFICE INVESTIGATION THE SOURCE OF CORRUPTION WAS FOUND IN A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, April 1, 1904.

Mr. President I shall not detain the Senate for more than a minute or two. Indeed, I rise chiefly to give my thanks, and the thanks, I am sure of my colleagues on this side of the Chamber, to the distinguished Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] for warning us that we must fight for our lives in the coming campaign. The warning is valuable, even if the grounds for the warning are hardly sufficient.

So I shall speak but a moment, and only then to call attention to the circumstance that in the long and vigorous and, from his point of view, lucid address of the Senator from North Carolina he succeeded in establishing the fact that in the Post-Office investigation the source of corruption, the fountain head from which flowed the whole miserable business, was found not in a Republican, but in a Democratic Administration, and that it was a Republican Administration which applied the lancet and let free the poison.

Certainly then, Mr. President, that can not be the ground upon which the Senator warns us that we must fight for our lives—that a Republican Administration has fearlessly investigated, exposed, punished, even though in the search original guilt was found in the last Democratic Administration.

I asked the Senator during the course of his address, not desiring to interrupt him more than was necessary, whether he could show in the course of his own distinguished public experience, or within his recollection, or within the history of the Government, another instance where an investigation had been inaugurated by a President concerning malfeasance of office under himself and where the malefactors when discovered were fearlessly exposed and justice wrought upon them, and the Senator could not answer.

It is an illustration, Mr. President, of openness in the conduct of public administration and of swift punishment for offenses against the law unexampled, I make bold to say, in the history of our country. *I fancy the people will be found pretty well content with an Administration which did not hesitate to say, "Let no guilty man escape," and then enforced that order.* I call the attention of the Senator to the fact that that expression came from another illustrious Republican President.

So the Senator certainly can not warn us that we will have to fight for our lives upon the ground of this investigation.

It is an investigation which he and every other Senator speaking upon that side has greatly approved.

Yesterday, or the day before, I asked some Senator speaking upon it whether or not he believed the statements in the report of the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General to be true, and he said that he did. Then the conclusion forced itself that if that were true all that Senators in opposition are asking for is the investigation now of an investigation which they themselves applaud.

We have heard golden references made to the report of this investigation. They say it is perfect. They say it is fearless. They say it is truthful. Yet they were not content, and ask us to gild gold which they themselves declare to be already refined.

I wish I could recall the eloquent words of the Senator in describing the condition of the people of this Republic—"prosperity luxuriant as never before," said he, or something like it; "the gold of the world flowing in upon us," said he, or words to that effect; "all the happy conditions which good government and wise policies bring to a free people prevail," said he, and the Republican party in power! What a syllogism from which to draw Democratic inspiration and hope!

Does the Senator see in that any justification of his prophecy that we must fight for our lives? *Does not the Senator imagine that when the people find the gold of the world pouring in upon us, as he says; that when the people find themselves enjoying a prosperity unexampled, as he declares, and then reflect that the Republican party is presiding over the destinies of the land at a period so fortunate—does he not think that when the people consider, they will give a verdict at the polls that they are pretty well satisfied?*

"EVERY WRONGDOING HAS BEEN LAID BARE."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 9, 1904.

We are opposed to an examination and investigation of the Post-Office Department for the manifest reason that *the Post-Office Department has been thoroughly investigated, and, as we say—and defy your contradiction—every wrongdoing has been laid bare.* [Applause on the Republican side.]

The examination of the Post-Office Department made during the summer and fall, before the beginning of this session of Congress, was, in my opinion, more radical, far-reaching, and minute than could by any possibility be made by any investigation Congress might order. Whatever the spirit was that animated outside counsel and the inside officials, there can be no doubt that the numerous recesses of the Post-Office Department were ransacked and scrutinized for the purpose of developing any irregularity or any wrongdoing that might be found. Hence for the House of Representatives to inaugurate an investigation would be time lost, money wasted, public excitement created, and no good could follow.

Now, come to the scratch, and tell us what else you know that ought to be laid bare. Mr. Chairman, I have been here ever since last November, trying to do the best I could as a Member of Congress. So has the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND]. I have some little ability to be looking around and seeing what is going on. The gentleman has a great deal of ability in that respect. I have not turned up any crime in the Post-Office Department. I will ask the gentleman what he has done? Tell me, now, with all the zeal that the Democrats have shown in this House—and I am not at liberty to speak of the other branch of the legislative department—what irregularity, what wrongdoing, has been discovered and brought to light which was not discovered and brought to light by the Post-Office Department itself? [Applause on the Republican side]. You have been here during all of these months, and now I turn upon you and say your entire outcry, *your entire libelous attacks have been based upon nothing but a deliberate purpose to tarnish the Administration of your Government in the interests of party politics.* [Applause on the Republican side.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, before these gentlemen are ready to go to the country with their appeal that we have not started an investigation, let them come into this House, not with a mere resolution, which will say nothing and will mean nothing and will be of no value, but with a single charge, put in writing, vouched for by a Member of the Democratic side of this House, alleging that somewhere somebody committed a crime in the Post-Office Department, and they will have an investigation instantly. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The people of the country can not be deceived by the mere shouts of a political organization bent upon the creation of issues and bent upon the unhappy practice of laying the foundation for oratorical stump attacks on political organizations during a Presidential campaign. Here is the place to make specific allegations. *Here is the place to come directly to the front with averments of wrongdoing, with respectable assurance of proof, or else I demand that you gentlemen on the other side "shall forever after hold your peace."*

There has been—and I say this to the country and defy contradiction—there has been brought to the attention of the American people, there has been brought to the attention of this House, there has been brought to the attention of the Post-Office Department, *there has been brought to the attention of the President of the United States by the Democratic minority here no crime, no irregularity, no wrongdoing of their discovery; and that is enough.*

Therefore it is the duty of this side of the House to take the responsibility to investigate if they believe there is anything to investigate, and refuse upon their responsibility to investigate if in their view of the situation no good can come. Believing that the whole matter has been done successfully and exhaustively, the Republicans on this side of the House are willing to stand upon their record and let the storm rage around them.

"HENRY C. PAYNE NEVER BETRAYED A TRUST NOR TO A FRIEND PROVED UNTRUE."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. J. H. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin,
in daily Congressional Record, April 20, 1904.*

Coming from the State in which the Postmaster-General has his residence, I want to say here that I hope this debate may be extended long enough to enable those Members who, a few days ago, under the heat of passion, saw fit to unjustly criticise him and to use language toward him that no gentleman ought to use toward another, to rise in their places and acknowledge that their cruel criticism of him and his Fourth Assistant was not warranted by the facts. *Henry C. Payne never intentionally wounded the feelings or stained the honor of any man. He never betrayed a trust nor to a friend proved untrue.* I know that he would not gratuitously insult any Member of this House. There is not a Member here who does not know that there is not a door of any office in any department of this Government which swings as often and as easily to the Members of this House as the door to the office of the Postmaster-General. [Applause on the Republican side.]

There is not a man in official life who ever greets the Members of this House more courteously and kindly than does the Postmaster-General.

It has been my pleasure and honor to know him for a number of years. In the State where he resides he is known as one of the most reliable and successful business men of that State.

I know him to be a man of character, of integrity, of honesty.

His great executive ability has been fully demonstrated in the magnificent manner in which he has discharged the duties of his position. Without noise or excitement he came here and procured funds with which to conduct an investigation of his own Department. Without fear or favor he directed that investigation to be made. He bore in silence the jibes of those who complained because he would not publish from the house tops each successive step taken or contemplated by those making the investigation.

When the proofs were complete he turned them over to the Department of Justice. The indictments and convictions are now matters of public knowledge.

Not for an instant during that whole trying period did the Postmaster-General waver in his purpose. Regardless of his own physical condition he remained at his post of duty through the heated season of last year, until the work undertaken was thoroughly completed.

That it was an unpleasant duty will readily be conceded. That no matter how unpleasant, it was performed conscientiously and with the firm determination to convict the guilty, there can be no question.

Results confirm it, every fair-minded citizen admits it, and the President in his frank and honest manner put it beyond question when he wrote the Postmaster-General as follows:

WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, February 27, 1904.

MY DEAR POSTMASTER-GENERAL: While all the work of the Post-Office Department and the Department of Justice in connection with the postal frauds is not yet over, there is already to the credit of the Departments, and therefore primarily to your credit, such an amount of substantive achievement that I take this opportunity to congratulate you personally upon it. It is impossible to expect that corruption will not occasionally occur in any government. The vital point is the energy, the fearlessness, and the efficiency with which such corruption is cut out and the corruptionists punished.

The success of the prosecutions in this case as compared with previous experiences in prosecuting Government officials who have been guilty of malfeasance or misfeasance is as noteworthy as it is gratifying, and must be a source of encouragement to all men who believe in decency and honesty in public life. *What has been accomplished by you, by those who have worked under you in your Department, and by the Department of Justice, redounds to the credit of our whole people and it is a signal triumph for the cause of popular government.* If corruption goes unpunished in popular government, then government by the people will ultimately fail; and they are the best friends of the people who make it evident that whoever in public office, or in connection with public office, sin against the fundamental laws of civic and social well-being will be punished with unsparing rigor.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. H. C. PAYNE,
Postmaster-General.

"THE CASES HAVE BEEN INVESTIGATED.—INDICTMENT AFTER INDICTMENT HAS BEEN FOUND."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. P. DOLLIVER of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, March 31, 1904.

I have wondered all through this session what purpose is in the mind of our brethren on the other side of the Chamber in their continual clamor about the frauds in the Post-Office Department. They certainly do not mean to impeach the Administration of the Post-Office Department, for one after another *they have borne a willing and a perfect testimony to the integrity of the head of the Department, including all the assistants of the Postmaster-General.*

The whole theory of our executive administration has been to create an inspectors force, charged with duties and qualified by skill and experience to take charge of, to make report of, and to correct such minor defects in administration as from time to time occur. And no more substantial eulogy could be pronounced upon the efficiency of the Post-Office Department than the limitations which the facts in this case have put upon the clamor of our friends on the other side.

Has anybody heard anything charged against the Post-Office Department in these debates which was not closely read out of the book containing the report of the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General? I confess for one that I have listened from the beginning of this controversy until now for somebody to speak who had some information, some rumor, some suspicion, some hearsay on the subject of corruption in the Post-Office Department without reading it out of Mr. Bristow's report.

And the fact that no such suspicion has been raised here, that nobody in this Chamber knows anything of corruption in the Post-Office Department or of suspicions gathered about any bureau of the Post-Office Department without consulting that book, is, in my judgment, the most complete vindication that could be made in favor of the efficiency of the administration of that office.

And for fear I may be wrong about that I ask any man in this Chamber, on either side, whether he has any knowledge, whether he has heard any report, whether he knows of any hearsay, rumor, or suspicion connected with the Post-Office Department that is not dealt with at length in Mr. Bristow's report? If there is anyone here who knows of such a thing, he owes it to the integrity of the Government of the United States to stand up here and say so.

There is not in this Chamber, on either side, a man who is so lost to a sense of his public duty that he would not willingly give investigation to any authenticated or partially authenticated suspicion against any Department of the Government of the United States.

But that is not our case. We are dealing with a Postmaster-General who, as everybody admits, is a man of integrity and ability. We are dealing with an administration of the Post-Office Department, at the head of every bureau of which are men admitted on all hands to be men of character and ability, and we are dealing with a situation which has already been so far investigated, so perfectly examined, that nobody in or out of Congress knows anything against the Post-Office Department or has heard of anything that was not brought to light and plainly set forth in that extraordinary report of the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, which details every transaction in connection with the Department that has ever fallen under suspicion or could in the nature of the case be discovered and unearthed. * * *

And it is to the everlasting honor of the Administration, from the Chief Magistrate down to the humblest inspector in the Post-Office Department, that the cases involving fraudulent dealing against the Government have been investigated so thoroughly that indictment after indictment has been found, and these recreant officials who had abused the trust that was confided to them by the long-continued confidence of the Government under several Administrations have at last reached the end of their cheap and dishonorable careers.

I hold, therefore, that instead of spending time here clamoring for investigations that have already been made, wasting the valuable hours of the Senate, this body would be in a good deal better business examining those provisions of law which have been made in the pending bill, to make such malfeasances in these public offices impossible in the future.

POST-OFFICE INVESTIGATION"—"A WORK WELL BEGUN, WELL CARRIED ON, WELL FINISHED."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. ORVILLE H. PLATT of Connecticut, in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 8, 1904.

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT INVESTIGATION.

The PRESIDENT, pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate all of the resolutions relating to an investigation of the Post-Office Department and all amendments offered to the same.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. We as individual Senators do not consider that we have had the time, the opportunity, or that we have the information to determine whether, after this elaborate, searching, thorough, and, I repeat, merciless investigation, there is still further need for an investigation. If there is we welcome it—we want it. If there is not, we do not consider it worth while to enter into a needless investigation. * * * I think I may speak for my fellow-Senators when I say that we are as anxious to have wrongdoing on the part of any official of this Government looked into, investigated, probed, and punished as any Senators upon the other side.

But to my mind there is a serious question as to whether further investigation into this matter is necessary. I do not believe any Congressional investigation, certainly none since I have been familiar with Congressional proceedings, has ever been conducted with the thoroughness, the impartiality, the determination to expose wrongdoing which have characterized the investigation carried on by the Postmaster-General during the eight months in which all powers of the Government were put in his hands.

Now, if Senators say there is something which he did not discover, if they specify other matters which should have been investigated and which he did not investigate, and the committee, upon the matter being referred to them, are of the opinion that that is true, then I with them should want those matters to be investigated. If they say that as to any of the matters investigated by Assistant Postmaster-General Bristow there has been any want of thoroughness, any failure to pursue it to the utmost limit and range, then I want the matters which have been already investigated to be reinvestigated. * * *

Since it has been suggested that Republican Senators wish to avoid a thorough and complete investigation of delinquencies, malfeasance, and crimes in the Post-Office Department, I desire to say that the President of the United States and the Postmaster-General, acting under his direction, have, in my judgment, intended to make this examination just as thorough as it was possible to make it; that the President, in directing it, and the Postmaster-General, in carrying it out, have lived up to the letter and the spirit of the declaration made by a former President on a somewhat similar occasion, "Let no guilty man escape."

It is somewhat strange, Mr. President, that in all this discussion we have not heard from the other side a genuine hearty word of compliment or praise for the President, the Postmaster-General, and the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General in this matter.

To be sure, we have heard mild disclaimers that it was not intended to charge that there had been any shortcomings, but we have not heard one genuine hearty word of praise for what has been done or sympathy with it.

I think it was a work well begun, well carried on, well finished, so far as it has been finished or can be finished without the aid of the courts; and if there be any one thing that a Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads says has not been done, I say, as we all say, I wish it to be done.

Now, that is the only issue there is between us. I am not going into a discussion of the matters brought out in the report of General Bristow. I have no desire to defend a guilty official of the Government, and I do not propose to be placed in the attitude of having that suspicion rest upon me.

But I do say, Mr. President, that the proper way of proceeding in all these matters, where investigations are called for by the resolution of a single Senator that are of consequence enough to be taken notice of by the Senate at all, is that it shall be referred to the proper committee, to the committee charged with the matters to which it relates, to determine whether an investigation is necessary.

"THESE INVESTIGATIONS SEARCHED AS WITH FIRE THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. EUGENE HALE of Maine, in daily Congressional Record, January 18, 1904.

Well, Mr. President, I think this: The investigation is going on; the Department is committed to it by every energy that it can summon, there has never been in the history of this Government so thorough, so complete, so severe an investigation, followed by the results which I have indicated as this one.

It has only been going on a little more than a year. The best energy of the Postmaster-General have been directed to it; the best men that could summon to his aid in the Department, his subordinates, have been put on the track of every one of these grievances, malfeasances, and offenses and they have been followed. The only complaint I have heard is from the friends of the accused; with a "relentlessness," to use their words, such as never has been, as they claim, shown before.

Mr. President, I have seen something of Congressional investigation in my thirty years and more of service in the two Houses of Congress. I saw the investigation into the Union Pacific Railroad—the Credit Mobilier—the investigation into the Pacific mail subsidy, the investigation into the post-office contracts in the District of Columbia, the investigation into the post-tradership scandal, the investigation into contracts for armor plates, and the later investigation, as I am reminded, of the sugar trust, and the star-route investigation and others. Putting them all together, Mr. President, diverse as they were, covering almost every imaginable subject being of great importance, in the one result of detecting and exposing and indicting and punishing all of these combined do not stand in magnitude for one moment with what the Post-Office Department has done in the great investigation which it has conducted.

Yet Congress was behind those investigations and there was more or less public interest. They involved great transactions, in some cases much greater in amounts of money than this; but the history is this; and I say the Department should be credited with it, and the President, who he backed up the Postmaster-General day in and day out, night in and night out, in the conferences and the vigils which they have kept upon this subject-matter, should be credited, and are, as I believe, credited by the public with these great results in these investigations.

These investigations, Mr. President, penetrated broad and large; they searched as with fire the Post-Office Department; they went out into State after State and followed the course of proceeding in the vast business that had been conducted through offending subordinates in the Department, with men outside who were in equal complicity with them against the law. When once on the track in any case the track was never abandoned; the trail never grew too fresh for the Post-Office Department. I find here recited by the Postmaster-General a list, which certainly is illuminating as showing what has been done by this great investigation. The Department summoned its chief detectives; it took them from other work, useful work, and set them upon this work of following and finding these offenders and the offenses; it put into the field inspectors in charge of four divisions, seven in number; it put in local inspectors in the cities, eighteen in number; it put in all its field inspectors, who traversed the country broad and large who took testimony, affidavits, interviews, and gained knowledge of facts seventeen in number.

Mr. President, as a result they secured resignations that were forced four in number; removals, thirteen in number; and indictments found in the courts of the country against those offenders, both in and out of the Departments, sixty-four in number. * * *

More than this, these things are now being carried on, as a natural sequence of the great work of the Post-Office Department, in the courts of the United States in half a dozen different States, districts, and Territories. There is to-day in Washington going on under processes of law, under rules and practice that elicit truth and discover guilt and punish it, a leading trial in these cases, and the best of counsel have been employed—and we shall pay for it—to follow this to the end.

Mr. President, you may have a dozen Congressional committees, and they may, under the practice of Congressional committees, investigate this case or any portion of it, and altogether they will never bring out so clearly the method of doing business in the Post-Office Department, the relations that its subordinates had to outsiders, and the wrongdoing that was going on. It will this one trial that is going on in Washington, where every word that is said and every point that is made are printed in the newspapers and thrown open to the public.

THE MOST EXHAUSTIVE AND HONEST INVESTIGATION EVER MADE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY M. TELLER of Colorado, in daily Congressional Record, April 11, 1904.

To put this in a nutshell, the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, Mr. Bristow, who we are told has made the most exhaustive and honest investigation ever made by any official in the world, and that it is not possible that any crookedness could have been overlooked by him, although he did not pretend to investigate more than a portion of the Department, tells us that Beavers and Machen, and other people of that stripe, did not themselves make so very much money. I think he says that Beavers made about \$26,000 and Machen about \$20,000, and nobody knows how much some other people made. But he says that the Government lost more than \$3,200,000.

That is what we are particularly interested in—that the Government has been robbed. Of course it is a very small sum compared with the total expenditures of the nation, and I suppose it is only fair to say *that probably we shall never have an Administration under which there will not be some corruption, and some peculations, and some grafting, and some loss.* But that is a good deal more than ought to have occurred in any one Department.

Mr. President, I am not a partisan sufficiently strong to insist that these peculations, these fraudulent transactions occurred because the Republican party was in power, nor do I think it is any answer when I complain, as I do complain, that this investigation has not been carried on as it should have been carried on to say that Machen was a Democrat. It is not any answer, Mr. President. Suppose he was a Democrat. Suppose he came in under a Democratic Administration. Somebody in my rear suggests to me that he turned Republican. I have no doubt that he changed his politics with the Administration, for that class of people can always do that. The Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] says to me he changed his politics. I should suspect that.

In the first place, I do not suppose he would have been found there if he had not changed his politics; but he was there.

It does not add anything to the offense to say that Beavers was a Republican. *I do not believe stealing is confined to any one political party in this country, and it never will be.*

THE HONORABLE ROBERT H. ROBERTSON, ATTORNEY AT LAW, CHICAGO, ILL., IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, HE HAS HEREUNTO SET HIS HAND AND SEAL OF OFFICE, THIS 10TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1908.

ROBERT H. ROBERTSON, ATTORNEY AT LAW, CHICAGO, ILL.

AND I, THE SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF COOK, ILL., DO HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THE FOREGOING IS A TRUE AND CORRECT COPY OF THE TESTIMONY OF THE ABOVE NAMED ROBERT H. ROBERTSON, AS GIVEN AND DECLARED BY HIM IN THE PRESENCE OF ME AND TWO OTHER JUSTLY OATHED OFFICIALS, ON THE 10TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1908.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I HAVE HEREUNTO SET MY HAND AND SEAL OF OFFICE, THIS 10TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1908.

JOHN J. COUGHLIN, SHERIFF OF COOK COUNTY, ILL.

AND I, THE CLERK OF THE COURT OF COOK COUNTY, ILL., DO HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THE FOREGOING IS A TRUE AND CORRECT COPY OF THE TESTIMONY OF THE ABOVE NAMED ROBERT H. ROBERTSON, AS GIVEN AND DECLARED BY HIM IN THE PRESENCE OF ME AND TWO OTHER JUSTLY OATHED OFFICIALS, ON THE 10TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1908.

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Pensions

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"PENSIONS TO VETERAN SOLDIERS."—"THE RULE SO FIERCELY DENOUNCED IS ONE OF ADMINISTRATION PURE AND SIMPLE."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOHN F. LACEY of Iowa, in the Congressional Record, April 9, 1904.

House resolution No. 278 was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire and report to the House whether, in the opinion of said committee, there is any authority of law for a recent order of the Secretary of the Interior to the effect that all persons who served in the Army or Navy of the United States during the war of the rebellion and who have reached the age of 65 years shall be presumed to have incurred such disabilities as to entitle them to receive pensions under the act of Congress approved June 27, 1890; and if no such authority be found to exist, the said committee is instructed to report whether the issue of such order amounts to a usurpation or invasion by the Executive of the powers vested by the Constitution in the legislative department of the Government, and what steps, if any, should be taken to vindicate the constitutional authority of Congress, and particularly of the House, over the raising of revenues and the expenditure thereof.

Mr. DALZELL. The committee has reported this resolution back with a recommendation that it lie on the table.

Mr. LACEY. Mr. Speaker, the question involved in this resolution where it assumes that the privileges of the House have been assailed only arises out of a forced construction of the rule adopted by the Pension Office. Prior to the act of 1890 most of the pension rates were fixed specifically by law; so much for the loss of an eye; so much for the loss of hearing; so much for the loss of a leg, and various disabilities rated in dollars, but the act of 1890 provided that for disabilities not shown to have been contracted in the service the rate should be based upon the impairment of the ability of the pensioner to earn a living by manual labor. Commissioner Raum first adopted the rule that in estimating the rate under the act of 1890 he would apply the same rule that had already existed under the old law.

The Secretary of the Interior held against this rule on an appeal case, and after that the rule applied was based upon "inability of the pensioner to earn a living;" and three years after the law was passed, with the experience the Department then had, they adopted an age rule of 65 years giving the half rate of \$6, and 75 years giving the full rate, or \$12, age being presumed to create disability to the extent that I have stated.

This age rule only recognizes a presumption, based on the experience of the office, that soldiers at 65 were disabled one-half and at 75 the disability to earn a living by manual labor was total. But it was only a presumption, and if the medical examination showed ability, notwithstanding age, the presumption was rebutted.

Now, since that they have had eleven years' more experience and have adjudicated several hundred thousand more claims. With this additional experience, with this additional observation, with this enlarged view of the situation, the Pension Office has adopted the order complained of, a graded rule between six and twelve dollars, beginning three years earlier than the rule of 1893, \$6 at 63, \$8 at 65, \$10 at 68, and \$12 at 70.

It is the same rule adopted in 1893 modified in the light of additional experience of eleven years of the Department. We all knew about it. I was on the Pension Committee and I knew about it. I approved of it, and I did not look to see the Dome of the Capitol falling around our ears because President Cleveland had adopted the age of 65 for a pension disability rate of \$6. That was eleven years ago, and we have survived eleven years; and now with the additional experience the intermediate grades have been adopted between six and twelve dollars, and a few years earlier in life had been decided upon.

The taking of several hundreds of thousands of cases and adjudicating them in the light of the various surgical examinations in each case gave to the Pension Bureau a very wide range of experience upon which to base its ratings, just as life-insurance companies use their own experience in arriving at conclusions as to health and expectancy of life. The rule is not a rule of law; it is a conclusion of fact, based upon a past knowledge and observation. Congress did not attempt to point out specific ratings, as under the old law cases, but gave the general direction to rate the disability as it might affect the ability to earn a living by manual labor, and the details of administration were left to the executive department. *The rule so fiercely denounced is one of administration pure and simple, and was clearly delegated by Congress to the Pension Office.*

OLD-AGE PENSIONS." — "COMMISSIONER WARE INTERPRETS THE NEW ORDER."

Extract from WASHINGTON POST, printed in daily Congressional Record, April 12, 1904.

Age Pensions—Countless Veterans to be aided under New Order—Allowance at 62—Years to count as Proof of Disability in Cases of Claimants—Commissioner Ware interprets the New Order—Veteran Applicants will be saved Time and Money and Bureau's Expenses will be cut down \$300,000—Minimum Age Limit fixed at 62 Years and Maximum at 70.

Commissioner of Pensions Ware, with the approval of Secretary Hitchcock, yesterday promulgated the most important pension ruling that has been issued in a long time. It directs that, beginning April 13 next, if there is no contrary evidence and all other legal requirements have been met, claimants for pension under the general act of June 27, 1890, who are 62 years old shall be considered as disabled one-half in ability to perform manual labor and shall be entitled to \$6 a month; over 65 years to \$8, over 68 years to \$10, and over 70 to \$12, the usual allowances at higher rates continuing for disabilities other than age. The order follows:

"Ordered, In the adjudication of pension claims under said act of June 27, 1890, as amended, it shall be taken and considered as an evidential fact, in the absence of the contrary, that the claimant does not appear, and if all other legal requirements are properly met, that when a claimant has passed the age of 62 years he is disabled one-half in ability to perform manual labor and is entitled to be paid at \$6 per month; after 65 years at \$8 per month; after 68 years at \$10 per month, and after 70 years at \$12 per month.

"Allowance at higher rate, not exceeding \$12 per month, will continue to be made as heretofore, where disabilities other than age show a condition of inability to perform manual labor.

"This order shall take effect April 13, 1904, and shall not be deemed retroactive. The former rules of the office, fixing the minimum and maximum age at 65 years and 75 years, respectively, are hereby modified as above."

FIXING THE AVERAGE.

The order itself is preceded by a preamble which, after citing the law, says the Pension Bureau has established with reasonable certainty the average nature and extent of the infirmity of old age; that thirty-nine years after the Mexican war Congress, in 1887, placed on the pension roll all Mexican war soldiers who were over 62 years old.

Commissioner Ware, just before leaving for a trip South for his health, spoke as follows regarding the order, which he said would save both the old soldiers and the Government a great deal of money and time:

"There has long been in the Bureau a rule fixing a maximum age limit, \$12 for 75 years. This was made during Mr. Cleveland's Administration by Commissioner Lochren, now Federal Judge in Minnesota. The 65-year minimum limit has been a long while in force in the Bureau, but I am not advised by whom it was established, nor is it particularly material, since it met with general acquiescence.

"The act of Congress which was passed in the latter part of January, 1887, and approved by President Cleveland, put all the Mexican war veterans on the pension roll thirty-nine years exactly after the end of the Mexican war. The Mexican war ended officially by the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, although hostilities had ceased before that time by the capture of the City of Mexico.

"It would seem that if thirty-nine years after the expiration of service a Mexican war soldier was entitled to a pension at 62 years and no other requisite for drawing a pension should exist except age, to soldiers of the Civil war, who fought vastly more and longer, at least as good a rule ought to apply.

"The Mexican war limit of 62 years was probably brought about by the well-known army limit of 62 years at which officers are retired. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that at 62 years the disabilities of old age have set in.

THE THIRTY-NINE YEAR LIMIT.

"The order could not have been issued earlier, because it is only now that the thirty-nine years fixed by the Congressional limit has been reached. The Civil war ended April 13, 1865, and in enlistments in the loyal States those who enlisted after that time are held to have no pensionable service during the war of the rebellion. Hence the thirty-nine years would expire on the 13th of next month, and it is very proper that the order should be issued fixing the 62 years as the minimum age limit and the biblical three score and ten as the maximum.

"There is an advantage and saving to the Government in the use of this order, because every old soldier who has reached the age of 62 years is able to prove, almost without possibility of doubt, that he is one-half disabled from earning his support by manual labor. This being so, it seems unwise to put a soldier to the expense of time and transportation to go to a place where a medical board can examine him to find that fact out, and on the other hand it seems unnecessary for the Government to keep boards established and then pay \$6 for the examination of a soldier when the result of the examination can be so accurately foretold.

"I am of the opinion that this order will save the Government a good deal of money. Of the 200,000 examinations in the last year, if one-fourth of them were saved it would make \$300,000, and perhaps an equal amount in time and transportation to the old soldier who would have to go and be examined.

THE ABILITY TO LABOR.

"The experience here in the Pension Bureau has practically established the manual-labor limit. In the rulings of the Department the inability to earn a support by manual labor does not include brain work, but applies to all who can by bodily labor earn support. This is what Congress endeavored to do, and did do, and in the legislation is continuing to do, and the theory of the term and its legal construction are well known and long acquiesced in. Hence, in the Bureau, where so many examinations have been made through a long series of years, the disabilities arising from age are almost definitely fixed, so much so that it may be conceded that at 62 years an old soldier is at least one-half disabled from earning a support by manual labor, and under the law he would be entitled to \$6."

"PENSIONS."—"THE FACT OF DISABILITY IS TO BE ESTABLISHED AND THE DEGREE OF IT IS TO BE ASCERTAINED."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 9, 1904.

House resolution No. 278 was read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire and report to the House whether, in the opinion of said committee there is any authority of law for a recent order of the Secretary of the Interior to the effect that all persons who served in the Army or Navy of the United States during the war of the rebellion and who have reached the age of 62 years shall be presumed to have incurred such disability as to entitle them to receive pensions under the act of Congress approved June 27 1890.

* * * * *

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, we appropriate one hundred and thirty odd millions of dollars and hand it over to the Secretary of the Interior to be paid out for pensions. Then we prescribe exactly who shall be entitled—that is, the great classes of men who shall be entitled—to pensions. First, the man who incurred disability during the war; second, the man who served and whose health was impaired, or who lost a limb or was wounded or whatever may have happened, he comes into the class of pensions depending upon the degree of disability which he incurred during his service in the Army.

Then comes another class, the widows of deceased soldiers; then the children under certain ages. Then comes the act of July 27, 1890, which provides that persons who are honorably discharged from the service and who served ninety days, and who have a permanent physical or mental inability to earn a support shall be entitled to a pension under that act, based upon the degree of disability which they are suffering from at the time of their application.

There we have the law. It does not make any difference from what cause, so it is not his own bad and vicious habits. It may be that he has fallen from a building; it may be that he has been wrecked in a railroad collision; it may be that he has grown old, and if the gentleman will only put his mind down on the single proposition he will be rid of all the trouble that he has apparently been suffering under. The basic proposition of this statute relates to the ability or inability to earn a support by manual labor.

Now, there is the whole foundation stone upon which that act proposes to administer pensions.

Let me read the statute, so that I can plant myself on what I believe to be unassailable ground:

"That all persons who served ninety days or more and have an honorable discharge, etc., and who are now—"

That is, at the passage of the law—

"or who may hereafter be suffering from a mental or physical disability of a permanent character, not the result of their own vicious habits which incapacitates them for the performance of manual labor in such a degree as to render them unable to earn a support, shall have a pension, etc."

Showing that the basic proposition, the underlying controlling idea of the whole of this statute, is that by some reason, no matter what, provided it is not caused by the bad habits of the applicant, he shall have a pension commensurate with his lack of power to earn a support by manual labor up to \$12. And now I ask the gentleman to bear in mind that the degree of disability to be compensated in money between \$5 and \$12 is left to the sound discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. The whole of this question has come incidentally out of that power given to him, or that discretion given to him to administer the law, to ascertain by such steps as he may see fit to take what the disability is.

Now, the question of fact being remitted to the Secretary of the Interior, he may establish his own rules of evidence. Does anybody deny that? Why, Mr. Speaker, when you come to get at the very kernel of this whole discussion, it amounts to this and nothing more, that the Secretary of the Interior, charged with the duty of ascertaining a fact, has prescribed a rule of evidence and issued his order making known to the people of the country what the rule of evidence is. I do not condemn the action of the Department, and by no means do I criticize the original action of Mr. Cleveland's Administration in this behalf. Mr. Cleveland's Administration at an early day, long ago, before this rule became so significant, used this language:

In a case in which the pensioner has reached the age of 75 years his rate shall not be disturbed if he is receiving the maximum of \$12 but if he is not a pensioner he shall receive the maximum for soldiers alone if there are no special disabilities shown.

Now, that is the fundamental principle laid down by Cleveland's Administration. What is it when applied to a pension claim? The relevant fact is, How much is this man disabled? The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to establish his own processes of ascertaining.

Now, what has happened? The application is made, the appropriation is there, the fact of disability is to be established, and the degree of it is to be ascertained; and the Secretary of the Interior says that by the common knowledge of men, no man at 62 years of age can earn a livelihood with the same degree of efficiency that he could when he was 35. And so we see—as a guess, if you please—as I have shown that all these ascertainties are mere estimates at last. He finally says, "I will estimate that the soldier has fallen off in ability one-half," and then he goes on, by the scale which the law authorizes him to establish, and makes the continuance of these presumptions the fact.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the country will approve this order; I believe that the soldiers of the country will approve it.

"THE ROCKS ON WHICH COMMISSIONER WARE'S ORDER IS BUILT."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY R. GIBSON of Tennessee, in daily Congressional Record, April 12, 1904.

And I venture the prediction, Mr. Speaker, that after the pending Presidential campaign is over, and the urgent political necessities now spurring Democratic politicians to cry out have gone by, *the whole country will agree that Commissioner Ware's age order and President Roosevelt's approval of it were wise, just, considerate, opportune, economical, patriotic, and strictly within the law;* and the Democratic politicians will all say, "Well, we knew Ware and Roosevelt were in the right about it; but how in the name of the devil could we afford to say so when a Presidential campaign was on hand and we so scarce of campaign material?"

Observe the relative positions of the two parties, Mr. Speaker. Here is the Republican party saying to an old soldier over 70 years, "Prove your age to be over 70 years and you shall have a pension of \$12 a month." And there is the Democratic party saying to this old soldier, "We Democrats don't care how old you are, you must travel and pay your expenses to where the pension board is, and you must here strip off—like slave dealers compelled negroes to strip before a sale was made—and you must be examined thoroughly, and all your disabilities written in a book, and rated and reported, or you shall have no pension at all."

COMPARATIVE TREATMENT OF THE SOLDIERS.

How will the old soldiers like this treatment? *Are Democrats so hard pressed for excuses to find fault with President Roosevelt that they are willing to trample the old soldier under their feet in order to be able to reach and injure him?* Oh, Mr. Speaker, it will do the Democratic party no good for their leaders to say they are in favor of pensions, but want them granted in a different way. They remind me of the old planter who declared he was in favor of his negroes being religious and saying their prayers, but he wanted all such things attended to on Sunday at the meetinghouse. The Democrats do not realize that with the old soldier, "Now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation!"

It is really wonderful, Mr. Speaker, to what extremes Democratic politicians will go to aid the Democratic party. The first crime I ever heard them charge on the Republican party was when, in my boyhood, they abused the Republicans for using the Declaration of Independence to shield and befriend the downtrodden and oppressed, and the last crime I have heard them charge against the Republicans now, in my old age, is that the Republicans are using the Bible to shield and befriend the old Union soldier. The Bible says:

The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off and we fly away.

The Congress of the United States has in effect declared a soldier pensionably disabled at 62 years, and the Bible and the experience of the Pension Bureau declare him totally disabled for manual labor at 70 years. These are the rocks on which Commissioner Ware's order is built and the gates of Democracy shall not prevail against it. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, by permission of the House I will append to my remarks for publication in the Record an official copy of the Bureau age order. *Pension Bureau order in relation to presumption of disabilities arising from age:*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, March 15, 1904.

THE COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS.

SIR: Your letter has been received, submitting for my consideration an order touching the rate of pension allowed under the act of June 27, 1890. The order in question is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BUREAU OF PENSIONS,
ORDER No. 78.] March 15, 1904.

Whereas the act of June 27, 1890, as amended, provides that a claimant shall "be entitled to receive a pension not exceeding \$12 per month and not less than \$6 per month, proportioned to the degree of inability to earn a support, and in determining such inability each and every infirmity shall be duly considered, and the aggregate of the disabilities shown to be rated;" and

Whereas old age is an infirmity the average nature and extent of which the experience of the Pension Bureau has established with reasonable certainty; and

Whereas by act of Congress in 1887, when thirty-nine years had elapsed after the Mexican war, all soldiers of said war who were over 62 years of age were placed on the pension roll; and

Whereas thirty-nine years will have elapsed on April 13, 1904, since the civil war, and there are many survivors over 62 years of age; Now, therefore,

Ordered, (1) In the adjudication of pension claims under said act of June 27, 1890, as amended, it shall be taken and considered as an evidential fact, if the contrary does not appear, and if all other legal requirements are properly met, that when a claimant has passed the age of 62 years he is disabled one-half in ability to perform manual labor, and is entitled to be rated at \$6 per month; after 65 years at \$8 per month; after 68 years at \$10 per month; and after 70 years at \$12 per month.

2. Allowances at higher rate, not exceeding \$12 per month, will continue to be made as heretofore, where disabilities other than age show a condition of inability to perform manual labor.

3. This order shall take effect April 13, 1904, and shall not be deemed retroactive. The former rules of the office fixing the minimum and maximum at 65 years and 75 years respectively, are hereby modified as above.

E. F. WARE,
Commissioner of Pensions.

In response thereto I have to state that one copy of the order has been approved by indorsement thereon, and is herewith transmitted for the files of your office.

Very respectfully.

E. A. HITCHCOCK, Secretary.

"TRYING TO PLAY POLITICS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE MEN WHO FOUGHT TO SAVE THE FLAG."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. A. HEMENWAY of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, April 18, 1904.

Mr. Chairman, the gentlemen on the other side of this Chamber have been walking around for the last few months striving to find an issue for this campaign. They think they have it now. We are willing to meet them on the issue. Gentlemen talk about an order of the President. I have not discovered any order of the President of the United States, but I have in my hand an order made by the Commissioner of Pensions; and what is the substance of this order? In what does it differ from other orders heretofore made? I say it absolutely does not differ in principle.

The first order made along this line was made by Mr. Lochren, in Mr. Cleveland's Administration, when he said in substance that when a soldier became 75 years of age that under the law of June 27, 1890, it should be held that he was totally disabled. Following that came an order in Mr. McKinley's Administration, on which Commissioner Evans said that when a soldier became 65 years of age he should be considered one-half disabled and when he became 75 years of age he was totally disabled.

Why? Why, because the experience of the Pension Department in passing upon thousands of cases demonstrated that that was the fact, and that there was no necessity of making the old soldier go to the expense and trouble of proving a fixed fact, when the experience of that officer had taught him it was a fact. They knew from the evidence furnished in all these cases when the soldier arrived at that age he was disabled to that extent, and there was no reason in requiring him to go ahead and get up proof of what Commissioner Evans knew to be true.

Now, then, since that time Commissioner Ware also learned something more. He has learned that a soldier at 62 years is one-half disabled. He learned it by taking into consideration the evidence filed in thousands of cases, from which he saw that when a soldier was 62 years of age he was one-half disabled, and to compel him to prove what experience has proven to the Commissioner would be to compel him to prove what was known to be true in every case, and they held that a soldier when he was 65 years of age as an actual fact was two-thirds disabled. So the Pension Office fixed that.

*Does the gentleman from Alabama say that—does the gentleman from Mississippi say that the old soldier 62 years of age is able to do more than one-half a day's manual labor? Do you want to go to the country with that kind of an issue? If you do, we are willing to meet you, because we say that the Commissioner of Pensions, keeping within the law, had a right to say that these old veterans did not have to go out and hunt up evidence to prove what the experience of the Pension Commissioner's Office has proven to be absolutely a fixed fact and it is not necessary to prove it again. * * * The Commissioner of Pensions has determined, after taking into consideration all the evidence filed in thousands of cases there, that at 62 years of age it is a fixed fact that a soldier is disabled at least one-half; that at the age of 65 he is disabled two-thirds; that at the age of 68 he is disabled three-fourths, and at the age of 70 he is totally disabled. And now if you gentlemen on that side want to go to the country and say that these old soldiers are not disabled to that extent, you are welcome to do it.*

Then this order has another effect. All over this country the old soldiers are being sent for examination every day on these claims for increases. The examination is absolutely unnecessary. The experience of the office has taught the Commissioner of Pensions they are entitled to this rate when they reach this age, and by the passage of this item of \$1,500,000 and by enforcing this proper construction of the law we will save during the next fiscal year \$500,000 of money expended by the Government for examining these old soldiers.

We will not only save that \$500,000 for examinations, but we will save to the old soldier, who is hard up, many of them, who has barely enough money to live on, the expense of traveling to adjoining towns and going to the pains and trouble of an examination. We will save to him his board bill when he goes there, and you gentlemen ought to know what that means.

The sum the poor old soldier is receiving now is a mere pittance, and he has to pay his railroad fare to adjoining towns, and he has to pay hotel bills there; he has to take these examinations which the Commissioner of Pensions determines, and properly determines in this order are unnecessary; he has to go hunting up evidence to prove what the Commissioner of Pensions by experience knows is unnecessary, and which costs the old soldier time and money.

Now, you gentlemen may dodge all you want to; you may hunt around all you want to; you may offer all the amendments you desire here to-day, but you can not get away from the fact that you are trying to play politics at the expense of the men who fought to save the flag and keep the stars all in it and make this a united and prosperous country. [Prolonged applause on the Republican side.]

"THIS DEMOCRATIC HULLABALOO ABOUT THE PENSION-AGE ORDER IS GOTTEN UP WHOLLY FOR POLITICAL EFFECT."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY R. GIBSON of Tennessee, in daily Congressional Record, April 12, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER: Referring to the discussion of the recent age rule of the Pension Bureau, to which we have been listening for the last two hours, I maintain that the only legitimate question at issue is one of construction. * * On the 27th of June, 1890, Congress passed an act providing that every Union soldier who served ninety or more days during the war of the rebellion and received an honorable discharge and who was incapacitated for the performance of manual labor by a mental or physical disability, not the result of his own vicious habits, should be entitled to a pension of not less than \$6 nor more than \$12 a month.

I call attention, Mr. Speaker, at the outset that it is not the loss of mental vigor, it is not the absence of vigor of the mind that entitles the soldier to a pension as a great many gentlemen seem to suppose; it is the loss of vigor of the body. The language of the statute is incapacity for the performance of "manual labor," not mental labor.

I concede, as we all must concede, that there are many men at 75 years of age in full possession of their powers of mind, and yet all know who have attained that age that the powers of the body are greatly impaired. A man who works with his mind may be able to work eight hours a day when he becomes 70 or 75, but let him try working with his hands—"manual labor"—using an axe, a saw, a plane, a hammer, a hoe, a spade, a scythe, or any other implement of manual labor, and one hour's work will exhaust him. * * * I call attention to the fact that the first age order, the one making the age of 75 years a presumptive right to a maximum pension, was made while Cleveland was President.

Mr. Cleveland now says that the recent order of Commissioner Ware is correct, and I will put Grover Cleveland's judgment on this occasion against the judgment of any man on the other side of this House. Did any of these Democratic champions of liberty and the Constitution raise any outcry against Cleveland and his Democratic Pension Commissioner, Judge Lochren? Not a solitary outcry. On the other hand, Cleveland honored Lochren by appointing him a United States judge, and the Democrats in the Senate voted to ratify and confirm the appointment. No objections then to age being considered presumptive proof of disability to earn a support by manual labor. *If it was right then for Cleveland and Lochren to make old age proof of physical disability, why is it wrong now for Roosevelt and Ware to do the same thing? Oh, ye Democratic defenders of liberty and the Constitution, say, is it right for Democrats to violate the Constitution and the principles of liberty and only wrong when Republicans do it?*

Mr. Speaker, nothing so fully and glaringly demonstrates the insincerity, hypocrisy, and falsity of these Democrats now abusing Roosevelt and Ware, because of this pension-age rule, as the fact that they approved and indorsed the same sort of a rule when made by Cleveland and Lochren, and only object to it now because made by Roosevelt and Ware. This, Mr. Speaker, is overwhelming and conclusive proof that *all this Democratic hullabaloo about the recent Bureau pension-age order is gotten up wholly for political effect, just as the stentorian hubbub about the Panama Canal treaty was fabricated for political effect.*

The Panama hubbub proved to be a boomerang that slaughtered more Philistines than Samson's sword, and destroyed one Democrat's chances for a Presidential nomination, and if Parker joins his champions on this floor in denouncing this pension-age order, he, too, will be slaughtered by this boomerang. Go on, gentlemen, denouncing Roosevelt for such great acts of his as building the Panama Canal and pensioning soldiers because of their old age, and you will have no more chance to defeat him next November than the Parker and Cleveland gold-bug wing of your party has to get the support of the Bryan and Jones free-silver wing in the coming campaign.

"YOU ARE MAKING VOTES FOR ROOSEVELT AND ARE MAKING THE OLD SOLDIERS UNANIMOUS FOR HIM."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY R. GIBSON of Tennessee, in daily Congressional Record, April 12, 1904.

You are making votes for Roosevelt every time you open your mouths and are making the old soldiers unanimous for him. And if you keep on you will not only elect Roosevelt President but will make Commissioner Ware your next Vice-President. Mr. Speaker, the traveler to the Democratic graveyard after the next November election will see a new tombstone over a new grave, and if he will stop to read he will find on it the name of the next Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and under it these words:

What, Mr. Speaker, is the secret of all this vociferation about Commissioner Ware's order? Why all this weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth? *Simply because this order robs the Democratic party of a nice little scheme they had concocted to get the Republican party in a hole.* The Democrats have been instigating the old soldiers to demand a service-pension law at the present session of Congress, not because at heart they favor a service pension, but because they hoped that by the time a service-pension bill got through Congress it would amount to so many million dollars—say fifty millions the first year—that if President Roosevelt signed it he would lose New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and if he vetoed it he would lose Indiana, West Virginia, Colorado, Nebraska, Utah, and perhaps other States of the West. In either event Roosevelt would be beaten.

So the Democratic scheme was to hurrah for a service pension and to swear that they were in favor of pensioning every Union soldier who served thirty days at from \$12 a month up, every Union soldier's widow at from \$12 a month up, every Mexican-war soldier at \$24 per month, and every widow of a Mexican-war soldier at from \$12 a month up. They hoped to get a bill amended up to \$50,000,000 a year and force the Republican Congressmen to vote for it or to defeat them at the polls if they voted against it, and if it passed, then, as I have already stated, they felt sure they had Roosevelt defeated whether he signed it or vetoed it.

Oh, it was a deep pit these Democrats had dug for the Republican party to fall into, and now they are in a rage because Commissioner Ware's order bridges the pit and enables the Republicans to pass over, while the Democrats, by trying to tear up the order, have themselves fallen into the very pit they had dugged for us.

This is the explanation of all these fiery denunciations of Commissioner Ware's order. This is the cause of all these thunderings about President Roosevelt having violated the Constitution and robbed Congress of its rights when he approved Ware's order. This is the secret of the awful troubles the Democratic speakers and editors are having over this age-pension order. *But every howl they send up makes Republican votes. Every time they thunder against this order the old soldier hastens to Republican shelter. Every denunciation they utter drives the sons of the soldiers away from the Democratic camp.*

WARE'S PENSION ORDER—AN EXPLANATION OF IT

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 28, 1904.

To the Journal and Tribune: As I am in receipt of many letters from old soldiers and others as to the meaning of Commissioner Ware's recent pension order, I ask you to publish this letter in explanation.

1. The order makes no new law and changes no old law. The Commissioner had no power to make laws or to change laws. But he can make rules of evidence, and this is all he has undertaken to do, and his order provides that where the contrary does not appear a soldier shall be presumed one-half disabled under the act of 1890 when he has passed the age of 62, and will consequently be pensioned at \$6 a month; that after 65 he will be presumed entitled to \$8 per month, after 68 to \$10, and after 70 to \$12 per month.

2. This order applies exclusively to the act of 1890, sometimes called "the new law;" but a soldier drawing less than \$12 a month under the old law and entitled to more under Mr. Ware's order may file an application under the new law (the act of 1890) and get what his age entitles him to.

3. A soldier drawing under the new law less than his age will give him must apply for an increase on the ground that he is entitled to more by reason of disability to perform manual labor resulting from his age.

4. Applications for the increase allowed by Mr. Ware's order should not be made until April 13, 1904, as the order does not go into effect until that date; but applications for increase under the new law, now pending, will probably be acted on under the order.

5. If a soldier thinks himself entitled to a greater increase than his age gives him, he must specify his disabilities as though the order did not exist; but if a soldier should do this, and the board should report that he has no pensionable disability, or is not entitled to any increase, as the case may be, he may lose his age pension, because the report of the board will rebut the presumption of disability resulting from age.

6. When the application is based on age alone, no medical examination will be made if the proof of age be satisfactory. The Bureau will probably look at the soldier's age as given in the muster roll.

7. This order does not apply to widows, parents, Spanish-war soldiers, or soldiers of the Regular Army. It applies only to those soldiers and sailors of the war of the rebellion who served ninety or more days and were honorably discharged.

8. The order is not retroactive and gives no back pension. Nor is the pension based on age an extra or additional pension. The law never gives, or allows the same person to draw, two pensions. A soldier entitled to draw under two or more laws must choose which law he will draw under; but if dissatisfied with his choice he may choose again, but he can not draw more than one pension at the same time.

I will add that the Commissioner was fully justified by both law and precedent in making the order referred to, and where there is one person to find fault there are fifty to praise it.

HENRY R. GIBSON.

"PENSION ORDER OF THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT."

Extract from Senate Proceedings in daily Congressional Record, March 29, 1904.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following communication from the Secretary of the Interior; which was read:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, Washington, March 28, 1904.

THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE, *United States Senate.*

SIR: Replying to Senate resolution No. 151, I have the honor to state that an order has recently been issued regulating the administration of the act of June 27, 1890. *It is not considered, however, that this Department has the authority to enlarge the provisions of that act or in any way to affect its just interpretation or that the order referred to does either.* A copy of the order is contained in the report of the Acting Commissioner of Pensions, transmitted herewith.

As some misunderstanding with reference to the interpretation and purpose of this order has existed, a brief review of pension legislation and the administration thereof in this Department is submitted for the purpose of showing that the order referred to is clearly within executive authority and in conformity with existing law and the methods which have heretofore prevailed in its administration.

Before the act of June 27, 1890, no pensions were granted except upon proof that the death or disability for which the pension was sought resulted from actual service. This act, however, provided that any person who had served ninety days or more and who had been honorably discharged should receive a pension of not less than six nor more than twelve dollars per month, if proof were furnished that he was suffering from a permanent disability, not the result of vicious habits, which incapacitated him "from the performance of manual labor in such a degree as to render him unable to earn a support."

Disability, partial or complete, to perform manual labor is the sole measure of the right to a pension under this act. The element of manual labor is fundamental. If, in the adjudication of a pension claim, it shall be determined that the applicant's pensionable disabilities render him wholly incapacitated for manual labor, his pension rating will be accordingly, even though the applicant may be then occupied, with distinguished usefulness, in some field of intellectual endeavor. It is well understood that there is a natural decay of the physical powers, due solely to age, which impairs man's capacity to "earn a support" by his own manual labor. Not only does the act itself provide that "each and every infirmity shall be duly considered," but the decisions under it uniformly recognize the principle that disabilities due to senility alone are pensionable.

By an order (No. 241) issued by the Pension Bureau in September, 1893, a copy of which is transmitted herewith, it was determined that "in a case in which the pensioner has reached the age of 75 years his rate shall not be disturbed if he is receiving the maximum (\$12), and if he is not a pensioner he shall receive the maximum for senility alone, if there are no special disabilities shown."

In the case of applicant Patrick Carroll the Department in February, 1893, decided that "old age or senility is a legal disability under the act of June 27, 1890, and the surgeons should have given their estimate of the amount of disability arising therefrom for the performance of manual labor and the earning of a support thereby." In July, 1895, in the case of applicant Jacob Rinkle, the Department affirmed the above named order No. 241.

Later, in July, 1897, in the case of Francis Frank, it was held by the Department that "a claimant for pension under the act of June 27, 1890, who has attained the age of 65 years shall be entitled to at least the minimum rate of pension provided by that act."

Although age, in connection with other disabilities, has always been considered in determining pension ratings under the act, there has never been any uniform rule for rating the infirmities due to the element of age with the exception of the two classes named. Such ratings therefore seem to have been governed by the varying opinions of the many who have been occupied with that duty, thereby imparting to that feature of pension administration something of uncertainty and inequality.

To this fact, together with the growing importance of age conditions, is due in considerable measure the necessity for action on the line of this order specifically defining, as far as practicable, ratings from the best attainable data for infirmities due to senility. To the administration of the pension laws and the consideration of the immense number of cases that are pending under every act it is impossible to secure uniformity and expedition in decisions without laying down convenient rules for the weighing of evidence and prima facie presumption which long experience justifies. This has been the uniform course of the Pension Bureau since its establishment.

The order in question merely lays down as a convenient rule of decision and a rebuttable presumption of fact that one who is otherwise entitled and is 63 years of age is partially disabled from earning a livelihood by his hands, that one who is 65 is more disabled for manual work, that one who is 68 is in a still greater degree incapable of earning a support by manual labor, and that one of 70 is completely disabled in this regard. Certainly such a presumption is justified by general experience in actual life.

When it is understood that in the adjudications under this act age has always been considered a factor in connection with other disabilities, and when it is further considered that for more than ten years there has been an established rating (the maximum allowed by law) based solely on the age of 75 years, and that for nearly seven years there has been an established rating (the minimum provided by law) based alone on the age of 65 years, it will be apparent how largely problematical must be any estimate of increase of expenditures under the order of March 15, 1904.

The Acting Commissioner of Pensions has given attentive consideration to the second paragraph of the resolution, and by reference to his report it will be seen that he estimates that the order of March 15, 1904, will result in an increased expenditure annually of \$5,400,000.

Attention is particularly invited to this branch of the Commissioner's report, which, while it shows the processes by which this result is reached and that it is the best approximation to accuracy practicable, reveals the fact that the calculation is to some extent necessarily speculative.

Respectfully,

E. A. HITCHCOCK, *Secretary.*

"PENSION CASES."—"THE ORDER WHICH HAS SO DISTURBED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOHN C. SPOONER of Wisconsin, in daily Congressional Record, April 18, 1904.

Another count which the Senator from Maryland made in his indictment of the President for being a czar (it seems to be the principal point to the Democratic indictment) is that the President has boldly legislated in the order of the Secretary of the Interior relating to proof in pension cases. I do not wish elaborately to discuss it, but I am convinced, after a careful examination of the matter, that the order is entirely within the law, and that it modifies an order made in 1893, under the Administration of Mr. Cleveland, as follows:

[Order No. 241.] DEPT. OF THE INTERIOR, BUREAU OF PENSIONS,
Washington, D. C., September 2, 1893.

The circular of June 12, 1893, in respect to rating cases under the act of June 27, 1890, is withdrawn. Hereafter, in fixing rates under this act, the medical referee or the medical officer in the board of revision shall weigh each disability and determine the degree that each disability or the combined disabilities disables the claimant from earning a support by manual labor, and a rate corresponding to this degree shall be allowed. In cases in which the pensioner has reached the age of 75 his rate shall not be disturbed if he is receiving the maximum, and if he is not a pensioner, he shall receive the maximum for senility alone if there are no special pensionable disabilities shown.

WM. LOCHREN, Commissioner.

Why is it, my good friend from Maryland, that this recent order creates such distress among you, puts you in such fright over the perpetuity of our institutions, while to the order made under President Cleveland and administered for years creating absolutely an old-age pension you found no objection? Is it a matter of politics? Is it because the source of that order was a Democratic President and this order comes under a Republican President? Is it that? The Senator shakes his head, and I am bound to believe him. But it is funny. [Laughter.] And the people are going to ask why is it that the distinguished Senator from Maryland and the distinguished Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY] and all these distinguished Senators could find nothing unlawful in the order made in Mr. Cleveland's time, which entitled a man absolutely without any proof except that he was 75 years of age to \$12 a month, and yet are thrown into fits over this order making the age of 62, etc., an evidential fact subject to rebuttal.

I said, Mr. President, that in my opinion this order is within the law. Here is the act of 1890:

SEC. 2. That all persons who served ninety days or more in the military or naval service of the United States during the late war of the rebellion, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or who may hereafter be suffering from a mental or physical disability of a permanent character, not the result of their own vicious habits, which incapacitates them from the performance of manual labor in such a degree as to render them unable to earn a support, shall, upon making due proof of the fact, according to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide, be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners of the United States and be entitled to receive a pension not exceeding \$12 per month and not less than \$6 per month, proportioned to the degree of inability to earn a support.

Now, Mr. President, there never was a plainer act of Congress; never. There never was an act passed which left more absolutely to the discretion of a Department its administration than that. "Due proof of the fact" of the inability to earn a support by manual labor. Who is to decide what is "due proof?" The Secretary of the Interior and the pension officials who administer this law. "Due proof, under such rules and regulations as he may provide."

Here is the order which has so disturbed the Democratic party:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BUREAU OF PENSIONS,
March 15, 1904.

Whereas the act of June 27, 1890, as amended, provides that a claimant "shall be entitled to receive a pension not exceeding \$12 per month and not less than \$6 per month, proportioned to the degree of inability to earn a support, and in determining such inability each and every infirmity shall be duly considered, and the aggregate of the disabilities shown to be rated;" and

Whereas old age is an infirmity the average nature and extent of which the experience of the Pension Bureau has established with reasonable certainty; and

Whereas by act of Congress in 1887, when thirty-nine years had elapsed after the Mexican war, all soldiers of said war who were over 62 years of age were placed on the pension roll; and

Whereas thirty-nine years will have elapsed on April 13, 1904, since the civil war, and there are many survivors over 62 years of age; Now, therefore,

Ordered, (1) In the adjudication of pension claims under said act of June 27, 1890, as amended, it shall be taken and considered as an evidential fact, if the contrary does not appear, and if all other legal requirements are properly met, that, when a claimant has passed the age of 62 years, he is disabled one-half in ability to perform manual labor, and is entitled to be rated at \$6 per month; after 65 years, at \$8 per month; after 68 years, at \$10 per month, and after 70 years, at \$12 per month.

(2) Allowances at higher rate, not exceeding \$12 per month, will continue to be made as heretofore where disabilities other than age show a condition of inability to perform manual labor.

(3) This order shall take effect April 13, 1904, and shall not be deemed retroactive. The former rules of the office fixing the minimum and maximum at 65 and 75 years, respectively, are hereby modified as above.

E. F. WARE, Commissioner of Pensions.

Approved: E. A. HITCHCOCK, Secretary.

"THE WELFARE AND WELL-BEING OF THE VETERANS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES DICK of Ohio in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 5, 1904.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. The Republican party has just cause to be proud of its pension record. With the aid of patriotic men in other parties, it waged to a successful conclusion the greatest war of modern times. It has never ceased to honor the officers and men who composed the victorious Army. Every Republican President elected since the close of that war was a conspicuous and gallant officer in the Federal Army. Thousands of other men who wore the blue and served their country gallantly and well have held and are to-day holding positions of honor and trust at the hands of the Republican party. The tri-colored insignia of the Loyal Legion, the bronze button of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the badges of other soldier organizations to-day adorn the highest places in the land. The soldiers of the Grand Army which fought four years for freedom and the Union are found in the Cabinet, on the Supreme Bench, in the halls of Congress. They are governors of States and trusted leaders and counselors in all walks of life.

More liberal provision for its soldiers no government ever made than this government provides for its defenders. Magnificent provision has been made for their shelter and comfort in Soldiers' Homes scattered all over this broad land. The States have rivaled the benefactions of the National Government by similar provision for their own citizens who wore the blue. Instead of maintaining an immense standing army as a menace to the peace of the world, and drawing hundreds of thousands of young, able-bodied men from the ranks of industry and production, we devote an equal or greater sum to help maintain those who survive of that brave army which preserved the Union.

It is to the great credit of President Roosevelt's Administration that business in the Pension Bureau is now more nearly current than ever before. Himself a hero of our last war, no President has felt more solicitude or interest in the soldiers of that greater war. No man appreciates more thoroughly the tremendous, world-wide importance of that gigantic struggle. No man who was not old enough to be a factor in that struggle could give his heart and soul more completely to the welfare and well-being of the veterans who fought for liberty and right in the days of '61 to '65.

His Commissioner of Pensions, Eugene F. Ware, a brave soldier of the civil war, has been zealous and faithful in the discharge of his duties, and brought to those duties a high degree of administrative capacity. He has so capably administered his office that he has caught up with the accumulated mass of pending applications, and long delays are no longer necessary in disposing of claims. Where the proof is filed and satisfies the requirements of the law, an early allowance is made. The division of the bureau which is worked the hardest to-day is the certificate division, which issues the notice that a pension has been granted. The office was never conducted more efficiently, never more in the interests of pensioners and claimants.

NEARLY THREE BILLIONS PAID IN PENSIONS.

The total amount disbursed for pensions since 1861 amounts to \$2,942,178,145.93. The act of June 27, 1890, is a fitting illustration of the generosity of the Republican party toward the veterans of the civil war. This law was passed by a Republican Congress, was signed by a Republican President, and through its administration there was expended during the last fiscal year a total amount of \$68,798,360.71. The number of soldiers receiving the benefit of this act amounted to 443,721, while the number of dependents relieved by this act was 171,259. The gain in the number of pensioners under this act over the previous year was 8,643, and the gain since June 30, 1899, was 40,993.

Republican legislation for the old soldier, his widow, and his minor children has been generous and bountiful. The invalid pension law of July 14, 1862, and the dependent law of June 27, 1890, are monuments of Republican achievement and bear witness to the country's tender care for its soldiers and its sailors and their families. *The pension laws are every year being made more liberal, are enlarging the circle of those included within their beneficence, and raising the rates for pensionable disabilities. As long as the Republican party continues in power, this generous policy will be pursued.*

"A SERVICE PENSION." — "GRATITUDE TO THE MEN WHO BORE THE BATTLE:"

Extracts from remarks of Hon. J. P. DOLLIVER of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, March 31, 1904.

The Senator from Maryland undertook to disparage the President of the United States because he had taken the function of legislation out of the hands of Congress, and was about to transact all that business in the absence of Congress, and even in its presence, without its assistance. He cited here an order of the Commissioner of Pensions issuing a regulation to govern the allowance of pensions to broken-down old veterans of the Union Army.

I do not think the Senator from Maryland was fortunate in that. He should have known that in that order no departure was made from the established policy of the Pension Bureau. He should have known that the act of 1890 expressly requires the Commissioner of Pensions to establish the regulations under which that law should be administered. He should have known that as early as 1893, when Judge Lochren was Commissioner of Pensions, it was not thought out of the way for a Commissioner to lay it down as one of the regulations that a man of 75 had reached an age and an infirmity that made no further inquiry into his physical condition necessary.

He should have known that as early as the first year of the last Administration a regulation was established in the Pension Bureau fixing the age of 65 as the limit at which further testimony should not be required on the question of a man's ability to earn half his living at manual labor. *And this new order, heralded everywhere as a violation of law, turns out, in the light of precedent and fact, to be only that benignant interpretation of the statutes of the United States which accords with the sense of gratitude which the American people feel on all sides for the surviving veterans of the old Union Army.*

I was asked earlier in the session, and I accepted the trust gladly, by the committee representing the Grand Army of the Republic, to present in the Senate the bill which they had prepared for a service pension. It was a simple measure and, in my humble judgment, ought to be taken up by the Congress of the United States at as early a date as practicable and placed upon the statute books of the United States. It was from the beginning belied and misrepresented, especially by the metropolitan press of the United States.

It was described as a raid upon the Treasury, as an effort to bankrupt the Government of the United States. It was nothing of the sort. It was a simple measure of justice in accord with all of the precedents of our national history. The only question about it was whether the time had yet come to place such a statute upon the books of the United States. I have no doubt that the Congress of the United States will in good time take up that measure and put it through.

In the meantime the President of the United States is entitled to credit and honor, and not to criticism and disparagement, because, pending the action of Congress, without interfering with the function of the legislative branch of the Government at all, out of the goodness of his heart and out of his sympathy for these broken-down old veterans of the Union Army, he has given, as I understand—

Mr. OVERMAN. Does the Senator think that the reason for the adoption of the order was because he could not secure the passage of a service-pension bill?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I do not think so. I think this order was issued because the experience of the Pension Bureau in its daily business had shown that at the age of 62 years veterans who had served their country in the field were at the end of their activities as men of affairs, and especially so as regards manual labor.

Mr. OVERMAN. If the Senator thinks that was the proper construction of the law of 1890, why did he introduce a service-pension bill? And does he not think that that order was an assumption of legislative authority?

Mr. DOLLIVER. I do not. I think it was the business of the Commissioner of Pensions to interpret the law of 1890 liberally, and I for one am glad that the Commissioner of Pensions, an old soldier himself, has interpreted that law with the authority—at least, the permission—of the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior, in order to extend its advantages to these old veterans of the Union Army.

If the Senator thinks that that act of the President is going to dishonor him, to degrade him, to discredit him in the opinion of the people of the United States, he has yet a good deal to learn about that sense of gratitude and good will which everywhere in the United States goes out to the men who bore the battle, and to their widows and their orphan children.

THAT COUNTRY WHICH THEY STOOD BY IN HER HOUR
OF NEED IS NOW STANDING BY THEM IN
THEIR HOUR OF NEED."

Extract from remarks of Hon. HENRY R. GIBSON, of Tennessee,
in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 4, 1904.

SERVICE PENSIONS.

There is another matter that this House will probably be called upon to consider, and that is the question of a service pension; and I want to submit a few figures on that question from the report of the Commissioner of Pensions. According to the report of the Commissioner of Pensions there are about 200,000 ex-Union soldiers now living and not on the pension rolls. When we consider, Mr. Chairman, the age of the Union soldier and the infirmities consequent upon age, and when we consider the inclination of a man to get what the Government offers to him, I question very much whether there are as many as 100,000 ex-Union soldiers not drawing pensions to day. But let us put them at 100,000. A great many of them never served ninety days and a great many of them have defective records, and these two facts explain why many men are not applying for pensions. But put them at 100,000 and how will it figure out? There are 37,000 soldiers now drawing pensions at \$6 a month. Suppose we raise them to \$12; that adds \$2,664,000 to the annual pension payments.

There are 34,000 soldiers drawing \$8 a month; put them up to \$12, and that adds \$1,632,000 to the annual pension payments. There are 24,000 soldiers drawing \$10 a month; put them up to \$12, and that will add \$576,000 to the annual pension payments. Adding these three classes together, the aggregate is \$4,872,000 added to the annual pension payments. Now let us suppose there are 100,000 men not drawing anything who would be pensioned under a service law giving every one of them \$12 a month. That would add \$14,400,000 to the annual pension payments. But, Mr. Chairman, when we cut out the men who served less than ninety days—when we cut out those with defective army records—when we limit the age to 60 years, and perhaps require them to have served six months in the Army, how many thousand do you think a conservative service pension will add to the pension roll? It will never add 50,000 names. Before they all get on that roll 50,000 of those now on will drop off by death.

SERVICE PENSIONS NOT BURDENSOME.

I say the year has come and ought not to be allowed to end—the day has come and the clock ought not to be allowed to strike again, if it be within the power of this House under parliamentary rules, without our adding to our pension roll the name of every ex-Union soldier with an honorable discharge who served six months or more and is sixty years of age or over. The country can stand it—the country will never know it. Mr. Chairman, when we get to appropriating \$138,000,000 a year for pensions, the people of the United States do not care a nickel whether it is ten millions more or ten millions less. This pension appropriation never has hurt our country. It goes into every section. It is taken out of the pockets of the rich and put into the pockets of the poor. It is taken out of the pockets of those who have prospered—the result of the prosperity of our country—and is put into the pockets of those who saved our country that it might be prosperous.

It goes into the pockets of the widows of those who now sleep under the sod, having given their lives that our country might keep its life. We honor those who are dead when we honor those who survive.

I have no patience and no sympathy with the men who will go into vulgar fractions in order to find a way to prevent the men who served in the Federal Army from 1861 to 1865 from obtaining such a pension from the Federal Treasury that in their last days, when they behold the last sun setting upon their lives and the flag of their country still high in the heavens, they may feel that that country which they stood by in her hour of need is now standing by them in their hour of need. [Applause.]

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33. [Illegible text]

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38. [Illegible text]

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 27, 1904.

No man ever made a better impression for himself and for his part than Theodore Roosevelt made in the campaign of 1900. [Applause on the Republican side.] That was the start. Then he came to this city modestly took his place under the constitutional provision, and presided in the Senate of the United States. It is not a place or a grand opportunity for a man to display greatness, or characteristics peculiar to special type of manhood, yet there never was a word of criticism, so far as I can recall as to his dignified presiding in the Senate and his modest demeanor among the Senators and his actions among the people of the United States whom he met here.

Then came the crisis in his life. William McKinley was dead, and the tears of the Democratic party began to gush out for the first time. The man who had been denounced with all the bitterness that the language can communicate was wept over by the same men; and Roosevelt was called by the Constitution and by the call of duty to appear at Buffalo and take the oath of office and become President of the United States, and then it was that the people of the United States began to know him, and then it was that he entered upon a policy, a wider and grander field of operation for the kind of a man who becomes a great man, than he ever had before. The first thing he did, standing almost over the dead body of McKinley was to state that, in the presence of Almighty God, he assumed the duties of the President, and promised that he would carry into faithful execution all the policies of William McKinley. *That sentence, Mr. Speaker, of Roosevelt's, saved the loss to the people of this country in money alone of hundreds of millions of dollars.*

At the death of a President, and that, too, a President who stood as the champion of a great policy, and who held in his hands the threads of the governmental action in so many directions that affected trade and commerce, it was natural to fear, and we all did fear, that there would be a panic in Wall street that might spread to the country and might precipitate the country into an immeasurable stampede of destruction.

It was feared that there was a panic almost ready to break out in every many centers of the country, and which would have extended itself to Europe, but the voice of the man in whose integrity of purpose the people had confidence stilled the rising tide as the voice that on the lake spoke the words, "Peace, be still," and allayed the storm. *He spoke to the business interests of the United States and of the world and his "Peace, be still," was the promise faithfully to carry out the work of McKinley.*

It was the statement of the man, and the public believed that he would take up the work of McKinley; take up the broken chain of his Administration and go forward to the discharge of his duty, following the impulse of a generous nature and guided by the Cabinet that McKinley had left. [Applause on the Republican side.] And I stand here to-day a friend of McKinley—that is true, as suggested by the gentleman—knowing something as to whom his real friends are, knowing something of whom his assumed friends are, and I say that there is not one of the leading and distinguished friends of William McKinley in the United States of America whose name and opinion has come to my knowledge who is not ready at all times to say without hesitation and always that he has been treated with kindness, with cordiality, and with the strongest kind of support by Theodore Roosevelt. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Look at the men who stood by McKinley and see who the men were that were taken into the counsel and advice of Roosevelt. I do not care now to enumerate them, but the man who above all other men stood nearest to McKinley, the man who loved him like a brother, transferred his affection instantly at Buffalo to Theodore Roosevelt, and from that day until he himself passed away, never faltered in his utterances, always and everywhere, that Roosevelt had cordially and earnestly and honestly redeemed the pledges that he made at Buffalo. [Applause on the Republican side.]

I deny that he has dictated anything to Congress; I deny that he has gone beyond the purpose and intent and letter of the Constitution in advising Congress as to what he desired, fulfilling his duty as President of the United States, and I have had some knowledge of public men. I have been in the country a long time, much longer than has the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. CLAUDE KITCHIN], and I will say that *I have never known a public man holding a high position that was more amenable to the sentiment of public declarations and the advice of his party and those surrounding him than is Theodore Roosevelt.* [Applause on the Republican side.]

WELL DONE, THOU GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF CIVILIZATION."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. DOLLIVER of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, January 22, 1904.

Somebody says that the Government of the United States never had any right to do anything in the Isthmus of Panama without the request of the Government of Colombia, I deny it. No such construction of that treaty can be made. If that were a proper construction of the treaty, the whole history of the United States in respect to it there has been a violation of that provision of the treaty.

To my mind it is incredible that with this enormous interest at stake the United States should have been called upon by that treaty to stand idly by and see life and property and commerce destroyed without intervening, waiting for the request of the Colombian dictator and relying for reparation upon an action in damages against that bankrupt, helpless political institution. I deny that it has any sense in it, and I deny that it accords with the history of the people of the United States.

If it did, what did President Buchanan mean when he came to Congress and asked the authority of Congress to take an army to the Isthmus of Panama whenever we needed one there? If he had no right to use force except at the request of the insurrectionary peoples inhabiting that neighborhood, what did he mean when he asked Congress to give him an express authority to take the Army of the United States down there and occupy the Isthmus of Panama for the purpose of protecting our property?

I say, then, Mr. President, that we have in that Isthmus, and have had for fifty years, a *property right* carved out of the sovereignty first of New Granada, and then of Colombia, and now of the State of Panama, and that warrants every order the President of the United States has issued and every act that has been done either by our bluejackets or by our marines in either harbor of the Isthmus of Panama.

I do not propose to stand here one minute apologizing either for what has been written down on paper or what has been done by the gallant officers and seamen and marines of our little fleet down there at Colon and at Panama. I have got to a point where I propose to stop apologizing for the Government of my own country in order to add to the comfort and solace the feelings of people who reside in foreign countries.

I have reached a point in my patriotism where I propose to stand with the United States and let the other peoples of the world take care of their own governments. Without intending to irritate or disparage anybody, I say to my brethren upon the other side of this Chamber that there is nothing to be made politically by embarrassing the movements of the Government of the United States in these great transactions which involve its relations with foreign countries.

I dismiss, as the President of the United States very properly dismissed, with contempt the proposition that the Government of the United States is capable of any untoward, underground intrigue in connection with this great business. I say that the whole history of it is written. It is a history of anarchy and despotism for forty years upon the Isthmus of Panama. If there was no other law of the United States or of nations that justified our conduct, I would suggest the existence of a law which more than once has directed the history of this world, and that is the law of exhausted patience.

The time had come and had long been passed when the United States could any longer afford to be mixed up in an attitude hostile to that little community huddled along the Panama Railroad, fighting for its liberty and longing for the time when it might enjoy the advantages in its commerce and its business which must come from the interoceanic canal. I rejoice that after all these years the time came when with honor and with dignity and with dispatch the Government of the United States could wash its hands of that despotism, could put an end to its alliance with that anarchy, could bid an affectionate good-bye to that cunning dictatorship at Bogota, and extend for the first time in its history the right hand of fellowship and defense to the population of the Isthmus of Panama.

Among all the statesmen whose names are honorably connected with this superb enterprise there is one—brave, direct, and manly in his life before he entered upon the duties of President; brave, direct, and manly still under the burdens of that great office—for whom above all others history will reserve, after these noises are all silent, its choicest benediction, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant of civilization." [Applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Applause is not permitted in the galleries.

"A BRAVE MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. CHARLES B. LANDIS of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record.

And, Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I am not one of those who lay claim to being the original Roosevelt man. Years ago I antagonized Mr. Roosevelt and the theories he then espoused. I accused him in my own newspaper. It came to be a habit with me to say hard things against him. I questioned his honesty. I said in my own newspaper that he was a sharp reformer and a pretender. But, Mr. Chairman, I have changed my mind with reference to Theodore Roosevelt. Neither patronage nor selfish policy led me to change my mind. *He won me, as he won millions of other of his countrymen, by his zeal, by his forcefulness, by his patriotism.*

I began to appreciate how I had misjudged him when I saw him, in the face of threatening war, infuse into one of the great departments of this Government, stagnant with the monotonous routine and dry rot of a third of a century, the red blood of activity and timely preparation. I realized what an erroneous estimate I had placed upon him when I saw the announcement that he had decided to resign a place of honor and responsibility and power, which insured conspicuous performance in the very theater of war, to raise a regiment to lead to the front.

It seemed to me this was the supremest test, for it involved good-bye if not farewell, to little children and their mother. Later I knew how fearfully I had wronged him when, with my colleagues on the floor of this house, I read bulletins which told how he, at the head of his regiment under a blistering sky, the target for a hundred sharpshooters, had given a modern exhibition of that courage, that daring, that heroic valor which for more than one hundred years had compelled all nations to subscribe to the verdict that the American volunteer soldier is the greatest soldier in the world.

We are told that he mixed up in the Northern Securities affair. Yes, he did. With hundreds of thousands of his countrymen he realized that conservatism had lost its head and that capital had gone mad. He invoked the law passed by this Congress and he called a stop on combination and speculation that was running wild in the Republic. That law was passed by this Congress at the earnest solicitation of the American people.

One of the richest men in New York told me that *the country would never know what a service Theodore Roosevelt had rendered when he started the machinery of that litigation. He stated that had matters been permitted to go on unchecked we would have had a panic that would have been without a parallel in the history of American financial devastation.* The men who are criticising him most severely now are those whom he saved from the consequences of their own rapacious folly.

We are told that he injected himself into the anthracite coal strike. He did. And who is there who will say that he erred?

The President saw passion and greed facing each other, hostile and uncompromising, and he said to them: "Come, let us reason together." He brought about a settlement of that strike, and he did it without sacrificing in any manner the dignity of his office.

We must not forget the situation as it existed then. Millions of people were without fuel. Disease was claiming its victims and the chill of death was in many a cottage.

Do you not think it was time for some one to speak? A coward in the White House would have remained silent. *But there was a brave man in the White House, and he acted, and that strike was settled, and the nation was saved from a series of riots that might have ripened into a revolution.* His conduct in the Northern Securities case and in the anthracite coal situation elevated him in the confidence and esteem of the American people and his course in the Panama achievement has placed him so securely in the affections of his countrymen as to protect him absolutely from the plotting of Democracy and assure his vindication next November.

Theodore Roosevelt will occupy a unique place in our history. Admittedly he has won the greatest victory that it is possible to win in this Republic, a victory over ease, a victory over leisure. It is not difficult for a poor boy to climb and conquer in this Republic—that is the rule, that is the natural thing. Ask those captains of industry, who from places of power and responsibility issue their orders, whence came the original inspiration that ripened into their success, and they will point to the day when want and adversity forced the industry that won the victory.

That one who is born in the lap of luxury has the real struggle to make in this country to win for himself a name.

That youth who can despise ease, which has come as a gratuity; who can place the proper stamp on luxury, which is the gift of others; who can mock at every invitation to idleness, which is the chief patrimony of the rich, and who can go out into the world with a clear head, an honest heart, and a passion for toil and achievement and win the laurels of success—*lift my hat to such a man and am willing that his name shall be inscribed on the portals of Columbia's proudest temple.*

THE GENIUS AND COURAGE AND SKILL AND PATRIOTISM OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 9, 1904.

Let us take up this very question of the Post-Office investigation. How does Theodore Roosevelt stand to this country in the matter of his execution of his duties as President on this question? Has he been lacking? At the very first intimation that there was any such thing as wrongdoing in the Post-Office Department he put on foot an investigation that was more than sufficiently zealous to hunt down every vestige of wrongdoing. If I were going to criticise Theodore Roosevelt in this connection it would not be for not having enough zeal; it would be for his selection of some of the agencies he did select when he thought he ought to pacify the Democratic party in selecting their instruments to make this investigation. But I do not criticise him for that. I say that in the months that are to come—the months that are to follow the adjournment of Congress and are to be closed by the election in November—the American people will say that *Roosevelt has done what it was possible for any man to do within the scope and purview of his office, limited by the Constitution*. Nobody has suggested anything to the contrary.

These are some of the great events of his career, excepting two, which I will refer to. He came here as President of the United States suddenly, and found pending a great proposition of reciprocity with Cuba. It was not a very popular measure with a great many people of his own party. It was not universally popular in the House of Representatives. It would have been a very easy thing for Theodore Roosevelt to have dropped that subject, to have given it up, retired behind the Republican platform, as he might have construed it—retired behind the utterances of Republicans, as he might have construed them—and gotten rid of the whole of what was a great and vexatious responsibility. But Theodore Roosevelt was not that kind of a man; he understood that you understood, my Democratic friends, and what I understood—that there was embodied in the negotiations between the dead President and his Cabinet and the living authorities of Cuba an implied agreement that something of this character should be done. And unpopular as it might be, great as the danger might be of the destruction of the harmony of the Republican party, *Theodore Roosevelt put up conscience, judgment, patriotism as against the danger of party inharmony, and led the column that went forward to the redemption of the great promise that to-day is one of the shining stars in the crown of our national rejoicing.* [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

Again, from time immemorial, from the period that but one living man in both branches of Congress can remember, the question of the Panama Canal was agitating the people of this country; and it was a most complicated question—a problem most difficult of solution. A French claim upon the property on the one hand, a claim of Colombia upon the other hand—a controversy between Nicaragua and Costa Rica upon the one hand and Panama on the other; and in all of it there seemed to be impediment after impediment, so that we went forward slowly and retrograded rapidly; differences of opinion everywhere—halting, uncertainty—until the great mass of the people of the United States became vexed and disturbed because of the apparent impossibility of solving the problem. It came to Roosevelt.

I do not think that it was his genius that invented the situation. I know that he had no part or lot in its instigation. But the period came when all the world looked at Panama and said, "What about the Panama Canal?" And then it was again that Theodore Roosevelt rose in his own person, in his own power as an individual and as President of the United States, and *solved that problem in such a manner that all the world looked on with admiration, so that to-day in the United States to-day raises an important and potential voice against the operation of our Government in that behalf.*

We have got the canal, we are going to build it; and when the first vessel goes through it, carrying the American flag from one end of the canal to the other, that flag ought to have, in addition to the Stars and Stripes of the American Republic and the eagle, the coat-of-arms—it ought to have a banner alongside of it commendatory and commemorative of the genius and courage and skill and patriotism of Theodore Roosevelt. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

"THE PEOPLE KNOW WHAT THEODORE ROOSEVELT STANDS FOR."

*Extracts from remarks of Hon. HENRY S. BOUTELL, of Illinois
in daily Congressional Record, Jan. 26, 1904.*

It does seem to me that this is an occasion where we can all rejoice in this splendid prosperity, this unequaled prosperity, that exists all through our country.

And now I do not claim that this is all due to the Republican protective tariff; not at all. Mr. Chairman, no one who even tries to think as a statesman would ever make any such claim as that. The only claim I make, the only claim the most ardent Republican could make, is, and it can not be denied, that the principle of protection is an American principle; that the principle of protection has always been recognized on our statute books; that the Dingley revenue act is the wisest and most beneficent tariff act for all sections of the country that has ever been placed on the statute book; and this story and that which I have related tend strongly to prove this claim.

This story shows that the blight and mildew which were predicted as the certain results of Republican victory seven years ago could not be found in any part of the country. And so, as the campaign is coming on, the platform of the Republican party needs nothing but its record during the last eight years. [Applause on the Republican side.]

And, Mr. Chairman, there is no more doubt about our leadership than there is about our platform. [Applause on the Republican side.] I know that some gentlemen on the other side of the House have censured our President for being impetuous; but I want to say, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that the people of the United States would rather have a President who is impetuous and frank than a President who would be suave and subterranean. The people know what Theodore Roosevelt stands for, and he needs no defense in this House or before the people. I want to tell you that we love him and you fear him for the enemies he has made. [Applause on the Republican side.] Has he forfeited a Democratic esteem because in season and out of season he has been zealous in enforcing the laws against illegal combination? Censure is the tax that strong men pay for doing right, and Roosevelt has always been a heavy taxpayer of this kind.

Has there been anything in his attitude toward any of the public questions of the day in which he has not shown himself equally strong, frank, and manly in dealing with them? Let me say to those on this side of the Chamber who read with misgiving to this man or that man or the other man in our party is looking for another Presidential candidate that such statements are no new thing in our history. Why, away back, even in the time of George Washington and the early Presidents, every President who was elected to a second term had to meet at the close of his first term the intrigues of personal enemies and even the schemes of rivals. And so it has been all the way down through our history.

There is no question as to who will be the nominee of the Republican party. With the record of the Republican party behind him for the last seven years, and no question about our leadership, there can be no question as to the result. Our record will be our platform and Theodore Roosevelt will be our candidate, and he will be reelected by the same kind of majorities that were given to Lincoln, to Grant, and to McKinley.

I tell you my friends on the other side of the Chamber, if there were not so many among you down in your country who are men of what I call "geographical Democrats" or "social Democrats;" in other words, if you voted your honest convictions on financial and economic questions next November, Theodore Roosevelt would be reelected by as large an electoral vote as was given to President Monroe in 1820. [Applause on the Republican side.]

"THE SILLY BATTLE CRY, PERSONAL DETRACTION AND PERSONAL ABUSE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 27, 1904.

I do not doubt that the sharp criticisms of Roosevelt and his personality and his past speeches and writings are all born of the dread the Democrats have of the man as our candidate.

I believe that President Roosevelt represents in his own career, in his own utterances, in his own position to-day, the highest ideals and best sentiment of the Republicans of the United States. I believe that his whole career has been a protest against the demoralizing, antiquated, and obnoxious ideas of the Democratic party. I believe that the people of the United States have confidence in his integrity, and I know they have. I believe his career as President has been one of the most brilliant that has ever graced and adorned the head of the Government of the United States, and I speak with no extravagance when I say that his judgment upon the great public questions of the day has been unerring. I speak calmly and deliberately, and measure my words when I say that he is in exact and perfect accord with the best sentiment and the truest instincts of the Republicans of the United States, and yet the Democratic party's manifest purpose is to enter the campaign of 1904 with the silly battle cry, "Personal detraction and personal abuse of Theodore Roosevelt."

And that seems to be your object and purpose. You have no principles; you can not agree upon them. You gathered together the wisdom of the Democratic party of the United States, and went over to Albany, N. Y., to promulgate a platform, and, having got through with it, you can not tell to-day whether it was the utterance of a Democratic platform or the soliloquy of some student in a Sunday school or country debating society. [Laughter and applause.] Colorless, unimportant, odorless and unsatisfactory, tasteless and insipid. And if you will only nominate a colorless candidate, and put him upon a colorless platform—and you can not get any other one agreed to—we will show you that the people of the United States believe in a man that says something, believes in something, believe in a man that does not undertake to secure a nomination for President without daring to tell the convention that nominates him, or the country, whether he stands on his "head or on his heels upon the great questions of the hour." [Applause on the Republican side.]

The American people will not be satisfied with a candidate for President whom they do not know. They will not be satisfied with a President who will go into the Presidential office unpledged to any party policy or any political action. It is typical of Democratic policy to suppress from the people all knowledge of their candidates and their past, and in the present case we are threatened very strongly it seems to me with the manifest purpose of the Democratic party to make a platform of scattering generalities and make personal assaults upon the President of the United States, assail the Administration of the country and disgrace it as far as possible in the estimation of mankind, and then bring a colorless and odorless candidate and place him upon a colorless and odorless platform and ask the people of the United States to commit themselves to the horrors and uncertainties of a Democratic Administration unpledged to anything.

And there will be nobody cheated when we nominate Roosevelt at Chicago. We know who he is, what he is, and what he is in favor of. Can you say as much for your candidate? Who of you can guess? What is he? Nobody knows. What is he in favor of? Nobody dares to undertake to say. What is his platform? There is no platform upon which you can agree.

All these attacks upon Roosevelt only attract the attention of the people to the sterling character of the man and the brilliancy of his career. No man in this country ever had a brighter, a more brilliant career. He undertook that task which men coming before him had attempted and in which they had usually failed. He undertook the task of holding his party in line and standing by the platform and doctrines and teachings of his party, coming to his high office as he did, by the death of the President; and he has succeeded beyond the hope of his closest friends. [Applause on the Republican side.]

"THE PRESIDENT HAS KEPT BY HIS SIDE ALL THE COUNSELORS WHO WERE CLOSEST TO MCKINLEY."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. J. P. DOLLIVER, of Iowa, in daily
Congressional Record, March 31, 1904.*

I listened yesterday to the distinguished Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] pay his unconscious tribute to the President of the United States. He pictured him beyond the dream even of those of us who have sympathized with his public acts and have looked forward with enthusiasm to his election to the high station which he occupies. He placed him above all the great leaders and heroes among men in all ages.

He represented him as swaying the House of Representatives by a hint from the other end of the Avenue. He represented him as a man swaying a great political party, which has reduced its enemies to an almost ludicrous minority in the United States, and holding it in his hand as a child would balance its playthings. He represented him as a man who, without even entering the Senate Chamber, by a simple suggestion to the western side of this Capitol could take this great body and paralyze its activities and leave it limp and helpless with only one anxiety and purpose in its heart, and that the anxiety to disperse and get away from this Capitol.

Now such a tribute to the greatness and genius and leadership of a public man was never before heard in the Senate Chamber of the United States.

We on this side, his followers, his friends, who have watched his career since he first came to this capital, while we think a good deal of him, have never felt impelled to frame a eulogy like that upon the President of the United States. On the other hand, *we recognize him as a plain, blunt man, who came to his great responsibilities, under terrible disadvantages, in an hour of national anxiety and of universal public sorrow.*

We have never seen any disposition in him that would seek to subvert the just functions of either House of Congress. We have seen him in these three years in almost daily consultation with those on this side of the Chamber who, by reason of their experience and their wisdom and their knowledge, are competent to act as counselors and guides in our public affairs. We have not thought of him as undertaking to intimidate the Congress of the United States either by calling it in session when it ought not be called or by seeking to adjourn it before its business had been finished.

We think of him rather in the character in which he appeared on the day when he took the oath of his great responsibility. *He said then that he would follow in the footsteps of William McKinley, and faithfully he has kept that pledge.* He has kept by his side all the counselors who were closest to McKinley, the men who in the Cabinet had the ear of the late President, and had been guiding the public policies of the previous four years. These men he has kept close by his side. He has kept close by his side those men whose wisdom and knowledge and leadership in both Houses of Congress have given them a right to be consulted in the public affairs of the people of the United States.

Not only has the President kept close by the counselors of McKinley, but he has kept close to the great national policies which characterized that epoch-making Administration. He has not departed from them at all, and to-day his followers, the men of all political faiths who put their confidence in Theodore Roosevelt, resent the imputation that he has either trampled upon our laws or overstepped the prerogatives of his great office.

"ROOSEVELT'S INTERVENTION IN COAL STRIKE."— "OF INCALCULABLE BENEFIT TO THE NATION."—JUDGE GRAY.

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

The President has frequently emphasized the need of more sympathy between employers and employees and deprecated the cultivation of class feeling with its resulting antagonisms. He said at Sioux Falls in April, 1903—"Very much of our effort in reference to labor matters should be by every device and expedient to try to secure a constantly better understanding between employer and employee. Everything possible should be done to increase the sympathy and fellow-feeling between them, and every chance taken to allow each to look at all questions, especially at questions in dispute, somewhat through the other's eyes. If met with a sincere desire to act fairly by one another, and if there is furthermore, power by each to appreciate the other's standpoint, the chance for trouble is minimized. I suppose every thinking man rejoices when by mediation or arbitration it proves possible to settle troubles in time to avert the suffering and bitterness caused by strikes. Moreover, a conciliation committee can do best work when the trouble is in its beginning, or at least has not come to a head. When the break has actually occurred, damage has been done, and each side feels sore and angry, and it is difficult to get them together, difficult to make either forget its own wrongs and remember the rights of the other. If possible, the effort of conciliation or mediation or arbitration should be made in the earlier stages, and should be marked by the wish on the part of both sides to try to come to a common agreement, which each shall think in the interest of the others as well as of itself. When we deal with such a subject we are fortunate in having before us an admirable object lesson in the work that has just been closed by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. This was the commission which was appointed last fall, at the time when the coal strike in the anthracite regions threatened our nation with a disaster second to none which has befallen us since the days of the civil war. Their report was made just before the Senate adjourned at the special session, and no Government document of recent years marks a more important piece of work better done, and there is none which teaches sounder social morality to our people. The commission consisted of seven as good men as were to be found in the country, representing the bench, the church, the Army, the professions, the employers, and the employed. They acted as a unit and the report which they unanimously signed is a masterpiece of sound common sense and of sound doctrine on the very questions with which our people should most deeply concern themselves. *The immediate effect of this commission's appointment and action was of vast and incalculable benefit to the nation, but the ultimate effect will be even better if capitalists, wage-worker, and lawmaker alike will take to heart and act upon the lessons set forth in the report they have made.*"

The appointment of this commission, which resulted in the termination of the great coal strike of 1902, is perhaps President Roosevelt's most widely known and generally appreciated contribution toward the improvement of industrial relations. When the efforts of all other peacemakers had come to naught and the coal famine remained unbroken at the near approach of winter, Mr. Roosevelt, as a representative American citizen, pleaded with the operators and miners to terminate their dispute and resume the mining of coal. Public opinion supported his action so strongly that both sides to the dispute agreed to resume work and leave to a commission to be appointed by the President the determination of the conditions of employment concerning which they have been unable to agree.

President Roosevelt's successful intervention in the coal strike met with the almost unanimous approval of the people, irrespective of their political affiliations. It was not until the commission's award had been made, and thought of the great disturbance nearly banished from the minds of the people, that criticism of his conduct, arising out of the resentment of the coal mine presidents and the desire to make political capital, began to appear, based on the allegation that his interference amounted to a modification of property rights. But the criticism was hushed almost as soon as it appeared by the declaration of Judge Gray, a member of the political party opposed to the President, that "*the President's action, so far from interfering with or infringing upon property rights, tended to conserve them.*" Judge Gray's statement, which appeared in a New York City newspaper September 1, 1903, was as follows:

"I have no hesitation in saying that the President of the United States was confronted in October, 1902, by the existence of a crisis more grave and threatening than any that had occurred since the civil war. I mean that the cessation of mining in the anthracite coal country, brought about by the dispute between the miners and those who controlled the greatest natural monopoly in this country and perhaps in the world, had brought upon more than one-half of the American people a condition of deprivation of one of the necessities of life, and the probable continuance of the dispute threatened not only the comfort and health, but the safety and good order of the nation. He was without legal or constitutional power to interfere, but his position as President of the United States gave him an influence, a leadership, as first citizen of the Republic, that enabled him to appeal to the patriotism and good sense of the parties to the controversy and to place upon them the moral coercion of public opinion to agree to an arbitrament of the strike then existing and threatening consequences so direful to the whole country. *He acted promptly and courageously, and in so doing averted the dangers to which I have alluded.* So far from interfering or infringing upon property rights, the President's action tended to conserve them. The peculiar situation as regards the anthracite coal interest was that they controlled a natural monopoly of a product necessary to the comfort and to the very life of a large portion of the people. A prolonged deprivation of the enjoyment of this necessary of life would have tended to precipitate an attack upon these property rights of which you speak, for, after all, it is vain to deny that this property, so peculiar in its conditions, and which is properly spoken of as 'a natural monopoly,' is affected with a public interest. *I do not think that any President ever acted more wisely, more courageously, or promptly in a national crisis. Mr. Roosevelt deserves unlimited praise for what he did.*"

"PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT."—"EXCEPTIONS TO THE OPERATION OF THE CIVIL-SERVICE RULES."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. F. H. GILLET of Massachusetts, in daily Congressional Record, April 30, 1904.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: A statement was recently printed in the RECORD specifying sixty individual exceptions to the operation of the civil-service rules which President Roosevelt had made during his Administration, and from this basis the argument has been drawn here and much more elaborately and unfairly in the press that the President has excepted more persons than his three predecessors combined, and that he has in these sixty instances violated both the letter and the spirit of the law.

It is not of much intrinsic importance to the service whether these sixty cases were properly excepted from the 150,000 now covered by the law, but it is of great importance whether the President has, as charged, violated in these cases the spirit of the law which he has always advocated; whether he has, when put to the test of experience, abandoned and discredited the strict principles which he has always professed in theory.

I have examined the subject with some care, and the conclusion is to me clear and irresistible that his conduct as Executive has been governed by the same principles which he professed as a private citizen, that his practice has squared exactly with his preaching, and that none of his predecessors have surpassed him in exact obedience to both the letter and the spirit of the civil-service law. *He has, it is true, excepted by special rule sixty persons, but each of his three immediate predecessors excepted a far greater number, not, indeed, often by special rules for each individual, but by rules covering each from 1 person to 8,000 persons.*

Under former Administrations any exceptions that were made were in the nature of general amendments to the rules and admitted whole classes, even where the necessity existed only with respect to individuals. Under the present Administration practically all such general exceptions have been abrogated, and the application of the fundamental principles laid down in the civil-service act has been made uniform throughout the service. In doing this it has been recognized that, as contemplated by the law, occasional instances might arise where adherence to the strict letter of the rules would operate against the best interests of the service, and such cases have been treated as exceptional and by direct Executive order removed from the operation of the rules, and the reason for such action has been frankly stated and published.

It is impossible now to determine accurately how many were excepted under each Administration, but as well as I can ascertain President Cleveland excepted in his first Administration over 600, while he increased the classified service from 15,000 to 27,000. President Harrison excepted over 200, besides the railway mail clerks, and increased the service from 27,000 to 42,000. President Cleveland in his second Administration excepted over 200, and still further increased the service from 42,000 to 86,000. President McKinley excepted by one order over 8,000 and increased the service from 86,000 to 120,000, and President Roosevelt has excepted 60 and made the increase from 120,000 to 150,000, the present number. Certainly the numbers compare favorably.

Under his Administration the number within the classified service was far greater than any predecessor, and nevertheless his exceptions have been far less. It is true his exceptions were made for individuals and the others mainly for classes, but I fail to see why that is to his discredit or why it justifies the charge that he has made more exceptions than any predecessor. Being temporary and not permanent, it affects the service less. It of course gives the opportunity to designing persons to mislead the public and make a statement which is technically true but wholly unfair in saying that he suspended the law in more individual cases than any predecessor.

Examination shows that these were cases where for one reason or another the places could be filled better by appointment than from the regular eligible list. Each case as it occurred has been fully set forth in the annual printed report of the commission. Hardly any of the appointees were known to the President personally. As a rule, the exceptions were first requested by the head of a Department or bureau from the Civil Service Commission. That bipartisan commission examined it and approved it so there could be no politics in it, and then on their recommendation the President acted, and by special rule made the exception. Whenever the commission recommended against such action, the President refused to except. There was no partisan advantage to be gained; there were no personal friendships to be gratified; there was no political "pull" to be encouraged; but they were cases where the best administration demanded that the power given by law to relieve any over-rigidity of the system should be exercised.

"FEWER APPOINTMENTS WITHOUT COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION UNDER PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT THAN UNDER ANY OTHER PRESIDENT."

Extract from statement of Hon. W. D. FOULKE, printed in daily Congressional Record, April 30, 1904.

APRIL 16, 1904.

DEAR SIR: Criticism of President Roosevelt has recently been made in Congress and elsewhere on the ground that he has made a larger number of irregular appointments to the classified service than any of his predecessors. The present members of the Civil Service Commission have only been in office a few months, and as these alleged facts occurred in your administration I take the liberty of asking your opinion of the ground for these assertions.

Very truly, yours,
Hon. W. D. FOULKE,
Washington, D. C.

FREDERICK H. GILLETT.

APRIL 16, 1904.

DEAR SIR: The assertions you speak of are untrue. The fact is exactly the other way. *There have been fewer appointments without competitive examination under President Roosevelt than under any other President, and there has been no Administration since the passage of the civil-service act in which the competitive system has advanced with greater rapidity and certainty.* It has been necessary for every President to permit certain positions to be filled without examination. The number has been reduced from time to time and the range of the competitive system extended. This process has gone on faster under President Roosevelt than under any other President. Of the sixty cases of suspensions of the rules during his Administration, only thirty-three are of persons who were allowed to enter the service without examination.

In other words, out of over 70,000 appointments to the competitive service since Mr. Roosevelt became President it was deemed unnecessary in these thirty-three cases to require competitive examination. These cases form less than one-twentieth of 1 per cent. of the appointments. They comprise, for instance, a steward in the White House, a coachman in the Navy Department, two special agents in the Bureau of Corporations, the Superintendent of the Government Hospital for the Insane, and other cases where, on account of special reasons, the application of the rules was considered impracticable, unwise, unjust, or unnecessary. These cases are explained in detail in the annual reports of the Civil Service Commission. They were usually made on the recommendation of a Cabinet officer and with the approval of the commission. In all of these cases the person was excepted and not the position. This has been found by experience to be much the better plan. If, for instance, the position of coachman had been excepted generally, and not the particular man, it would be found that the number of coachmen would increase and many exceptions would creep in instead of one.

The statement of Representative HAY that during the Administrations of Presidents Cleveland and Harrison there were no suspensions of the rules and only three during the Administration of McKinley, while in Roosevelt's Administration there have been sixty, leads to a most erroneous inference. *Under previous Administrations exceptions were not usually made by means of suspension of the rules, but by means of changes in the rules, thus excepting certain classes of positions from competitive examination.* From time to time Presidents Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley excepted from competition hundreds of positions which had been competitive. On one occasion alone—May 29, 1899—8,047 such places were excepted. But these exceptions were not, in the main, in the form of "suspensions of the rules," which was the only matter called for by the House resolution. President Roosevelt, however, made them in the form of such suspensions for the express purpose of limiting their number.

Moreover, prior to April 15, 1903, there was a provision allowing appointments without examination where the position to be filled required "such peculiar qualifications in respect to knowledge and ability, or such scientific or special attainments, wholly or in part professional or technical, as are not ordinarily required in the executive service of the United States." Under this provision President McKinley made twenty-one appointments and President Roosevelt only five. Instead of making appointments of this kind under a general rule, President Roosevelt preferred to deal with each case separately by a suspension of the rules, and several of the thirty-three appointments referred to are of this character, as, for instance, that of a cable engineer in the Signal Service in the Philippines.

During the last year 4,688 more appointments were made through competitive examination than in the previous year, and 3,007 more appointments were made in that year than in the year before. *Under President Roosevelt about 30,000 positions have been added to the classified service.*

Heretofore extensions of the classified service have usually taken place near the close of an Administration and the exceptions made soon after the new Administration commenced. But President Roosevelt, at the very beginning of his Administration, began to extend the number of competitive positions and to strengthen the rules. He also dealt out summary justice to offenders, several of whom held high positions in his own party.

It is gratifying to note that the most acute convulsions of horror at the President's alleged betrayal of civil-service reform come from those who, like Senator BAILEY and Representative HAY (who voted against the appropriation for the Civil Service Commission), proclaim themselves the advocates of the spoils system in all its brutality, while the life-long advocates of the competitive system recognized in President Roosevelt the most consistent and efficient supporter of that system who has ever occupied the Executive chair.

The council of the National Civil Service Reform League, at its last meeting, in December, 1903, with knowledge of these exceptions, congratulated the country on the revision of the civil-service rules approved by the President. * * * This is the first Administration since the organization of the league where three years have passed without any serious criticism of the President. * * *

W. D. FOULKE.

"THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS ARE DEPUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT TO JUST THE EXTENT THAT HE SEES FIT."

Extract from debate in daily Congressional Record, April 15, 1904.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY], who has seen fit to attack the President on his civil-service record, admits that the President acted entirely within his right. The gentleman is a little unfair, however, in not giving the reasons why the President exercised what the gentleman concedes to be his right. *It was because these cases, or nearly all of them, were provided for in appropriation bills, the vetoing of which would have necessitated an extra session of Congress.* Besides those appointees were not outsiders, but census clerks and war emergency clerks. It was unfair to the men and women who, acting on the good faith of the Government, had incurred the trouble and expense of getting their names on the eligible list. It is doubtful if public opinion would have sustained the President in making an issue with Congress over it.

I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read in my time all of the article in the Washington Post of to-day, entitled "What the merit system is."

Mr. HAY. I do not suppose the gentleman wishes to misrepresent me.

Mr. DALZELL. Not at all.

Mr. HAY. The cases I referred to were not cases that were put under the civil service by an appropriation bill. They were sixty individual cases—

Mr. DALZELL. I am willing that the gentleman's statement shall go alongside of the statement that the Clerk is about to read.

Mr. HAY. No reasons were given, or if any reasons were given they certainly were not the reasons given in the article to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. DALZELL. I am content that the comparison shall be made. The Clerk read as follows:

WHAT THE MERIT SYSTEM IS.

It is the custom of the Civil Service Commission, in its annual reports to Congress, to state the number of exceptions made by the President to the rule requiring that entrance to the classified service shall be through competitive examination. Sixty exceptions are named in the latest report as the total of President Roosevelt, whereas President McKinley's totaled only three. Whereupon the Cleveland Plain Dealer, in common with many other newspapers, makes loud complaint. The Plain Dealer says:

"President Roosevelt is charged with being twenty times a greater offender than his immediate predecessor. Sixty cases are reported in which he suspended the civil-service law for the purpose of original appointments, transfers, or promotions. Whether there were good reasons for these suspensions is not stated in the report and may not be known to the commissioners. The point is that President Roosevelt, who had gained the reputation of being the most strenuous of civil-service reformers and who had served six years as Civil Service Commissioner before becoming President, has since his occupancy of that office taken advantage of the position to repeatedly suspend the operation of the civil-service law in order that appointments, illegal under its provisions, might be made with impunity."

There are a number of assertions in that brief extract which reveal the absence of the Plain Dealer's usual accuracy of statement. In the first place, the commission, mindful of its duties and knowing that the President has exercised only his lawful right in those exceptions, has not "charged" him with anything. In the second place, it is decidedly erroneous to call those exceptions, made under ample authority of law, "suspending the operations of the law." It would be a gross violation of official decency for the commission to question the propriety of the President's conduct. It is not its official business to ask for his reasons in any such case, nor is he under any obligations to enlighten the commission on that score.

It does not seem to be understood that *the merit system, as embodied in the civil service act of 1883 and a long series of Executive orders, consists entirely of Executive concessions, alterable at any time at the discretion of the Executive.* Great as is the authority of the legislative department, it can not limit or set aside the duties and prerogatives of the Executive, as prescribed by the Constitution. *One of those prerogatives is the appointing power, and it is as completely beyond the control of Congress as are the functions of the Supreme Court.* By Executive concessions the original machinery of the merit system was created, and by Executive concessions the area of its operations has been greatly extended. *As a matter of fact the Civil Service Commissioners are deputies of the President to just the extent that he sees fit, and it is within his lawful right to reduce or enlarge that extent as he may see fit.* He could make a hundred exceptions any day or modify or repeal any of the extending orders without doing violence either to the spirit or letter of the supreme law of the land.

The Post has no data on which to base an opinion of the wisdom or unwisdom of the sixty exceptions mentioned in the commission's report. It was a remarkable circumstance that during the first six or eight months of President Roosevelt's incumbency a larger number of irregular appointments to the classified service were made than in the entire term of any of his predecessors. But these, or nearly all of them, were provided for in appropriation bills, the vetoing of which would have necessitated an extra session of Congress. Besides, those appointees were not outsiders, but census clerks and war emergency clerks.

It was unfair to the men and women who, acting on the good faith of the Government, had incurred the trouble and expense of getting their names on the eligible list. But it is doubtful if public opinion would have sustained the President in making an issue with Congress over it.

Appointments, transfers, or promotions are always fairly open to public discussion, but it should be remembered that the President is responsible for the conduct of the Executive Departments, and that freedom of appointment, transfer, and promotion go with that responsibility. Nor should it be forgotten that *the President, not the Civil Service Commission, is the Chief Executive, and that concessions and deputizations do not amend or annul the Constitution.*

"THE PRESIDENT WILL NOT TOLERATE WRONG IN ANY PUBLIC OFFICIAL, HIGH OR LOW."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. JOHN C. SPOONER of Wisconsin, in daily Congressional Record, April 18, 1904.

Every good citizen, Democrat as well as Republican, deplores the fact that there was corruption in the Post-Office Department. Every man knows that that constitutes the gravest menace, wherever it exists, to our system of government. It is "moral treason to the state;" and it is more dangerous, Mr. President, to the state than the treason of the Constitution is, as the work of the sapper and miner is more dangerous, because more insidious, than the open contest on the field of battle. It happens to all Administrations; it happens not only in the General Government, but it occurs in the governments of all the States. There is no State absolutely exempt from it in its history. It happens in the various municipalities of the country; in the larger ones generally more than in the smaller ones. It is a menace. *It is the duty, I agree, of all men, Democrats and Republicans, to unite in its extirpation, and every man found guilty of breach of trust to the people should be exposed and punished.* * * *

The Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] made a speech the other day to which I listened with great interest. It has been followed by a speech from the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] and other Senators, arraigning us for not having adopted the Penrose resolution for a general investigation of the Post-Office Department, with the amendment proposed to it by the Senator from Maryland. * * *

The resolution of the Senator from Pennsylvania reads:

Resolved, That the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, in view of the charges of corruption, extravagance, and violations of law in the administration of the affairs of the Post-Office Department, is hereby—

I read it as amended by the Senator from Maryland—

instructed to direct the Postmaster-General to send to the committee all papers connected with the recent investigation of his Department, and said committee shall make further inquiry into the administration and expenditures of the said Department, and make report thereon to the Senate upon completion of said investigation on or before the 1st day of May, 1904.

The counsel of Mr. Machen and Mr. Beavers and the remainder of those who have been indicted could have asked no better thing than the adoption of this resolution. The counsel for those men had sought, in fact, in New York, as they had sought in the court here, Mr. President, by judicial processes to reach and bring, subject to their inspection, a part of the very papers which would have been given to the world if this resolution had been adopted.

What did the resolution cover? It covered the reports of the post-office inspectors and all of them. It would include the exhibits connected with those reports; *it would have laid bare to these men who are under indictment every shred of evidence upon which the Government relies to convict and bring them to justice.* * * *

A Senatorial investigation into the Department could not possibly have been made within the time limited by the Senator, because it is made by Senators, each of whom is on other committees, each of whom is charged with the duty of legislating, each one of whom represents a Commonwealth in the Senate, each one of whom is subject to the legitimate calls of his constituents, each one of whom is already burdened with the routine duties incident to life in the Senate.

Whatever our friends on the other side say about the President, *I am satisfied that the great mass of the people, Democratic and Republican, will agree with me, that from the beginning he has shown that he will not tolerate, and he is keen to search it out, wrong in any public official, high or low.* I think a Senate committee would not have made, and could not have made, the investigation that has been made by Mr. Bristow. After weeks of work I am told that a bright inspector found at midnight a "lead" on Mr. Machen, because among an immense number of vouchers he was struck by the similarity of the amounts of remittances made to Mr. Lorenz in Ohio. These men are detectives. They have run down clews all over the United States. They have aiding them always the ambition of men, the hatred of men, the jealousy of men.

Thousands of suspicions and rumors are communicated to such men to be explored. Many of them, of course, turn out to be malicious and empty. But this is essentially the work of detectives.

And the Senators ask the Senate, and berate us because we did not fall into it, to pass, upon the theory that because some thieves have been found in the Post-Office Department the Department is full of thieves, a resolution providing for a short investigation by a committee of Congress ending May 1.

"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BELIEVE IN THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 9, 1904.

The American people believe in Theodore Roosevelt in that behalf. I believe that they understand him to be a genius, a man of great power, a man of unlimited patriotism. [Applause on the Republican side.] I have told you what he has done as a Republican; I have told you what he has done as President of the United States. I now point to him as a citizen, as a gentleman, as a type—a true type—of the American citizen of this country. Now, tell me what he did that was wrong. You can not do it. Are you not surprised at yourselves when you try to think of it? You say he is not safe. Well, when a man has served his country nearly ten years in various offices, on the battlefield, and in the high office suddenly thrust upon him as President of the United States, and you can not name an affirmative act he has done that was not right, it is not worth while for you to come around here and say that you have not confidence in him. I am not expecting that everybody will have confidence in him, but I will tell you what we do expect, that from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the coal mines of the interior, in the lumber camps of the North, on the vast prairies of the great West where grow the cereal crops of this country, in the great manufacturing centers of this country, *there will go up a voice that will not only ratify the action of the Republican party in this Congress, but will approve without criticism or condemnation the public acts, the life, and the character of Theodore Roosevelt.* [Applause on the Republican side.]

There never was a time in the history of this country when the Republican party had a right to stand in better light to itself than it stands to-day, and I will tell you why. During the past two Presidential campaigns you have been ashamed of yourselves. You could not attack us. All you asked was, for God's sake to let you alone; but having, as you think, gotten rid of the environments that pulled you down, that destroyed you, that broke you up into fragments, you have been very vigorous in attacking the Republican party. You have done it very ably; you have done it as well as it could be done by anybody in the world. You are strong in that direction. You are a party of negation. You are not a party of progress and going ahead. You stand holding onto the coat tails of the world, hollering "Whoa!" whenever it attempts to move. [Applause and laughter on the Republican side.]

You are wonderfully efficient to block the wheels, but when it comes to probatory action, when you come to doing something when you come to agreeing about something, you are in the unfortunate position of the party that has been broken up into fragments through all the past years of two splendid Administrations by the Republican party. Indeed, so far as you are concerned the seeds of sin were sown in the early days of Cleveland's Administration, and you could very well say, quoting the old couplet

Soon as we drew our infant breath—

As a party in power—

The seeds of sin grew up to death.

[Laughter on the Republican side.]

And so it is not strange that to-day you can not tell what you want, and certainly you can not tell how to do it.

Mr. Chairman, it is gratifying to the Republican party to know that the people of the country stand by the principles that they have advocated; it is gratifying to the Republican party to know that here, within two months of their coming nomination, the whole consensus of the American people who voted for McKinley and who voted against Bryan are to-day standing by the same propositions, the same principles; and it is gratifying for us to know that *at the head of the column, carrying the banner of his predecessor, is Theodore Roosevelt, our candidate, and that victory will come again to the Republican party.* [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

"THE NAME OF OUR NEXT PRESIDENT IS THE NAME OF THE PRESENT PRESIDENT, THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Extract from remarks of Hon. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE of Indiana, in daily Congressional Record, April 1, 1904.

Mr. President, as I stated, I only intended to speak a moment or two, but I have still another thought, inspired by the remark of the Senator from North Carolina, delivered with a good deal of explosive energy, that we must fight for our lives. "Fight for our lives!" Why? Certainly not upon the showing which the Senator made upon the post-office investigation; certainly not upon the showing which the Senator so eloquently made concerning the conditions of prosperity in this country; certainly not upon what has been accomplished since Theodore Roosevelt has been President.

Consider the achievements of his Administration. In the great question of legislation concerning modern industrial organization, so wise have been the policies which the Republican party, under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, has proposed, that all the power of partisanship was not able to consolidate that side of the Chamber against them. This side of the Chamber stood a solid phalanx in favor of those measures concerning trust legislation, and you of the opposition, admitted that they were so excellent that you divided upon them, many of you being forced by the merit of those measures to give them the approval of your votes.

Then we came to Cuban reciprocity, a measure of national honor and of national good business, too; and so wise was that measure that, declaring you would oppose it forever, when it came to a vote a large number of you of the opposition supported it.

Then we came to that great world work of the centuries—the Panama Canal, the eternal wedding of the two great oceans of the globe in the interests of the commerce of mankind and the on-going and welfare of the human race. It was fought for weeks by a distinguished leader of the opposition, who was in desperate search of an issue, and he thought he had found in Panama a new one. Yet so wise was the Administration policy that you could not, by all the power of partisan discipline, consolidate your votes against it.

So that in every great constructive measure of the Republican party in the last three years you yourselves have not been able to solidly oppose them.

Well, then, when all the powers of partisanship and partisan discipline can not unite your own votes against those Republican measures here in the Senate, do you fancy that you can appeal to the American people with very much confidence to unite against them?

Does the Senator find, then, in what we have done, and what all the power of partisan discipline could not unite that side of the Chamber against, any ground for his prophecy that we must fight for our lives?

But, as I said a moment ago, whether the Senator has any good grounds for it except a militant desire to do battle, it was exceedingly chivalrous upon his part to give us warning of the mighty conflict he is about to force upon us. Perhaps, Mr. President, he had in mind all the time as the ground for his challenge, not the prosperity of his country, not an investigation unparalleled in effectiveness and fearlessness inaugurated by a Republican Administration, not measures which were solidly supported on this side of the Chamber and which the other side of the Chamber divided upon, so great was their excellence, but instead a mysterious something which the Senator himself felt was too precious to intrust to the confidence of the American people.

Well, I do not think the Senator has pursued his usually excellent logic. The Senator tells us that we have agreed upon our candidate. That is true. We have. He says it has been in obedience to some power that those on their side have not been able to fathom and do not know what it is.

I will tell him what that power is, although I am not surprised, from reviewing the political history of the last eight years, that the Senator and his colleagues do not know what that power is.

The power that has caused us to agree upon our candidate is that power known as the people. That is the power to which we have yielded a willing and glad obedience, and always will; and it is because that has been our course of conduct that we are in power to-day and will continue to be for many years to come.

Yes, we have agreed upon our candidate, and the power that caused us to agree is the people. And that power which caused agreement upon him as a candidate will cause agreement upon him at the polls, and the name of our candidate, the name of our next President, is the name of the present President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, and we are glad and proud to declare it.

"THE PRESIDENT AND TRADES-UNIONISM."—"FOR THE UPRIGHT MAN, RICH OR POOR."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

THE PRESIDENT AND TRADES-UNIONISM.

While intelligence and character still count as essential elements of success in individuals, there remains room for associated action in large enterprises where the individual is swallowed up in the multitude and personal contact of employer and employee is no longer possible.

This fact is fully recognized by President Roosevelt in common with the political economists and other leaders of thought at the present time. Thus in his address at Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903, he declared that "much can be done by organization, combination—union among the wage-workers," and went on to explain the change that has come about in modern industry, as follows:

The wage-workers in our cities, like the capitalists in our cities, face totally changed conditions. The development of machinery and the extraordinary change in business conditions have rendered the employment of capital and of persons in large aggregations not merely profitable but often necessary for success, and have specialized the labor of the wage-worker at the same time that they have brought great aggregations of wage-workers together. More and more in our great industrial centers men have come to realize that they can not live as independently of one another as in the old days was the case everywhere and as is now the case in the country districts. Of course, fundamentally, each man will yet find that the chief factor in determining his success or failure in life is the sum of his own individual qualities. He can not afford to lose his individual limitation—his individual will and power, but he can best use that power if for certain objects he unites with his fellows.

Similarly, in his first message to Congress, in 1901, the President declared that *"very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations of wage-workers when managed with forethought, and when they combine insistence upon their own rights with law-abiding respect for the rights of others."* The display of these qualities in such bodies is a duty to the nation no less than to the associations themselves."

In his second message to Congress, in the year 1902, President Roosevelt elaborated this thought as follows:

This is an era of federation and combination. Exactly as business men find they must often work through corporations, and as it is a constant tendency of these corporations to grow larger, so it is often necessary for laboring men to work in federations, and these have become important factors of modern industrial life. Both kinds of federation, capitalistic and labor, can do much good, and as a necessary corollary they can both do evil.

Opposition to each kind of organization should take the form of opposition to whatever is bad in the conduct of any given corporation or union, not of attacks upon corporations as such nor upon unions as such, for some of the most far-reaching beneficent work for our people has been accomplished through both corporations and unions. Each must refrain from arbitrary or tyrannous interference with the rights of others. Organized capital and organized labor alike should remember that in the long run the interest of each must be brought into harmony with the interest of the general public, and the conduct of each must conform to the fundamental rules of obedience to the law of individual freedom and of justice and fair dealing toward all. Each should remember that in addition to power it must strive after the realization of healthy, lofty, and generous ideals. Every employer, every wage-worker, must be guaranteed his liberty and his right to do as he likes with his property or his labor so long as he does not infringe upon the rights of others.

It is of the highest importance that employer and employee alike should endeavor to appreciate each the view point of the other and the sure disaster that will come upon both in the long run if either grows to take as habitual an attitude of sour hostility and distrust toward the other. Few people deserve better of the country than those representatives both of capital and labor, and there are many such who work continually to bring about a good understanding of this kind, based upon wisdom and upon broad and kindly sympathy between employers and employed. Above all, we need to remember that any kind of class animosity in the political world is, if possible, even more wicked, even more destructive to national welfare, than sectional, race, or religious animosity. We can get good government only on condition that we keep true to the principles upon which this nation was founded, and judge each man, not as a part of a class, but upon his individual merits. All that we have a right to ask of any man, rich or poor, whatever his creed, his occupation, his birthplace, or his residence, is that he shall act well and honorably by his neighbor and by his country. *We are neither for the rich man as such nor for the poor man as such; we are for the upright man, rich or poor.* So far as the constitutional powers of the National Government touch these matters of general and vital moment to the nation, they should be exercised in conformity with the principles above set forth.

"DEMOCRATIC MISREPRESENTATIONS IN REGARD TO WHITE HOUSE EXPENDITURES."

Extract from remarks of Hon. GILBERT N. HAUGEN of Iowa, in daily Congressional Record, April 26, 1904.

The Republican party speaks for itself, and the wisdom of its policies and counsels are attested to-day by the grandest epoch of prosperity the nation has ever known. It is not to defend it that I rise here to-day, but rather to correct reckless perversions of facts with regard to the present occupant of the White House. *If anything is needed to show the straits to which the Democratic party is driven for material for the coming campaign, the best example is furnished by these wholesale misrepresentations of facts in regard to White House expenditures.*

There are some facts generally known to all of us, especially those of you who have investigated and given this matter thought and attention. You know and I know as stated in these articles, that the charges made are false and without foundation.

First, as to the new stable for the White House, a matter which has been discussed more or less on the floor of this House: To start with, no recommendation was made by the President for an appropriation for this purpose. Again, the stable is located on unhealthy ground, and on ground set aside for memorial purposes, and sooner or later the stables will have to be moved, and the recommendation made by the Superintendent of Public Buildings and Grounds was proper. The President's stable is carried on exactly as it was carried on under Presidents Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley, and his other predecessors. It is chiefly used for Government horses and carriages. The President's own horses and carriages have been paid for by himself, not by the Government. The President pays for the coachman and for the feed of his horses.

Relative to the *Mayflower* and the naval review, the facts are exactly as stated in the article in *The Outlook*, and every patriotic citizen will approve of what was done in this respect.

Next, as to the alleged expenditure for furniture and decorations of the White House: While the plans carried out may not meet the approval of all, whatever work was done was authorized by Congress on its own motion, without any suggestion or recommendation from the President. *Democrats and Republicans alike agreed that the work was absolutely necessary.* Members on your side were among those who took the lead in the Senate and House in advocating the change. *The building had come to such a condition that it was necessary to prop up the floors whenever a reception was held.*

The cost of these improvements, including the erection and furnishing of the new Executive office building, was not much over half the sum stated in the article mentioned, and incidentally the expenditure of this money removed the necessity of a much larger expenditure within a very few years to rebuild the White House. *The changes that have been made will stand for a century to come.*

In the White House the upper floor is used only for the President's family. The two lower floors, with the exception of the kitchen and dining room, are used for the public, the family of the President never otherwise using these two floors unless in connection with receiving the public. Between 150,000 and 200,000 citizens every year visit the White House and go through these two floors, or are received personally by the President and Mrs. Roosevelt. *Almost the entire expense of the rebuilding of the White House was for these two floors used by the public.* The only thing done with the rooms on the floor used by the President and his family was to repair them, put in modern plumbing, etc.; in short, to alter them only so as to make them fit for habitation.

All the unusual expense was for the two floors which are used for the public, and which are, except the kitchen and dining room, used by the President and his family only to receive the public. In the same way the expense for the maintenance of the White House is almost entirely for the maintenance and care of these two floors and for the attendants who look after the people who come to see the White House, who average over 500 per day. On the floor where the President and his family live almost all the work is done by those whom the President personally pays.

In the same way the entertaining done by the President is paid for out of his own private purse when he is in the White House, just as when he is at Oyster Bay. The state dinners, where he entertains the Cabinet, Senators, Members of the Lower House, Justices of the Supreme Court, and foreign representatives no less than the smaller dinners and other entertainments, are paid for out of the private purse of the President, he being put to a heavy outlay from his own private purse in order that he may suitably fulfill some of the necessary functions of his position as Chief Magistrate.

"LABOR RECORD OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

I furnish here to-day the record of the gentleman who will be the Republican candidate for President. It will furnish good reading for the campaign into which we are so rapidly moving. It will give our Democratic friends food for thought, and it will inspire the toiling man of the country with the pleasant consciousness that *the old Republican party, the party of Lincoln, of Grant, of McKinley, of Hanna, is offering for the Presidency a man, a worthy successor to them all and who stands invincible in his record of fealty to the best interests of the laboring man of the United States.*

LABOR RECORD OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"The most vital problem with which this country, and for that matter the whole civilized world has to deal"—

Said President Roosevelt in his first message to Congress—
"is the problem which has for one side the betterment of social conditions, moral and physical, in large cities and for another side the effort to deal with that tangle of far-reaching questions which we group together when we speak of 'labor.'"

EPITOME OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S FAVORABLE ACTION ON LABOR LEGISLATION.

As member of assembly in New York he voted for bills—
Abolishing tenement-house cigar making in New York City.
Restricting child labor in factories and workshops.
Regulating the labor hours of minors and women in manufacturing establishments.

Safeguarding the lives and limbs of factory operatives.
Regulating wage rates of laborers employed by municipalities.
Making employees preferred creditors.
Providing for building mechanics' liens.
Prescribing the lien rights of working women.
Protecting mechanics and laborers engaged in sinking oil or gas wells.
Abolishing contract child labor in reformatory institutions.
Creating a commission to examine into the operation of the contract system of employing convicts.

Establishing the bureau of labor statistics.
To promote industrial peace.
For a five-cent fare on the New York City elevated railroad.
Incorporating the New York Free Circulating Library.
For free public baths in New York City.
As governor of New York he approved these measures:
Creating a tenement-house commission.
Regulating sweat-shop labor.
Empowering the factory inspector to enforce the scaffolding law.
Directing the factory inspector to enforce the act regulating labor hours on railroads.

Making the eight-hour and prevailing-rate-of-wages laws effective.
Amending the factory act—
(1) Protecting employees at work on buildings.
(2) Regulating the working time of female employees.
(3) Providing that stairways shall be properly lighted.
(4) Prohibiting the operation of dangerous machinery by children.
(5) Prohibiting women and minors working on polishing or buffing wheels.

(6) Providing for seats for waitresses in hotels and restaurants.
Shortening the working hours of drug clerks.
Increasing the salaries of New York City school-teachers.
Extending to other engineers the law licensing New York City engineers and making it a misdemeanor for violating the same.
Licensing stationary engineers in Buffalo.
Providing for the examination and registration of horseshoers in cities.
Registration of laborers for municipal employment.
Relating to air brakes on freight trains.
Providing means for the issuance of quarterly bulletins by the bureau of labor statistics.

In addition to the foregoing, while governor of New York he recommended legislation (which the legislature failed to pass) in regard to employers' liability.

State control of employment offices.
State ownership of printing plant.
Devising means whereby free mechanics shall not be brought into competition with prison labor.

AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HE HAS SIGNED BILLS—
Renewing the Chinese-exclusion act and extending its provisions to the island territory of the United States.

Prohibiting the employment of Mongolian labor on irrigation works and providing that eight hours shall constitute a day's labor on such projects.

Abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude in the Philippine Islands, violation of the act being punishable by forfeiture of contracts and a fine of not less than \$10,000.

Protecting the lives of employees in coal mines in Territories by regulating the amount of ventilation and providing that entries, etc., shall be kept well dampened with water to cause coal dust to settle.

Exempting from taxation in the District of Columbia household belongings to the value of \$1,000, wearing apparel, libraries, schoolbooks, family portraits, and heirlooms.

Requiring proprietors of employment offices in the District of Columbia to pay a license tax of \$10 per year.

Creating the Department of Commerce and Labor and making its head a Cabinet officer.

Improving the act relating to safety appliances on railways.
Increasing the restrictions upon the immigration of cheap foreign labor and prohibiting the landing of alien anarchists.

"INTERVENTION IN THE COAL STRIKE."—"NO PRESIDENT EVER DID A WISER OR MORE PATRIOTIC THING."

Extract from remarks of Hon. JOHN C. SPOONER, of Wisconsin, in daily Congressional Record, April 18, 1904.

It has been fashionable in certain circles to attack the President as "unsafe" for his intervention in the anthracite coal strike, and that count in the Democratic indictment against him has been under the Dome of the Capitol within a week exploited, not by the Senator from Maryland or his Democratic colleagues in this Chamber. It has been often said that the action of the President was an unconstitutional invasion of the sovereignty of Pennsylvania. I wondered that the Senator from Maryland and his colleagues overlooked the President's relation to the coal strike. It probably will not be overlooked later.

There never was a more baseless suggestion than that he violated the Constitution or invaded the sovereignty of a State. There would be as much sense in charging the Civic Federation which sought to adjust the coal strike, with invading the sovereignty of Pennsylvania. No President, in my judgment, ever did a wiser or more patriotic thing than this President did in that behalf. He sent no troops into Pennsylvania. He did not usurp any function as President. He did nothing as President of the United States. On the contrary, he informed the gentlemen who upon his invitation came to him representing employees and the employers that as President, under the Constitution, he had no jurisdiction whatever over the subject.

But, Mr. President, he saw the terrific menace to the people of the United States. The winter was upon us. The coal strike had locked up the mines and stopped the sources of fuel production. It bid fair to be indefinitely prolonged. Already the supply had almost reached the point of famine. He knew and everyone else knew that if it continued without interruption there would come upon the country a horrible trouble, absolutely unspeakable and absolutely destructive. I suppose your "calm, judicial-minded, safe" President would have felt himself constrained by the Constitution to sit in the White House unmindful of the great calamity which threatened to overwhelm the people. Not so, thank God, with Theodore Roosevelt. He, as an individual occupying the White House, invited these people before him and entreated them to end the difficulty by arbitration, and they permitted him, not as President, but as an individual who happened to be President, to name the arbitrators, and that arbitration proceeded to the settlement of that strike.

Otherwise what would have happened? What would your calm, sane, safe, neutral President have done in the White House? He must have done what President Roosevelt did, or he must have done nothing. And in less than thirty days there would have been a mob in every city of the United States tearing down buildings for fuel, stealing the coal stored by the transportation companies for fuel, thus paralyzing the commerce of the country, because when men's homes are imperiled, when their wives and children are freezing, when a calamity that means death to all dear to a man in his home is impending, and is universal, it means force, it means violence and it would have come. There would have been millions of socialists made in a week. There would have been established a precedent in this land which would have set us back a hundred years, in my judgment.

Congress, without a word of criticism of the President, passed the appropriation to pay the expenses of that arbitration. And yet you will find, as you already find it, on the stump in this country in the campaign to come, men pointing to the action of the President in the coal strike as evidence of his lawlessness, his willfulness and tendency to usurp power.

"ROOSEVELT"—"THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING."—"WISE TARIFF AND IMMIGRATION LAWS."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in daily Congressional Record, April 4, 1904.

THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING.

Under the American form of government the bulk of the legislation for the protection of wage-workers must be the work of the individual Commonwealths, and when he was governor of New York State Mr. Roosevelt, as has been already indicated, took an active part in promoting such legislation.

But the Federal Government can accomplish a great deal for the maintenance of the relatively high standard of comfort that prevails in the United States by excluding the products of cheap foreign labor and also shutting out workmen from lower civilizations who are incapable of rising to the American standard of living. Such competition may be prevented by wise tariff and immigration laws, and on these questions the President expressed himself strongly in his first message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, under the date of December 3, 1901, in the following language:

With the sole exception of the farming interest no one matter is of such vital moment to our whole people as the welfare of the wage-workers. If the farmer and the wage-worker are well off it is absolutely certain that all others will be well off too. It is therefore a matter for hearty congratulation that wages on the whole are higher to-day in the United States than ever before in our history, and far higher than in any other country. The standard of living is also higher than ever before. Every effort of legislator and administrator should be to secure the permanency of this condition of things and its improvement wherever possible. *Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected as far as possible from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level.* I regard it as necessary, with this end in view, to reenact immediately the law excluding Chinese laborers, and to strengthen it wherever necessary in order to make its enforcement entirely effective.

Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. We need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen, every immigrant who comes here to stay, who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. *But there should be a comprehensive law enacted, with the object of working a threefold improvement over our present system.* First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary.

The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test some *intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions* and act sanely as American citizens. This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal class. But it would do what is also in point—that is, tend to decrease the sum of ignorance, so potent in producing the envy, suspicion, malignant passion, and hatred of order, out of which anarchistic sentiment inevitably springs. Finally, all persons should be excluded who are *below a certain standard of economic fitness* to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor. There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living, and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

Both the educational and economic tests in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the general body politic and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies which mainly bring over the immigrants, and they should be held to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law.

CHINESE-EXCLUSION LAW RENEWED AND EXTENDED TO THE ISLAND TERRITORY.

Acting upon these recommendations, Congress renewed the Chinese-exclusion law and extended it to the island territory, where the system of contract labor had previously existed. This act prohibits the immigration of Chinese laborers from such island territory to the mainland of the United States, and from one portion of said island territory to another portion, but permits their transit from one island to another island of the same group.

A MORE STRINGENT IMMIGRATION LAW.

Congress also enacted, and President Roosevelt approved, a more stringent immigration law.

"INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION."—THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL."

Extract from remarks of Hon. SHELBY M. CULLOM of Illinois, in daily Congressional Record, April 27, 1904.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

No previous Administration and no country have done more toward the settlement by peaceful methods, rather than by war, of the differences which arise among nations than have the Administrations of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt.

The Hague international conference for peace was an important step in the direction of international arbitration.

When the Czar of Russia issued his invitation to the nations in 1898 to unite in a conference to consider the subject of disarming and the promotion of peace, President McKinley was one of the first to give response, and he sent to the conference at The Hague a commission of our most able diplomats and expert military men.

That conference adopted conventions with respect to the customs of war on land, the adaption to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva convention of 1864, and other declarations of less importance.

The result of the conference was in a measure disappointing, but it accomplished one important work. When the delegates assembled, it became apparent that the divergence of views made difficult any agreement on most subjects, but, through the earnest efforts of the American delegates, an agreement was reached on the subject of arbitration, and a convention was signed creating a permanent court of arbitration at The Hague, which was one of the valuable achievements of that historic gathering.

While we all recognize that there are some political questions which it may not be proper to submit to The Hague Tribunal, still the conclusion of that convention is a great step in advance for the promotion of peace, as it was a recognition by the leading nations of the earth that arbitration is the best method of settling their disputes.

The second international conference of American states, representing the various republics of North, Central, and South America, adopted a convention, submitting to arbitration at The Hague all claims for pecuniary loss or damage which may be presented by their respective citizens and which can not be amicably adjusted through diplomatic channels when they are of sufficient importance to justify arbitration. That conference also unanimously agreed to a protocol giving the adhesion of the North, Central, and South American republics to The Hague conventions.

It is gratifying to us as Americans to know that our Government was the first to show to the world its faith in the efficiency and utility of The Hague Tribunal. During the Administration of President McKinley the claim of the Roman Catholic Church of the Upper California, known as "the Pious Fund claim against Mexico," accruing since 1869, was submitted for decision to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. The decision of the court rendered in 1902 awarded to the claimants the sum of \$1,420,682, and provided for the payment by Mexico perpetually of an annuity of \$43,000.

This decision was a satisfactory solution of the controversy over the so-called "Pious Fund of the Californias."

Again, during the last year President Roosevelt, who had been invited to settle the controversy between three of the powerful nations of Europe and the feeble American Republic of Venezuela, declined the trust so flattering to his reputation for integrity and impartiality and referred them to the court at The Hague as an appropriate place to settle their differences. The outcome of that submission has not proved satisfactory to many of us, but the settlement there made was better than a continued recourse to warlike measures. The principle announced in the award does not meet with our approval, but another case of similar character may lead to a different decision, and one adverse ruling should not destroy our confidence in the judicial method as the best means of adjusting our international controversies.

It is not the least among the deeds which distinguish the Administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt that they have always striven for peace in their relations with other rulers and sought to promote good will among the nations.

"THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY CONTROVERSY ONE OF THE MOST NOTABLE DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPHS OF OUR GOVERNMENT."

*Extract from remarks of Hon. SHELBY M. CULLOM of Illinois,
in daily Congressional Record, April 27, 1904.*

ALASKAN BOUNDARY.

The long-pending controversy between the United States and Great Britain over the boundary between Alaska and Canada is another very important diplomatic question which has been settled under this Administration.

The treaty of 1868 between the United States and Russia, by which we acquired Alaska, in describing the boundary of Alaska adopted the description contained in the treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia. Years ago, however, it was demonstrated that the boundary described in the treaty of 1825 was incorrect as a geographical fact.

While the country remained unsettled the definite boundary was not so material, but since the first Cleveland Administration the Alaskan boundary has been an important subject of dispute. The feeling over the boundary among our people in Alaska, Washington, and our extreme northwestern States, as well as among the people of Canada, had become very bitter.

A provisional boundary was agreed upon in 1878 and in 1899 for revenue purposes, but this was only a temporary arrangement and unsatisfactory.

By executive agreement in 1899 a joint high commission was created by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain for the purpose of disposing of all unsettled questions between the United States and Canada, embracing twelve subjects, among which was the Alaskan boundary controversy. The joint high commission made considerable progress in adjusting these questions, but failing to reach an agreement as to the Alaskan boundary the commission adjourned without disposing of any of the subjects in controversy.

In view of our long and undisputed occupation of the territory in question, President Roosevelt declined to allow the reference of the Alaskan boundary controversy to a regular arbitration at The Hague court, but instead he proposed the creation of a judicial tribunal, composed of an equal number of members from each country, feeling confident that our claim would be successfully established by such a body. Against much opposition and many predictions of failure, on January 24, 1903, a treaty between the United States and Great Britain was signed providing for such a tribunal.

The treaty was ratified and the members of the tribunal appointed. Assembling on September 3, 1903, and being presided over by the lord chief justice of England, it reached a conclusion on October 20, resulting in a complete victory for the United States and sustaining every material contention of our Government.

Thus was confirmed the wisdom of President Roosevelt's action peacefully settling this irritating controversy, which was believed by some would eventually cause war between the United States and Great Britain and which certainly stood as an obstacle to the maintenance of peaceful relations with Canada.

The settlement of the Alaskan boundary controversy and the restoration of good relations with our northern neighbor has proved one of the most notable diplomatic triumphs of our Government.

"OUR REUNITED COUNTRY."

*Extracts from public addresses of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT,
printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.*

If ever the need comes in the future the past has made abundantly evident the fact that from this time on Northerner and Southerner will in war know only the generous desire to strive how each can do the more effective service for the flag of our common country. The same thing is true in the endless work of peace, the never-ending work of building and keeping the marvelous fabric of our industrial prosperity. The upbuilding of any part of our country is a benefit to the whole, and every such effort as this to stimulate the resources and industry of a particular section is entitled to the heartiest support from every quarter of the Union. Thoroughly good national work can be done only if each of us works hard for himself, and at the same time keeps constantly in mind that he must work in conjunction with others. (Speech at Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

The war with Spain was the most absolutely righteous foreign war in which any nation has engaged during the nineteenth century, and not the least of its many good features was the unity it brought about between the sons of the men who wore the blue and of those who wore the gray. This necessarily meant the dying out of the old antipathy. Of course embers smolder here and there, but the country at large is growing more and more to take pride in the valor, the self-devotion, the loyalty to an ideal, displayed alike by the soldiers of both sides in the civil war. We are all united now. ("Fellow-feeling as a political factor," *The Strenuous Life*," p. 59.)

Nobody is interested in the fact that Dewey comes from Vermont, Hobson from Alabama, or Funston from Kansas. If all three came from the same county it would make no difference to us. They are Americans, and every American has an equal right to challenge his share of glory in their deeds. As we read of the famous feats of our army in the Philippines, it matters nothing to us whether the regiments come from Oregon, Idaho, California, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, or Tennessee. What does matter is that these splendid soldiers are all Americans; that they are our heroes; that our blood runs in their veins; that the flag under which we live is the flag for which they have fought, for which some of them have died. ("Fellow Feeling as a Political Factor."—*The Strenuous Life*, p. 61.)

The devotion, the self-sacrifice, the steadfast resolution and lofty daring, the high devotion to the right, as each man saw it, whether Northerner or Southerner—all these qualities of the men and women of the early sixties now shine luminous and brilliant before our eyes, while the mists of anger and hatred that once dimmed them have passed away forever. (Speech at Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

Virginia has always rightly prided herself upon the character of the men whom she has sent into public life. No more wonderful example of governmental ability, ability in statecraft and public administration, has ever been given than by the history of Virginia's sons in public life. (Speech at Charlottesville, Va., June 16, 1903.)

I am sure that none of my friends who fought in the Confederate service will misunderstand me or will grudge what I am about to say when I say that the greatest debt owed by this country to any set of men is owned by it to those men of the so-called border States—the men who in statesmanship followed Clay and the Crittendens and the Blairs; the men who, as soldiers, fought on the same side with Thomas and Farragut; the men who were for the Union, without regard to whether their immediate associates were for it or not. (Speech at Washington, D. C., December 9, 1902.)

Besides the material results of the civil war, we are all, North and South, incalculably richer for its memories. We are the richer for each grim campaign, for each hard-fought battle. We are the richer for valor displayed alike by those who fought so valiantly for the right and by those who, no less valiantly, fought for what they deemed the right. We have in us nobler capacities for what is great and good because of the infinite woe and suffering, and because of the splendid ultimate triumph. (*American Ideals*, p. 19.)

"RESPONSIBILITIES RESTING ON THE EDUCATED MAN."

*Extracts from public addresses of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT,
printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.*

A heavy responsibility rests on the educated man. It is a double discredit to him to go wrong, whether his shortcomings take the form of shirking his everyday civic duties or of abandonment of the nation's rights in a foreign quarrel. He must no more be misled by the sneers of those who always write "patriotism" between inverted commas than by the coarser but equally dangerous ridicule of the politicians who jeer at "reform." It is as unmanly to be taunted by one set of critics into cowardice as it is to be taunted by the other set into dishonesty. ("The Monroe Doctrine"—American Ideals, p. 259.)

The man who is content to go through life owing his alma mater for an education for which he has made no adequate return is not true to the ideals of American citizenship. He is in honor bound to make such return. He can make it in but one way; he can return what he owes to his alma mater only by making his alma mater proud of what he does in service rendered to his fellow-men. That is the type of return we have the right to expect of the university men in this country. (Speech at Charlottesville, Va., June 16, 1903.)

Where the State has bestowed education the man who accepts it must be content to accept it merely as a charity unless he returns it to the State in full in the shape of good citizenship. I do not ask of you, men and women here to-day, good citizenship as a favor to the State. I demand it of you as a right, and hold you recreant to your duty if you fail to give it. (Speech at Berkeley, Cal., May 14, 1903.)

If a college education means anything, it means fitting a man to do better service than he could do without it; if it does not mean that it means nothing, and if a man does not get that out of it he gets less than nothing out of it. No man has a right to arrogate to himself one particle of superiority or consideration because he has had a college education, but he is bound, if he is in truth a man, to feel that the fact of his having had a college education imposes upon him a heavier burden of responsibility, that it makes it doubly incumbent upon him to do well and nobly in his life, private and public. (Cambridge, Mass., June 25, 1902.)

Every educated man who puts himself out of touch with the current of American thought, and who on conspicuous occasions assumes an attitude hostile to the interest of America, is doing what he can to weaken the influence of educated men in American life. ("The Monroe Doctrine," American Ideals, p. 258.)

If an educated man is not heartily American in instinct and feeling and taste and sympathy, he will amount to nothing in our public life. Patriotism, love of country, and pride in the flag which symbolizes country may be feelings which the race will at some period outgrow, but at present they are very real and strong, and the man who lacks them is a useless creature, a mere incumbrance to the land. ("The College Graduate and Public Life," American Ideals, p. 75.)

If a man does not have belief and enthusiasm, the chances are small indeed that he will ever do a man's work in the world; and the paper or the college which, by its general course, tends to eradicate this power of belief and enthusiasm, this desire for work, has rendered to the young men under its influence the worst service it could possibly render. ("The College Graduate and Public Life," American Ideals, p. 69.)

An educated man must not go into politics as such; he must go in simply as an American; and when he is once in, he will speedily realize that he must work very hard indeed or he will be upset by some other American with no education at all, but with much natural capacity. His education ought to make him feel particularly ashamed of himself if he acts meanly or dishonorably, or in any way falls short of the ideal of good citizenship, and it ought to make him feel that he must show that he has profited by it; but it should certainly give him no feeling of superiority until by actual work he has shown that superiority. In other words, the educated man must realize that he is living in a democracy and under democratic conditions, and that he is entitled to no more respect and consideration than he can win by actual performance. ("The College Graduate and Public Life," American Ideals, p. 65.)

"ABOUT THE FOREIGN-BORN AMERICAN."

Extracts from public addresses and works of President ROOSEVELT, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

From his own standpoint, it is beyond all question the wise thing for the immigrant to become thoroughly Americanized. Moreover, from our standpoint, we have a right to demand it. We freely extend the hand of welcome and of good-fellowship to every man, no matter what his creed or birthplace, who comes here honestly intent on becoming a good United States citizen like the rest of us. ("True Americanism," American Ideals, p. 45.)

The only way to teach our foreign-born fellow-citizens how to govern themselves is to give each the full rights possessed by other American citizens. ("Phases of State legislation," American Ideals, p. 102.)

We can not have too much immigration of the right kind, and we should have none at all of the wrong kind. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

We need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen—every immigrant who comes here to stay—who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way, and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected, so far as it is possible, from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. (Annual message, first session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

A Scandinavian, a German, or an Irishman who has really become an American has the right to stand on exactly the same footing as any native-born citizen in the land, and is just as much entitled to the friendship and support, social and political, of his neighbors. Among the men with whom I have been thrown in close personal contact socially, and who have been among my stanchest friends and allies politically, are not a few Americans who happen to have been born on the other side of the water, in Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia, and there could be no better men in the ranks of our native-born citizens. ("True Americanism," American Ideals, p. 48.)

"HE IS NOT SAFE FOR MEN WHO WISH TO PROSECUTE SELFISH SCHEMES TO PUBLIC DETRIMENT."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. ELIHU ROOT, at Union League Club, New York, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

I count it, my friends, one of the greatest privileges of my life to have been able, when that sad day came—the day that I can not recall without the deepest emotion, when our President McKinley was taken away—to have been able to stand by and hold up the hands of his true and loyal successor. [Applause.] I am told that he is not popular in the city of New York; that he, who was born and grew to manhood among us, old members of this club, who made his first essay in public life going to represent us in the legislature at Albany more than twenty years ago—that he is not popular here in the city of his home! I am told that some people say that he is not safe. I could not come back to you—come back to you between whom and me there have been no concealments for all these thirty-five years—and not say to you what I feel on that subject. Men say he is not safe. He is not safe for the men who wish to prosecute selfish schemes to public detriment. [Applause.] He is not safe for the men who wish government to be conducted with greater reference to campaign contributions than to the public good. [Applause, and cries of "Good!"] He is not safe for the men who wish to draw the President of the United States off into a corner and make whispered arrangements, which they dare not have known by their constituents.

But I say to you that he has been, during these years since President McKinley's death, the greatest conservative force for the protection of property and our institutions in the city of Washington. [Applause.] There is a better way to protect property, to protect capital, to protect great enterprises than by buying legislatures. ["Good!" and applause.] There is a better way to deal with labor and to keep it from rising into the tumult of the unregulated and restless mob than by starving it or by corrupting its leaders. There are some things to be thought of besides the speculation of the hour. There is the great onward march of American institutions; there is the development of our social system; there is the underlying faith and trust of our people in the laws under which they live; and the man who is put in the chair of the Chief Magistrate of this great people, President not only of you and me here in New York, but of all the eighty millions of people scattered from sea to sea, is charged under his high responsibilities so to administer the law that it shall have the respect and the confidence of the people who make the law.

I have said that President Roosevelt was the greatest conservative force for the protection of property and of capital in the city of Washington during the years that have elapsed since President McKinley's death. He has been that indeed. I could give you specific instances where he has stood between the wish of men in Congress who greatly desired to pass extreme and violent measures, by the strong and unwavering declaration, "I will veto your bill if you pass it;" and he has been able to do that because he was so fair, so appreciative of the rights and the feelings of every part of the great people whose President he was, that they trusted him, and he dared to say, "I will veto an unfair measure against capital." [Applause.]

I have said there was a better way to protect capital than by buying legislatures; that there was a better way to deal with labor, and to keep it from becoming a mob, than by starving it. That way is that capital shall be fair; that taking all the high rewards of brain—of the inventive, discovering, organizing brain, all the rich, the magnificent rewards that come in this country of enterprise and boundless wealth to the brain that invents, that discovers, and that organizes—yet capital shall be fair; fair to the consumer, fair to the laborer, fair to the investor; that it shall concede that the laws shall be executed (applause); that its treatment of the laborer shall be so fair that the reasonable and most intelligent men among the laborers of our country shall have their hands held up, their strength increased, their power to lead their fellows supported, and that they shall be enabled to hold the labor of America solid for American freedom, and believing in American freedom as against the demagogue and the agitator who seeks to turn labor into a mob. [Applause.] Never forget that the men who labor cast the votes, set up and pull down governments, and that our Government is possible, only so long as the men who labor with their hands believe in American liberty and American laws. [Applause.]

And I say to you, my friends of the Union League Club, that our present President has, by fairness, by just sympathy with all his people, acquired the power to do more for the protection of the material interests, and for the spiritual interests of our country as well, than any man could ever have acquired by following the dictates of a narrow and limited view, which looked only to the speculation of the day, or the interests of particular enterprises. [Applause.] Take the large view of the statesman, and think of the future of America! The one thing that is needed is not what you and I will make to-morrow, not the success of this or that corporation for next year, or the next ten years, or during our lifetime, but for the perpetuity of our institutions, that our children and our children's children may live among a people devoted to American freedom and American justice. One thing necessary for that is that the great toiling mass of the American people shall feel that laws are just and justly administered; that every boy has his chance for the future. [Applause.] And it is that—it is that supreme and sacred interest that Theodore Roosevelt has been safeguarding in these years. [Applause.]

Property should be protected, capital should be preserved, enterprise should be fostered, liberty should be protected, the laboring man should have his fair wage. Yes! Yes! But the one thing needful is that truth and honor and love of country, and the service of mankind, shall be the goal set before the eyes of the President of the United States; that the boys of America shall believe that the honest man, that the true man, that the loyal man, has honor in this land; that no arts of the politician, that no cajolery of wealth, that no social influence, that nothing but faithfulness to the duty of truth and honor and justice shall receive the supreme reward. And I would rather have my boys taught to think that the finest thing in life is the honesty and frankness, the truth and loyalty, the honor and the devotion to his country of Theodore Roosevelt than to have them in possession of all the wealth in this great metropolis. [Applause.]

"HONESTY IN PUBLIC LIFE."

Extracts from public addresses and works of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

No community is healthy where it is ever necessary to distinguish one politician among his fellows because "he is honest." Honesty is not so much a credit as an absolute prerequisite to efficient service to the public. Unless a man is honest we have no right to keep him in public life, it matters not how brilliant his capacity, it hardly matters how great his power of doing good service on certain lines may be. ("The eighth and ninth commandments in politics," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 108.)

We need absolute honesty in public life; and we shall not get it until we remember that truth-telling must go hand in hand with it and that it is quite as important not to tell an untruth about a decent man as it is to tell the truth about one who is not decent. ("The eighth and ninth commandments in politics," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 112.)

We can as little afford to tolerate a dishonest man in the public service as a coward in the army. The murderer takes a single life; the corruptionist in public life, whether he be bribe giver or bribe taker, strikes at the heart of the Commonwealth. (Speech at Sherman statue unveiling, October 15, 1903.)

There can be no crime more serious than bribery. Other offenses violate one law, while corruption strikes at the foundation of all law. Under our form of government all authority is vested in the people and by them delegated to those who represent them in official capacity. There can be no offense heavier than that of him in whom such a sacred trust has been reposed, who sells it for his own gain and enrichment; and no less heavy is the offense of the bribe giver. He is worse than the thief, for the thief robs the individual, while the corrupt official plunders an entire city or State. He is as wicked as the murderer, for the murderer may only take one life against the law, while the corrupt official and the man who corrupts the official alike aim at the assassination of the Commonwealth itself. Government of the people, by the people, for the people will perish from the face of the earth if bribery is tolerated. The givers and takers of bribes stand on an evil pre-eminence of infamy. The exposure and punishment of public corruption is an honor to a nation, not a disgrace. The disgrace lies in toleration, not in correction. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

We can divide and must divide on party lines as regards certain questions. As regards the deepest, as regards the vital questions, we cannot afford to divide, and I have the right to challenge the best effort of every American worthy of the name to putting down by every means in his power corruption in private life, and above all corruption in public life. And remember, you, the people of this government by the people, that while the public servant, the legislator, the executive officer, the judge, are not to be excused if they fall short of their duty, yet that their doing their duty can not avail unless you do yours. In the last resort we have to depend upon the jury drawn from the people to convict the scoundrel who has tainted our public life, and unless that jury does its duty, unless it is backed by the public sentiment of the people, all the work of legislator, of executive officer, of judicial officer are for naught. (Washington, D. C., November 16, 1903.)

There are plenty of questions about which honest men can and do differ very greatly and very intensely, but as to which the triumph of either side may be compatible with the welfare of the state—a lesser degree of welfare or a greater degree of welfare, but compatible with the welfare of the state. But there are certain great principles, such as those which Cromwell would have called "fundamentals," concerning which no man has a right to have more than one opinion. Such a question is honesty. (Washington, D. C., October 25, 1903.)

It is well for us in this place, and at this time, to remember that exactly as there are certain homely qualities the lack of which will prevent the most brilliant man alive from being a useful soldier to his country, so there are certain homely qualities for the lack of which in the public servant no shrewdness or ability can atone. (Washington, D. C., October 15, 1903.)

There are many qualities which we need alike in private citizen and in public man, but three above all—three for the lack of which no brilliancy and no genius can atone—and those three are courage, honesty, and common sense. (Antietam, Md., September 17, 1903.)

It is an even greater offense to sin against the Commonwealth than to sin against an individual. The man who debauches our public life, whether by malversation of funds in office, by the actual bribery of voters or of legislators, or by the corrupt use of the offices as spoils wherewith to reward the unworthy and the vicious for their noxious and interested activity in the baser walks of political life—this man is a greater foe to our well-being as a nation than is even the defaulting cashier of a bank or the betrayer of a private trust. No amount of intelligence and no amount of energy will save a nation which is not honest, and no government can ever be a permanent success if administered in accordance with base ideals. The first requisite in the citizen who wishes to share the work of our public life, whether he wishes himself to hold office or merely to do his plain duty as an American by taking part in the management of our political machinery, is that he shall act disinterestedly and with a sincere purpose to serve the whole Commonwealth. ("The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," *American Ideals*, p. 51.)

There are not a few public men who, though they would repel with indignation an offer of a bribe, will give certain corporations special legislative and executive privileges because they have contributed heavily to campaign funds; will permit loose and extravagant work because a contractor has political influence; or, at any rate, will permit a public servant to take public money without rendering an adequate return, by conniving at inefficient service on the part of men who are protected by prominent party leaders. Various degrees of moral guilt are involved in the multitudinous actions of this kind, but after all, directly or indirectly, every such case comes dangerously near the border line of the commandment which, in forbidding theft, certainly by implication forbids the connivance at theft, or the failure to punish it. ("The eighth and ninth commandments in politics," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 109.)

"OUR FOREIGN POLICY—THE MONROE DOCTRINE."

Extracts from public addresses of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

The Monroe doctrine is simply a statement of our very firm belief that on this continent the nations now existing here must be left to work out their own destinies among themselves, and that the continent is not longer to be regarded as colonizing ground for any European power. (Speech at Augusta, Me., August 26, 1902.)

We of the two Americas must be left to work out our own salvation along our own lines; and if we are wise we will make it understood as a cardinal feature of our joint foreign policy that on the one hand we will not submit to territorial aggrandizement on this continent by any Old World power, and that on the other hand, among ourselves, each nation must scrupulously regard the rights and interests of the others, so that, instead of any one of us committing the criminal folly of trying to rise at the expense of our neighbors, we shall all strive upward in honest and manly brotherhood, shoulder to shoulder. (Speech at opening of the Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

It is for the interest of every commonwealth in the Western Hemisphere to see every other commonwealth grow in riches and in happiness, in material wealth, and in the sober, strong, self-respecting manliness without which material wealth avails so little. (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

I believe in the Monroe doctrine with all my heart and soul; I am convinced that the immense majority of our fellow-countrymen so believe in it; but I would infinitely prefer to see us abandon it than to see us put it forward and bluster about it, and yet fail to build up the efficient fighting strength which in the last resort can alone make it respected by any strong foreign power whose interest it may ever happen to be to violate it. (Washington, D. C., November 13, 1902.)

I believe in the Monroe doctrine. I shall try to see that this nation lives up to it, and as long as I am President it will be lived up to. But I do not intend to make the doctrine an excuse or a justification for being unpleasant to other powers, for speaking ill of other powers. We want the friendship of mankind. We want to get on well with the other nations of mankind, with the small nations and with the big nations. We want so to carry ourselves that if—which I think most unlikely—any quarrel should arise, it would be evident that it was not a quarrel of our own seeking, but one that was forced on us. If it is forced on us, I know you too well not to know that you will stand up to it if the need comes; but you will stand up to it all the better if you have not blustered or spoken ill of other nations in advance. (Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

When a question of national honor or of national right or wrong is at stake, no question of financial interest should be considered for a moment. Those wealthy men who wish the abandonment of the Monroe doctrine because its assertion may damage their business, bring discredit to themselves, and, so far as they are able, discredit to the nation of which they are a part. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 260.)

We do not wish to bring ourselves to a position where we shall have to emulate the European system of enormous armies. Every true patriot, every man of statesman-like habit, should look forward to the day when not a single European power will hold a foot of American soil. At present it is not necessary to take the position that no European power shall hold American territory; but it certainly will become necessary if the timid and selfish "peace at any price" men have their way, and if the United States fails to check at the outset European aggrandizement on this continent. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 252.)

The United States has not the slightest wish to establish a universal protectorate over other American States, or to become responsible for their misdeeds. If one of them becomes involved in an ordinary quarrel with a European power, such quarrel must be settled between them by any one of the usual methods. But no European State is to be allowed to aggrandize itself on American soil at the expense of any American State. Furthermore, no transfer of an American colony from one European State to another is to be permitted, if, in the judgment of the United States, such transfer would be hostile to its own interests. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 248.)

The Monroe doctrine should be the cardinal feature of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas, as it is of the United States. Just seventy-eight years have passed since President Monroe in his annual message announced that "the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

In other words, the Monroe doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is in no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one New World power at the expense of any other. It is simply a step, and a long step, toward assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

If the Monroe doctrine did not already exist it would be necessary forthwith to create it. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 246.)

The Monroe doctrine is not a question of law at all. It is a question of policy. It is a question to be considered not only by statesmen, but by all good citizens. Lawyers, as lawyers, have absolutely nothing whatever to say about it. To argue that it can not be recognized as a principle of international law, is a mere waste of breath. Nobody cares whether it is or is not so recognized, any more than any one cares whether the Declaration of Independence and Washington's Farewell Address are so recognized. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 248.)

"THE PRESIDENT AND THE COAL STRIKE OF 1902."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in the daily Congressional Record of April 4, 1904.

The President has frequently emphasized the need of more sympathy between employers and employees and deprecated the cultivation of class feeling with its resulting antagonisms.

"Very much of our effort in reference to labor matters," he said at Sioux Falls in April, 1903, "should be by every device and expedient to try to secure a constantly better understanding between employer and employee. Everything possible should be done to increase the sympathy and fellow-feeling between them, and every chance taken to allow each to look at all questions, especially at questions in dispute, somewhat through the other's eyes.

"If met with a sincere desire to act fairly by one another, and if there is, furthermore, power by each to appreciate the other's standpoint, the chance for trouble is minimized. I suppose every thinking man rejoices when by mediation or arbitration it proves possible to settle troubles in time to avert the suffering and bitterness caused by strikes. Moreover, a conciliation committee can do best work when the trouble is in its beginning, or at least has not come to a head. When the break has actually occurred, damage has been done, and each side feels sore and angry, and it is difficult to get them together, difficult to make either forget its own wrongs and remember the rights of the other. If possible, the effort of conciliation or mediation or arbitration should be made in the earlier stages, and should be marked by the wish on the part of both sides to try to come to a common agreement, which each shall think in the interest of the other as well as of itself.

"When we deal with such a subject we are fortunate in having before us an admirable object lesson in the work that has just been closed by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. This was the commission which was appointed last fall, at the time when the coal strike in the anthracite region threatened our nation with a disaster second to none which has befallen us since the days of the civil war. Their report was made just before the Senate adjourned at the special session, and no Government document of recent years marks a more important piece of work better done, and there is none which teaches sounder social morality to our people. The commission consisted of seven as good men as were to be found in the country, representing the bench, the church, the Army, the professions, the employers, and the employed. They acted as a unit and the report which they unanimously signed is a masterpiece of sound common sense and of sound doctrine on the very questions with which our people should most deeply concern themselves. The immediate effect of this commission's appointment and action was of vast and incalculable benefit to the nation, but the ultimate effect will be even better if capitalist, wage-worker, and lawmaker alike will take to heart and act upon the lessons set forth in the report they have made."

ULTIMATE EFFECT.

The appointment of this commission, which resulted in the termination of the great coal strike of 1902, is perhaps President Roosevelt's most widely known and generally appreciated contribution toward the improvement of industrial relations. When the efforts of all other peacemakers had come to naught and the coal famine remained unbroken at the near approach of winter, Mr. Roosevelt, as a representative American citizen, pleaded with the operators and miners to terminate their dispute and resume the mining of coal. Public opinion supported his action so strongly that both sides to the dispute agreed to resume work and leave to a commission to be appointed by the President the determination of the conditions of employment concerning which they had been unable to agree. The President's commission not only adjusted the dispute in the coal regions, but in so doing formulated principles of very general application to the organization of industry at the present time. The immediate effect of the commission's appointment was, as the President has himself stated, "of vast and incalculable benefit to the nation, but the ultimate effect will be even better if capitalist, wage-worker, and lawmaker alike will take to heart and act upon the lessons set forth in the report" of the commission. The coal industry is typical of all the great industries of to-day that are organized on the principle of large-scale production, and its treatment of the labor problem is therefore highly illuminative.

"I DO NOT THINK THAT ANY PRESIDENT EVER ACTED MORE WISELY, COURAGEOUSLY OR PROMPTLY IN A NATIONAL CRISIS—MR. ROOSEVELT DESERVES UNSTINTED PRAISE FOR WHAT HE DID"—JUDGE GRAY.

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, in the daily Congressional Record of April 4, 1904.

THE PRESIDENT AND PROPERTY RIGHTS.

President Roosevelt's successful intervention in the coal strike met with the almost unanimous approval of the people, irrespective of their political affiliations. It was not until the commission's award had been made, and thought of the great disturbance nearly banished from the minds of the people, that criticism of his conduct, arising out of the resentment of the coal mine presidents and the desire to make political capital, began to appear, based on the allegation that his interference amounted to a modification of property rights. But the criticism was hushed almost as soon as it appeared by the declaration of *Judge Gray*, a member of the political party opposed to the President, that "the President's action, so far from interfering with or infringing upon property rights, tended to conserve them."

JUDGE GRAY'S STATEMENT WHICH APPEARED IN A NEW YORK CITY NEWSPAPER SEPTEMBER 1, 1903, WAS AS FOLLOWS:

"I have no hesitation in saying that the President of the United States was confronted in October, 1902, by the existence of a *crisis more grave and threatening than any that had occurred since the civil war*. I mean that the cessation of mining in the anthracite coal country, brought about by the dispute between the miners and those who control the greatest natural monopoly in this country and perhaps in the world, had brought upon more than one-half of the American people a condition of deprivation of one of the necessities of life, and the probable continuance of the dispute threatened not only the comfort and health, but the safety and good order of the nation. He was without legal or constitutional power to interfere, but his position as President of the United States gave him an influence, a leadership, as first citizen of the Republic, that enabled him to appeal to the patriotism and good sense of the parties to the controversy and to place upon them the moral coercion of public opinion to agree to an arbitrament of the strike then existing and threatening consequences so direful to the whole country. He acted promptly and courageously, and in so doing averted the dangers to which I have alluded.

"So far from interfering or infringing upon property rights, the President's action tended to conserve them. The peculiar situation as regards the anthracite coal interest was that they controlled a natural monopoly of a product necessary to the comfort and to the very life of a large portion of the people. A prolonged deprivation of the enjoyment of this necessary of life would have tended to precipitate an attack upon those property rights of which you speak, for after all, it is vain to deny that this property, so peculiar in its conditions, and which is properly spoken of as a "natural monopoly," is affected with public interest.

"I do not think that any President ever acted more wisely, courageously, or promptly in a national crisis. Mr. Roosevelt deserves unstinted praise for what he did.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE WORKINGMAN."—"PERSONAL EFFORT THE FIRST REQUISITE OF SUCCESS."

Excerpt from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR of Ohio, printed in the daily Congressional Record of April 4, 1904.

The most extended discussion of the condition and interests of workmen that Mr. Roosevelt has offered since he became President is contained in his address at the New York State Fair on Labor Day, 1903, which is printed elsewhere in this pamphlet. To appreciate his attitude one must read the entire address as well as the following quotations from his addresses and public papers.

Personal effort and the homely old-fashioned virtues are the first requisites of order and progress in every community. Thus in an address at Kansas City, Mo., May 1, 1903, the President said:

"No device that the wit of man can produce, no form of law, no form of association or organization among ourselves, can supply the lack of fundamental virtues, the presence of which has meant a great nation, the absence of which has meant the downfall of any nation since the world began. No smartness, no mere cleverness unaccompanied by the sense of moral responsibility, no governmental scheme will ever supply the place of adherence to certain fundamental precepts put forth in the Bible and embodied consciously or unconsciously in the code of morals of every great successful nation from antiquity to modern times. Always in any government, among any people, there are certain forces for evil which take many shapes, but which are rooted in the same base and evil characteristics of the human soul, in the evil of arrogance, in the evil of jealousy, in the evil of hatred, and to some people the appeal is made to yield to one set of evil forces, to some it is made to yield to another set, and the result is equally bad in such case.

"The vice of arrogance, the vice of hate, and brutal indifference on the part of those with wealth to those who have none is a shameful and hateful vice. It is not one whit worse than the vice of rancorous envy, hatred, and jealousy on the part of those who are not well off for those who are better off. The man who by either practice or precept seeks to take from any man or to withhold from any man any advantage in war, or in politics, or in the working of society, or in business because of his wealth or because of his poverty is false to the traditions of this Republic. We must not have to face the tremendous problems with which you of the years 1861 to '65 were brought face to face, but we have problems of our

THE PRESIDENT AND TRADE-UNIONISM.

"While intelligence and character still count as essential elements of success in individuals, there remains room for associated action in large enterprises where the individual is swallowed up in the multitude and personal contact of employer and employee is no longer possible. One of 5,000 wage-workers employed in a factory could never hope to induce the employers to reduce his hours of work from fourteen or sixteen to ten a day, but if all of the 5,000 workmen unite in such a request they may accomplish their object and effect a change so momentous in the lives of workmen. The fact is that in a large-scale production the workman is at a hopeless disadvantage in making an individual bargain with the employer. His only chance lies in joining his fellow-workmen and making a collective bargain with the employer regarding wages and the conditions under which they will work. In forming a union and choosing their officers and representatives the workmen are simply following the example of capitalists, who form a corporation and delegate their powers to directors or trustees."

THE NECESSITY OF TRADE UNIONS.

This fact is fully recognized by President Roosevelt in common with political economists and other leaders of thought at the present time. As in his address at Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903, he declared that much can be done by organization, combination—union among the wage-workers," and went on to explain the change that has come about in modern industry, as follows:

"The wage-workers in our cities, like the capitalists in our cities, are totally changed conditions. The development of machinery and the extraordinary change in business conditions have rendered the employment of capital and of persons in large aggregations not merely profitable but necessary for success, and have specialized the labor of the wage-worker at the same time that they have brought great aggregations of wage-workers together. More and more in our great industrial centers men are coming to realize that they can not live as independently of one another as in the old days was the case everywhere and as is now the case in the country districts. Of course, fundamentally, each man will yet find in the chief factor in determining his success or failure in life is the sum of his own individual qualities. He can not afford to lose his individual situation—his individual will and power, but he can best use that power if certain objects he unites with his fellows."

The Democratic Candidate

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"A COLORLESS CANDIDATE UPON A COLORLESS PLATFORM."

Extract from remarks of Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR in House of Representatives, April 22, 1904.

You have no principles; you can not agree upon them. You gathered together the wisdom of the Democratic party of the United States, and went over to Albany, N. Y., to promulgate a platform, and, having got through with it, you can not tell to-day whether it was the utterance of a Democratic platform or the soliloquy of a student in a Sunday school or country debating society. [Laughter and applause.] Colorless, unimportant, odorless and unsatisfactory, tasteless and insipid. And if you will only nominate a colorless candidate, and put him upon a colorless platform—and you can get any other one agreed to—we will show you that the people of the United States believe in a man that says something, believe in something, believe in a man that does not undertake to secure nomination for President without daring to tell the convention, nominates him, or the country, whether he stands on his "head or his heels upon the great questions of the hour."

The American people will not be satisfied with a candidate for President whom they do not know. They will not be satisfied with a President who will go into the Presidential office unpledged to any policy or any political action. It is typical of Democratic politics to suppress from the people all knowledge of their candidates of the past, and in the present case we are threatened very strongly. It seems to me with the manifest purpose of the Democratic party to make a platform of scattering generalities and make personal assaults upon the President of the United States, assail the Administration of the country and disgrace it as far as possible in the estimation of mankind, and then bring a colorless and odorless candidate and place him upon a colorless and odorless platform and ask the people of the U. S. to commit themselves to the horrors and uncertainties of a Democratic Administration unpledged to anything.

And there will be nobody cheated when we nominate Roosevelt at Chicago. We know who he is, what he is, and what he is in favor of. Can you say as much for your candidate? Who of you can guess? What is he? Nobody knows. What is he in favor of? Nobody dares to undertake to say. What is his platform? There is no platform upon which you can agree.

Without detaining my friends, I have simply to say that all the attacks upon Roosevelt only attract the attention of the people to the sterling character of the man and the brilliancy of his career. No man in this country ever had a brighter, a more brilliant career. He undertook that task which men coming before him had attempted and in which they had usually failed. He undertook the task of holding his party in line and standing by the platform and doctrines and teachings of his party, coming to his high office, as he did, at the death of the President; and he has succeeded beyond the hopes of his closest friends. [Applause on the Republican side.] * I do not doubt that the sharp criticisms of Roosevelt and his personality and his past speeches and writings are all born of the desire of the Democrats to have of the man as our candidate.

I believe that President Roosevelt represents in his own career, in his own utterances, in his own position to-day, the highest ideal and best sentiment of the Republicans of the United States. I believe that his whole career has been a protest against the demoralizing, antiquated, and obnoxious ideas of the Democratic party. I believe that the people of the United States have confidence in his integrity, and I know they have. I believe his career as President has been one of the most brilliant that has ever graced and adorned the head of the Government of the United States, and I speak with no extravagance when I say that his judgment upon the great public questions of the day has been unerring. I speak calmly and liberately, and measure my words when I say that he is in exact perfect accord with the best sentiment and the truest instincts of the Republicans of the U. S., and yet the Democratic party's manifest purpose is to enter the campaign of 1904 with the silly banner, "Personal detraction and personal abuse of Theodore Roosevelt."

I warn the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] that the rock upon which he is pounding—the eternal principles of truth and justice and Republicanism—is too securely anchored to be moved by any such attack. The waves may dash against it in vain. Let me remind the gentleman—using the language of Scripture—he has pointed out that some of us were not originally believers in Roosevelt, and we agree to it; but let me tell him the times have changed and the stone that the builders tried to reject has become the chief corner stone of the Republican corner.

"MR. BRYAN'S OPINION OF JUDGE PARKER."

Extract from remarks of Hon. M. E. OLMSTED in House of Representatives, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Quite frequently within the past few days gentlemen upon the other side of the floor have been sounding the praises of one Judge Parker, of New York, who, it is said, is to be the Democratic Presidential nominee. So little is known of him here that one gentleman upon this floor, most earnest in his behalf, was unable, in response to interrogatories by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LANDIS], to give either the first name or the postoffice address of his candidate. His chief political manager is Ex-Senator David B. Hill, of New York, and under his manipulation and control the recent Democratic convention in that State indorsed Judge Parker for the Presidency and adopted a platform which is understood to be to his liking and upon which he is willing to stand. The suggestions in that platform are put forth in the hope that they will be adopted by the Democratic national convention. Mr. Bryan, the idolized standard bearer of the Democratic party during the last two Presidential campaigns, has some views upon this New York platform and upon the candidacy of Judge Parker, which can not fail to interest Republicans as well as Democrats, and they are worthy of consideration here. They were delivered within the past 48 hours before a vast assemblage of people in the Second Regiment Armory, in the City of Chicago.

SPEECH OF MR. BRYAN—ADDRESS AT THE SECOND REGIMENT ARMORY.

I regard as available all candidates who are in favor of making the Democratic party an honest, earnest, and courageous exponent of the rights and interests of the masses; and I regard as unavailable all who are in sympathy with or obligated to the great corporations that to-day dominate the policy of the Republican party and seek through the reorganizers to dominate the policy of the Democratic party. I have no favorites among those on our side and no special antagonism to those who represent the reorganizers. I believe that the line should be drawn between principles, not between men, and that men should only be considered as they may be able to advance or retard the progress of Democracy. * * *

When, some two years ago, I became satisfied that ex-Senator David B. Hill was planning to be a candidate I pointed out the objections to his candidacy. When the Cleveland boom was launched I pointed out the objections to his candidacy, and now that Mr. Parker seems to be the leading candidate (though not the only candidate) among the reorganizers, I desire to present some reasons why he can not be considered as an available candidate for a Democratic nomination, and I find these reasons not in his personality, but in his position upon public questions. For a year he has been urged to speak out and declare himself upon the important issues of the coming campaign, but he has remained silent.

If this silence meant that nobody knew his views, those who have been loyal to the party in recent years would stand upon an equal footing with those who deserted, but it is evident now that while to the public generally his views are unknown they are well known to those who are urging his nomination. Whatever doubt may have existed on this subject heretofore has been dispelled by the platform adopted by the New York State convention, and taking this platform as a text I am sanguine enough to believe that I can prove to every unbiased mind that Judge Parker is not a fit man to be nominated either by the Democratic party or by any other party that stands for honesty and fair dealing in politics. I can not hope to convince those who favor deception and fraud in politics, but I am satisfied that we now have evidence sufficient to convict Judge Parker of absolute unfitness for the nomination. If he did not know of the platform in advance, if he did not himself dictate it or agree to it, he has allowed it to go out as his utterance, for the convention was dominated by his friends and adopted a resolution presenting him as the candidate of the State. * * *

The fifth plank reads: *Opposition to trusts and combinations that oppress the people and stifle healthy industrial competition.*

This is the antitrust plank of the platform! At least it is the only plank in which the trust is mentioned by name. The plank contains fourteen words and it will be noted that the opposition is not to all monopolies, or even to all trusts, but simply to those that "oppress the people and stifle healthy industrial competition." That is the position taken by Judge Brewer in his separate opinion. He contends that the Sherman law was not intended to prevent all restraint of trade, but only "unreasonable restraint," and so Mr. Hill and the other New York friends of Judge Parker so have worded their trust plank as to make their meaning uncertain. They have so worded the plank as to present the trust view of the question, rather than the view entertained by the people at large.

In order to excite the opposition of the friends of Judge Parker the trust must be shown to be "oppressive." It must be shown that it is not only stifling industrial competition, but that it is stifling a "healthy industrial competition." The trust magnates claim that the object of the trust is to stifle unhealthy industrial competition and to promote a "healthy industrial competition." The qualifying words used in this very brief and ambiguous plank destroy whatever vitality it might have had without them. The Kansas City platform declared a private monopoly to be indefensible and intolerable. It not only arraigned private monopoly as an unmitigated evil, but it pointed out specific remedies for the destruction of this evil. Compare the Kansas City platform with the cowardly straddling, anti-trust—or rather trust—plank of the New York platform and you will understand why Mr. Hill and Judge Parker are so afraid of the Kansas City platform.

The New York platform is a dishonest platform, fit only for a dishonest party. No one but an artful dodger would stand upon it. The submission of such a platform to the voters of a State is an insult to their intelligence, for it is intended to deceive them, and a deliberate attempt to deceive—especially so clumsy an attempt as this platform is—is reflection upon the brains of those to whom it is submitted.

"THEIR PLAN OF 1844—CAN THEY MAKE IT WORK NOW?"

"NORTHERN STATES HAVE BUSINESS INTERESTS WHOSE OWNERS MUST BE SOOTHED INTO A FEELING OF SECURITY."

Extract from remarks of Hon. J. T. McCLEARY, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

If I were to make a guess, Mr. Chairman, I should say that this year, exactly sixty years later, our Democratic brethren would try to repeat the essential parts of their plan of 1844. Can they make it work now?

The only way for the Democrats to win the election in 1844 was to nominate for the Presidency a southern man of not very pronounced or well-known views on the tariff question, but who could be trusted to co-operate with the southern Democratic leaders, and then to nominate for Vice-President some northern man *well known to be a protectionist*, so that the party could stand for "free trade" in the South and for protection in the North. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was made the nominee for the Presidency, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, for the Vice-Presidency. In the South the cry was, "Polk, Dallas, and free trade!" In the North the cry was, "Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of '42!"

The nomination of George M. Dallas for Vice-President appealed to the State pride of Pennsylvania, which was then as now a strong protectionist State. Under the impression that Dallas was a protectionist and that therefore the ticket was a "safe" one, the State of Pennsylvania went Democratic and Polk and Dallas were elected. * * *

The Democratic party to-day owes whatever hopes it may entertain of success in the coming campaign to the existence of what is known as "the solid South." It is important that we get, if possible, a just conception of the significance of that fact.

In the first place, it will not be denied anywhere that—regardless of who the Democratic nominee may be or what may be the platform on which he stands—the Democratic party knows in advance that it can with absolute certainty count on the electoral votes of the States of the South. Hence in a convention it is not necessary to seriously consider the wishes of the South, either as to a candidate or as to a platform, so long as the candidate is personally reputable and decent.

The problem of the Democratic managers will be to get the remaining electoral votes necessary to an election. *These must be secured in the North.* A large city offers the best field for certain northern Democratic methods, so the Democratic managers pick out New York State, with its great metropolitan city, and Illinois, with its Chicago, as the best fighting ground. Then it will be necessary to carry, in addition, one or two States of the size of Indiana, New Jersey, and Wisconsin.

In general, then, the problem before the Democratic campaign managers is *how to carry those Northern States.*

New York City can be made to supply a generous majority; but in these days of "publicity" there is a limit to such possibilities. The Republicans must be kept from "coming down to the Harlem" with an overwhelming majority, so a candidate must be selected and a platform must be framed that will appeal to the people "up State." *A candidate from New York State itself can naturally be relied on to appeal to State pride*, and hence a New York man would, per se, have strong claims on the nomination for President.

But the platform must be such as to help in carrying those two States and also the remaining States required. It must be framed with special reference to carrying the Northern States required. Those Northern States have business interests whose owners must, by the platform, *be soothed into a feeling of security.* Above all things, then, the platform must have the appearance of conservatism. Inasmuch as the issue this year will be the tariff, the Democratic platform will, for several reasons, probably not be as frank and outspoken as it was in 1892. It will probably contain some "glittering generality" about "tariff revision along conservative lines."

But whatever the platform promises may be, Mr. Chairman, the thing to remember is that *Democratic platform promises are absolutely unreliable.* I say this in all kindness, with the full recognition of the fact that there are untold thousands of individual Democrats who are men of the highest integrity.

But there is a very plain and easily understood reason why Democratic platform promises can not be relied on.

It all hinges on the existence of that "solid South." At election the "solid South" can be absolutely depended upon to give every one of its electoral votes to the Democratic nominee, so that in the convention, which frames the platform, the wishes of the solid South can be safely treated with indifference. *But when it comes to passing a tariff act in Congress, after the election, the South will largely control the situation*, because the South will furnish the bulk of the votes necessary to pass the bill. In other words, *the platform must be made to please certain States in the North, but the bill must be made to please the States of the South, who entertain different opinions.* The promises will be dictated by the Northern States, the performances by the Southern States.

"THE REORGANIZED DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND ITS CANDIDATE."

Extract from remarks of Hon. GILBERT N. HAUGEN in House of Representatives, April 25, 1904.

I want to express my sympathy to the Democratic party in their hour of turmoil, confusion, and distress, wandering about like a rudderless ship encountering shoals and rocks, tossed about on the high seas of disruption, without issue or hope of reaching an agreement on either candidate or platform.

For the information of those who have cherished the hope of a reconciliation of the Democratic party, I read to you from the Washington Post of April 24, reporting Bryan's Chicago speech on the New York platform, the reorganized Democratic party and its prospective candidate—the party eulogized and defended by the eloquent gentleman from New York, Mr. COCKRAN, in his two hour free-trade speech of last Saturday:

PLATFORM FOR A DODGER.

The New York platform is a dishonest platform, fit only for a dishonest party. No one but an artful dodger would stand upon it. The submission of such a platform to the voters of a State is an insult to their intelligence, for it is intended to deceive them, and a deliberate attempt to deceive, especially so clumsy an attempt as this platform, is a reflection upon the brains of those to whom it is submitted.

This platform proves that the opposition to the Kansas City platform is not opposition to silver, but opposition to every needed reform and opposition to all that the masses desire.

I had expected that a platform prepared by Mr. Hill for Judge Parker would be evasive and lacking in frankness, but I did not conceive that any body of men calling themselves Democrats would present such a platform as a recommendation of a candidate. * * *

Can anyone doubt that with such a platform as was adopted in New York and with a candidate whose conscience would permit him to run upon such a platform—does anyone doubt that with such a platform and candidate the party would be mortgaged beforehand to the corporations that are now using the Government as a private asset and plundering the people at will? * * *

I for one am not willing that the Democratic party shall become the tool of the corporations. I am not willing that it shall be the champion of organized wealth.

ADVICE TO DEMOCRACY.

Let us drive out of the party every Democrat who betrays his trust, every official who would administer the office for his private advantage. Let us make Democracy stand not only for good government, for honest government, but for a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Having been driven to this unfortunate condition, some have seen fit to avenge themselves by maliciously attacking our worthy President, charging him with extravagance and unjust expenditures.

It is to be regretted that you should stultify yourselves by resorting to the use of absurd, malicious, contemptible falsehoods and misrepresentations, manufactured and inspired by yellow journals, and which are without foundation or a word of truth in them.

Indeed, you are entitled to sympathy. With this eruption in your ranks and your distracted condition, confronted with progress, prosperity, and a happy condition of the people, brought about under the seven years of Republican rule, Republican principles, and Republican policies, it is plain to you and to everybody that your defeat is certain next November. This is unfortunate for you, viewing it from a political standpoint; but how fortunate it is for the American people that we have such a clean, fearless, honest, patriotic President.

One who has labored so earnestly, conscientiously, and faithfully to fulfill his burdensome duties, always in thorough sympathy with the best interests of all the people, always pursuing his duty with fidelity, dignity, and rectitude of purpose, dominated by noble and lofty ideals; a statesman, a diplomat, fortified by a wealth of learning; a man whose character, success, record, both private and public, is without a stain of immorality, deception, fraud, or corruption, his loyalty to principles, his devotion to truth, his untiring energy, his lofty ideals and conscientious work, entitle him to the respect and admiration of all.

Such is Theodore Roosevelt, the man whom the Republican party will present as its candidate in the coming election.

"WHAT MR. BRYAN SAYS CONCERNING THE SPHINX."

Extracts from remarks of Hon. EDWARD DE V. MORRELL in House of Representatives, April 22, 1904.

Perhaps at this moment it would be well to read what his old friend Mr. Bryan says concerning the Sphinx in a speech delivered by him in Chicago on April 23, as reported in the Nebraska State Journal of April 24, 1904, his subject being "The New York platform."

MR. BRYAN'S ADDRESS.

As it is somewhat unusual for a political speech to be made as this one is to-night, let me preface my remarks with an explanation.

I have hired this hall and I introduce myself because I do not care to speak under the auspices of any club or organization which is committed to any particular aspirant for office. My concern is not about the name or the personality of the nominee, but about the principles for which the Democratic party is to stand. While many of the papers seem to assume that the contest for the Democratic nomination is necessarily between Judge Parker and Mr. HEARST, and that every Democrat must either be for one or the other, such a position is illogical and without foundation.

Those who are classed as reorganizers—and by that I mean those who would carry the party back to the position that it occupied under Mr. Cleveland's Administration—are not entirely agreed among themselves as to the proper candidate upon whom to concentrate their votes, and so those who are in sympathy with the spirit of our recent platforms may differ as to the relative availability of those who represent the progressive element of the party. My own position is one of neutrality.

I regard as available all candidates who are in favor of making the Democratic party an honest, earnest, and courageous exponent of the rights and interests of the masses, and I regard as unavailable all who are in sympathy with, or obligated to, the great corporation that to-day dominates the policy of the Republican party and seek, through reorganizers, to dominate the policy of the Democratic party. I have no favorites among those on our side, no special antagonism to those who represent the reorganizers.

PARKER WILL NOT DO.

When, some two years ago, I became satisfied that ex-Senator David B. Hill was planning to be a candidate I pointed out the objections to his candidacy. When the Cleveland boom was launched I pointed out the objections to his candidacy, and now that Mr. Parker seems to be the leading candidate, though not the only candidate among the reorganizers, I desire to present some reasons why he can not be considered as an available candidate for a Democratic nomination, and I find these reasons, not in his personality, but in his position upon public questions:

For a year he has been urged to speak out and declare himself upon the important issues of the coming campaign, but he has remained silent. If this silence meant that nobody knew his views, those who have been loyal to the party in recent years would stand upon an equal footing with those who deserted, but it is evident now that while to the public his views are unknown, they are well known to those who are urging his nomination.

Whatever doubt may have existed on this subject heretofore has been dispelled by the platform adopted by the New York State convention, and taking this platform as a text I am sanguine enough to believe that I can prove to every unbiased mind that Judge Parker is not a fit man to be nominated either by the Democratic party or by any other party that stands for honesty or fair dealing in politics.

ISSUES BEFORE THE COUNTRY.

What are the issues before the country? The trust question is certainly an issue, and yet there is nothing in that platform that gives any encouragement to the opponents of the trusts. There is not a word or syllable that binds a person elected on such a platform to do anything that the trusts are unwilling to have done. The Kansas City platform stated the party's position on the trust question, but the New York platform not only fails to indorse the last national platform, but also fails to propose any definite or positive plan of relief.

Imperialism is an issue. Our Government is now administering a colonial policy according to the political principles employed by George III. a century and a quarter ago, and yet there is not in this platform a single word relating to the question of imperialism, not a plank that defines the party's position on that subject, not a protest against the surrender of the doctrines of self-government. The Kansas City platform stated the party's opposition to a colonial policy, but the New York platform not only fails to indorse the Kansas City platform, but fails to take any position at all on this important question.

PLANK ON TARIFF LAME.

On the tariff question no issue is joined. It was reasonable to suppose that on this question, at least, something would be said; Mr. Hill and Judge Parker seem to be as much afraid of tariff questions as of other issues.

The money question is ignored entirely. No reference is made to bimetallism at any ratio—not even to international bimetallism, to which Mr. Hill seemed to be so attached in the Chicago convention. No reference is made to the measure now before Congress to melt up nearly \$600,000,000 legal tender silver dollars into subsidiary coin that is only a limited legal tender. Nothing is said about the asset currency which is a part of the scheme of the financiers. The platform ignores the income tax; it fails to indorse the election of Senators by direct vote, and also omits the plank of the Kansas City platform denouncing the corporate domination in politics.

PLATFORM IS DISHONEST.

The New York platform is a dishonest platform, fit only for a dishonest party. No one but an artful dodger would stand upon it.

The submission of such a platform to the voters of the State is an insult to their intelligence, for it is intended to deceive them, and a deliberate attempt to deceive—especially so clumsy an attempt as this platform is—is a reflection upon the brains of those to whom it is submitted.

This platform proves that the opposition to the Kansas City platform is not opposition to silver, but opposition to every needed reform and opposition to all that the masses desire.

I had expected that a platform prepared by Mr. Hill for Judge Parker would be evasive and lacking in frankness, but I did not conceive that any body of men calling themselves Democrats would present such a platform as a recommendation of a candidate.

If we are to take the New York platform as an indication of what the next Democratic platform is to be in case the reorganizers control the convention, then who will be able to deny the secret purpose of the reorganizers to turn the party over to predatory wealth? * * *

"NOT A FIT MAN TO BE NOMINATED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY."

Extract from speech of Hon. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN in Chicago, printed in daily Congressional Record, June 20, 1904.

Now that Mr. Parker seems to be the leading candidate (though not the only candidate) among the reorganizers, I desire to present some reasons why he can not be considered as an available candidate for a Democratic nomination, and I find these reasons not in his personality, but in his position upon public questions. He has been urged to speak out and declare himself upon the important issues of the campaign, he has remained silent.

If this silence meant that nobody knew his views, those who have been loyal to the party in recent years would stand upon an equal footing with those who deserted, but it is evident now that while to the public generally his views are unknown they are well known to those who are urging his nomination. Whatever doubt may have existed on this subject heretofore has been dispelled by the platform adopted by the New York State convention, and taking this platform as a text I am sanguine enough to believe that I can prove to every unbiased mind that Judge Parker is not a fit man to be nominated either by the Democratic party or by any other party that stands for honesty and fair dealing in politics. I can not hope to convince those who favor deception and fraud in politics, but I am satisfied that we now have evidence sufficient to convict Judge Parker of absolute unfitness for the nomination. If he did not know of the platform in advance, if he did not himself dictate it or agree to it, he has allowed it to go out as his utterance, for the convention was dominated by his friends and adopted a resolution presenting him as the candidate of the State. * * *

What are the issues before the country? The trust question is certainly an issue, and yet there is nothing in that platform that gives any encouragement to the opponents of the trusts. There is not a word or syllable that binds a person elected on such a platform to do anything that trusts are unwilling to have done. The Kansas City platform stated the party's position on the trust question, but the New York platform not only fails to indorse the last national platform, but also fails to propose any definite or positive plan of relief.

Imperialism is an issue. Yet there is not in this platform a single word relating to the question of imperialism; not a plank that defines the party's position on that subject, not a protest against the surrender of the doctrines of self-government. The Kansas City platform stated the party's opposition to a colonial policy, the New York platform not only fails to indorse the Kansas City platform, but fails to take any position on this question.

The labor question is an issue. The laboring men have been before the numerous committees of Congress endeavoring to secure three important measures. One is the arbitration of differences between corporations engaged in interstate commerce and their employees. Both the Chicago and Kansas City platforms declared in favor of arbitration, but the New York platform not only fails to refer to the arbitration plank of these platforms, but it fails to write a new plank covering this subject. * * *

The money question is ignored entirely. No reference is made to bimetalism at any ratio—not even to international bimetalism to what Mr. Hill seemed to be so attached in the Chicago convention.

I had expected that a platform prepared by Mr. Hill for Judge Parker would be evasive and lacking in frankness, but I did not conceive that any body of men calling themselves Democrats would present such a platform as a recommendation of a candidate. If we are to take the New York platform as an indication of what the next Democratic platform is to be, in case the reorganizers control the convention, then who will be able to deny the secret purpose of the reorganizers to turn the party over to predatory wealth?

I for one am not willing that the Democratic party shall become the tool of the corporations. I am not willing that it shall be the champion of organized wealth. And it is because I believe that the party has a higher mission than to be the exponent of plutocracy that I am protesting against the schemes of those who would put it into competition with the Republican party for the support of Wall street financiers. For this reason I protest against mortgaging the party to capitalists to secure an enormous corruption fund.

If any who are present to-night or who read what I say think that I am trying to interfere with Democratic success, let me answer that no Democrat is more anxious for the party to succeed than I am. No one has suffered more from dissensions and divisions in the party, and no one, I believe, is more eager for the country to enjoy the great benefits which a triumph of real Democracy would bring. But I do not desire that the party shall win offices only. If that is the only purpose of the party, let its principles be abandoned and let its platform simply declare the party hungry for the patronage. The lesson of 1894 shows the folly of hoping to win by a surrender to the corporations; but even if success could be bought in such a way, it would not be worth the price.

No one can defend the Democratic party without defending its principles, and its principles ought to be so clearly set forth as to be easily understood. We ought to appeal to the conscience of the public. Let us drive out of the party every Democrat who betrays his trust, every official who would administer the office for his private advantage. Let us make Democracy stand not only for good government—for honest government—but for a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." And the first step in this direction is the adoption of a platform that recognizes the right of the people to decide public questions as well as their capacity for understanding public questions. To present a platform which is evasive and ambiguous shows that those who wrote the platform either distrust the people who are to act, or have purposes they desire to conceal.

The New York platform is ambiguous, uncertain, evasive, and dishonest. It would disgrace the Democrats of the nation to adopt such a platform, and it ought to defeat as an aspirant for a Democratic nomination any man who would be willing to have it go forth as a declaration of his views on public questions. In Illinois, in Wisconsin, in Michigan, in Minnesota, in Indiana, in Ohio, and in every other State that has not acted it behooves the Democrats to arouse themselves and organize to the end that they may prevent the consummation of the schemes of the reorganizers. Their scheme begins with the deception of the rank and file of the party. It is to be followed up by the debauching of the public with a campaign fund secured from the corporations, and it is to be consummated by the betrayal of the party organization and of the country into the hands of those who are to-day menacing the liberties of the country by their exploitation of the producers of wealth."

ANALYSIS OF VOTE ON GOLD STANDARD BILL, 1899-1900.

Extract from statement by Hon. THOMAS C. McRAE of Arkansas, in the House of Representatives, March 13, 1900, and printed in Congressional Record.

In the House December 18, 1899—On the question, Shall the bill pass? it was decided in the affirmative. Yeas—179 Republicans, 11 Democrats. Nays—142 Democrats, 5 Populists, 3 Silverites.

Yeas—Acheson; Adams; Alexander; Allen, Me.; Babcock; Bailey, Kansas; Baker; Barham; Barney; Bartholdt; Bingham; Boreing; Boutell, Ill.; Boutelle, Me.; Bowersock; Brick; Bromwell; Brosius; Brown; Brownlow; Bull; Burke, S. Dak.; Burkett; Burleigh; Burton; Butler; Calderhead; Cannon; Capron; Chickering; Clarke, N. H.; Clayton, N. Y.; Cochrane, N. Y.; Connell; Cooper, Wis.; Corliss; Cousins; Cromer; Crump; Crumpacker; Curtis; Cushman; Dahle, Wis.; Dalzell; Davenport, S. A.; Davidson; Dayton; Denny; Dick; Dolliver; Dovener; Driggs; Driscoll; Eddy; Emerson; Esch; Faris; Fitzgerald, N. Y.; Fletcher; Fordney; Foss; Fowler; Freer; Gamble; Gardner, Mich.; Gardner, N. J.; Gibson; Gill; Gillett, Mass.; Graff; Graham; Greene, Mass.; Grosvenor; Grout; Grow; Hamilton; Haugen; Hawley; Heatwole; Hedge; Hemenway; Henry, Conn.; Hepburn; Hill; Hitt; Hoffecker; Hopkins; Howell; Hull; Jack; Jenkins; Jones, Wash.; Kahn; Kerr; Ketcham; Knox; Lacey; Landis; Lane; Lawrence; Levy; Linney; Littauer; Littlefield; Long; Lorimer; Loud; Loudenslager; Lovering; Lybrand; McAleer; McCall; McCleary; McPherson; Mahon; Mann; Marsh; Mercer; Mesick; Metcalf; Miller; Minor; Mondell; Moody, Mass.; Moody, Oreg.; Morgan; Morris; Mudd; Needham; O'Grady; Olmstead; Otjen; Overstreet; Packer, Pa.; Parker, N. J.; Payne; Pearce, Mo.; Pearre; Phillips; Powers; Prince; Pugh; Ray; Reeder; Reeves; Roberts, Mass.; Rodengerg; Ruppert; Russell; Scudder; Shattuc; Shelden; Sherman; Showalter; Smith, Ill.; Smith, H. C.; Smith, Samuel W.; Smith, Wm. Alden; Southard; Spalding; Sperry; Sprague; Steele; Stevens, Minn.; Stewart, N. J.; Stewart, N. Y.; Stewart, Wis.; Sulloway; Tawney; Tayler, Ohio; Thayer; Thomas, Iowa; Thropp; Tompkins; Tongue; Underhill; Van Voorhis; Wachter; Wadsworth; Wanger; Warner; Waters; Watson; Weaver; Weeks; Weymouth; White; Wilson, N. Y.; Wright; Young, Pa.—REPUBLICANS, 179; DEMOCRATS, 11.

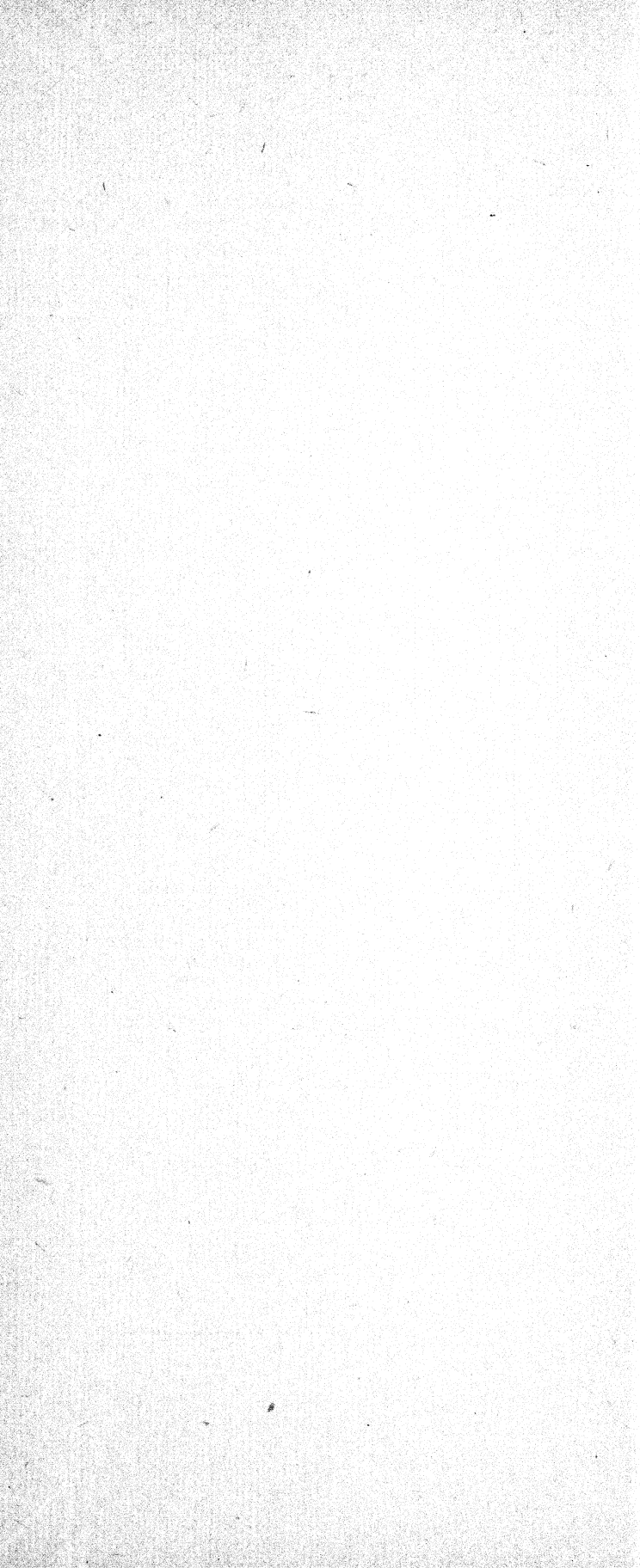
Nays—Adamson; Allen, Ky.; Allen, Miss.; Atwater; Bailey, Tex.; Ball; Bankhead; Barber; Bartlett; Bell; Benton; Berry; Bradley; Brantley; Breazeale; Brenner; Brewer; Brundidge; Burke, Tex.; Burleson; Burnett; Caldwell; Carmack; Chanler; Clark, Mo.; Clayton, Ala.; Cochran, Mo.; Cooney; Cooper, Tex.; Cowherd; Cox; Crawford; Crowley; Cummings; Cusack; Daly, N. J.; Davenport, S. W.; Davis; De Armond; De Graffenreid; De Vries; Dinsmore; Dougherty; Elliott; Epes; Finley; Fitzgerald, Mass.; Fitzpatrick; Fleming; Foster; Fox; Gaines; Gaston; Gilbert; Glynn; Gordon; Green, Pa.; Griffith; Griggs; Hall; Hay; Henry, Miss.; Henry, Tex.; Howard; Jett; Johnston; Jones, Va.; Kitchin; Kleberg; Kluttz; Lamb; Lanham; Latimer; Lentz; Lester; Lewis; Little; Livingston; Lloyd; McClellan; McCulloch; McDowell; McLain; McRae; Maddox; May; Meekison; Meyer, La.; Miers, Ind.; Moon; Muller; Napphen; Neville; Newlands; Noonan; Norton, Ohio; Norton, S. C.; Otey; Pierce, Tenn.; Polk; Quarles; Ransdell; Rhea, Ky.; Rhea, Va.; Richardson; Ridgely; Riordan; Rixey; Robb; Robbins; Robinson, Ind.; Robinson, Nebr.; Rucker; Ryan, N. Y.; Ryan, Pa.; Salmon; Shackelford; Shafroth; Sheppard; Sibley; Sims; Slayden; Small; Smith, Ky.; Snodgrass; Sparkman; Spight; Stark; Stephens, Tex.; Stokes; Sulzer; Sutherland; Swanson; Talbert; Tate; Taylor, Ala.; Terry; Thomas, N. C.; Turner; Underwood; Vandiver; Wheeler, Ky.; Williams, J. R.; Williams, W. E.; Williams, Miss.; Wilson, Idaho; Wilson, S. C.; Young, Va.; Zenor; Ziegler.—DEMOCRATS, 142; POPULISTS, 5; SILVERITES, 3.

Same bill in the Senate, February 15, 1900.

On the question shall the bill (H. R. 1) pass, it was decided in the affirmative. Yeas—44 Republicans, 2 Gold Democrats. Nays—1 Republican, 23 Democrats, 3 Silverites, 2 Populists.

Yeas—Aldrich; Allison; Beveridge; Burrows; Caffery; Carter; Clark, Wyo.; Cullom; Davis; Deboe; Depew; Elkins; Fairbanks; Foraker; Foster; Frye; Gear; Hale; Hanna; Hansborough; Hawley; Hoar; Kean; Lindsay; Lodge; McBride; McComas; McCumber; McMillan; Mason; Nelson; Penrose; Perkins; Platt, Conn.; Platt, N. Y.; Pritchard; Quarles; Ross; Scott; Sewell; Shoup; Simon; Spooner; Thurston; Wetmore; Wolcott.—REPUBLICANS, 44; DEMOCRATS, 2.

Nays—Bate; Berry; Butler; Chandler; Chilton; Clark, Mont.; Clay; Cockrell; Culberson; Daniel; Harris; Heitfeld; Jones, Ark.; Jones, Nev.; Kenney; McEnery; McLaurin; Martin; Money; Morgan; Pettus; Rawlings; Stewart; Sullivan; Taliaferro; Teller; Tillman; Turley; Vest.—DEMOCRATS, 23; SILVERITES, 3; POPULISTS, 2; REPUBLICAN, 1.



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